

## BOOK REVIEWS

David M. Williams and Andrew P. White (comp.). *A Select Bibliography of British and Irish University Theses About Maritime History, 1792-1990*. St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1992. 179 pp., geographical and nominal indices. £10 or \$20, paper; ISBN 0-969588-5.

The establishment of the International and British Commissions for Maritime History, both of which have assisted in the publication of this bibliography, illustrates the steadily growing interest in maritime history during the last thirty years. However, the increasing volume of research in this field and the varied, detailed work of postgraduate theses have often proved difficult to locate and equally difficult to consult. This bibliography provides access to this "enormously rich resource" (p. iv) in British and Irish universities. It developed from an information technology programme involving the production of a database without which the formidable mass of material presented here could scarcely have been marshalled and categorised so effectively. It ranges from a Glasgow M.D. thesis on scurvy of 1792 to a Keele Ph.D. thesis of 1990 on documentary evidence for medieval maritime technology in England and Wales.

Taking the widest definition of maritime history as "the study of all things associated with man's relationship with the sea," (p. v) the editors have abolished the invidious distinction between maritime and naval history, and, it is hoped, addressed the needs of future as well as current historians, including science theses with relevant subjects

as well as those from the humanities. The section on Maritime Law lists work on pollution and the maritime environment, and on the exploitation of sea resources. It is particularly useful to have the Open University and the C.N.A.A. theses listed.

The subjects are arranged under twenty-five broad headings; there are numerous chronological geographic and subject subdivisions and an author and geographic index to facilitate cross referencing. Though it is mildly irritating to have details sometimes split between one column and the next, the whole book is generally convenient and easy to use. The introduction explains the reasons for the format of the bibliography, its pattern of classification and the location and availability of theses. This has recently much improved and an ASLIB number is helpfully listed for the majority of post-1950 theses.

The editors are to be warmly congratulated for producing what will quickly become an essential work of reference. If it provokes scholars of other countries to emulate them it will prove a doubly valuable work. It is also an excellent inauguration to a new series, which the International Maritime Economic History Association is to be commended for sponsoring. Professor Fischer, the series editor, hopes to publish two titles annually, free to members of the IMEHA, including original monographs, research guides and reprints. All maritime historians must wish the venture a fair wind.

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Joel Mendes & Theodore J. Karamanski (eds.). *The Maritime History of Chicago; A Guide to Sources*. Chicago: The Chicago Maritime Society, 1990. xvii + 132 pp. US \$19.95 + \$3.50 postage and handling, paper.

This major contribution to the study of Great Lakes history is arranged in three sections. The first profiles thirty-two "research depositories" with collections of interest to the Chicago waterfront. These range from the standard historical "resorts" (the Chicago Historical Society, the Illinois State Archives, the National Archives' Great Lakes office), to the rich diversity of university and public libraries and their special collections, to the offices of the Board of Trade, the Naval Air Station, and the Customs Station. While some have virtually nothing to offer (e.g. the Customs Service), others offer surprises. For each, the guide provides information on address, names or contacts, admission policies, transportation to the site, duplication facilities and costs, finding aids, as well as the scope of collection as well as major or minor holdings. What the difference was between major and minor holdings was never clear to this reviewer, nor may it have been to the volunteers collecting the information. It is a distinction which might well be dropped. The sorts of information which might be reported was eclectic indeed. Thus, we learn that the Cudahy Library at Loyola holds a copy of *American Secretaries of the Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 1980). If this were the only copy in Chicago, it would undoubtedly be of some interest to naval historians in the neighbourhood. However, like several other items, its relevance to this guide is unclear. The cartoon stereotype of historians often revolves around an unnatural obsession with dates. Our compilers have drifted to the other extreme. Perhaps it is the fault of the finding aids in the various depositories, but the reporting on inclusive dates for various collections is wildly uneven. The information on the holdings of the Chicago Historical

Society is particularly frustrating.

The second part of the guide is a partially annotated bibliography in seven sections ranging from General Histories to the Modern Lakefront. It is complemented by a set of brief essays by Joel Mendes which introduce the volume. Particularly useful is the attention paid to environmental studies of the Chicago waterfront, perhaps hardly surprising, given the controversial nature of the long-proposed ship canal/sewer. The bibliography offers fairly good coverage of early government publications on the Chicago Sanitary District as well as the Illinois and Michigan Canal. More attention might have been directed to those critical primary sources: the local newspapers. Which papers ran significant marine columns?

The final section of the guide offers a slightly amended version of the Great Lakes timeline derived partly from a 1985 issue of *Inland Seas*. While it may fill a gap for Chicago area school children, it offers much less to the Society's members than the first sections of the guide. As the compilers have noted, "the definitive maritime history of Chicago remains to be written." (vii) Whatever projects its members may produce in the ensuing years, the Chicago Maritime Society has ensured that they should be well grounded in the appropriate primary and secondary material located in the region.

Walter Lewis  
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Colin Howell & Richard Twomey (eds.). *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*. Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1991. 275 pp., figures, photographs, tables. \$21.95, paper; ISBN 0-919107-32-X.

This collection of fine, revisionist studies of various groups who plied the oceans or who were socially, culturally, or economically intimately attached to those who did—men, women, African-Americans, seamen, master

mariners, captains, bachelors, and married men—provides both depth and breadth to our understanding of maritime life and labour. Though not all-encompassing, here is nevertheless maritime *and* social history at its finest and most provocative, painting portraits of maritimers whose faces have often been left only caricatured, if not blank. Boasting an impressive array of scholars, this book illustrates the apt use of many qualitative and quantitative tools including court records, oral history, popular literature and folklore, statistics, and official accounts and frequently conceptual borrowing from the most current interpretations of class, gender, and race.

The book consists of thirteen articles arranged in five sections, together with the editors' foreword and an afterword by labour historian Greg Kealey. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker provide an elegant and provocative look at interrelated working class and slave revolt, in which labourers at sea who shared a common consciousness as well as an anti-authoritarianism that often transcended nation and race played a visible role in the late-eighteenth century North Atlantic revolutionary world. Julius S. Scott contributed an illuminating study of Afro-American sailor Newport Bowers, whose working life at sea took him into Spanish America and the anti-colonial struggles of the early nineteenth century. The next section examines "resistance, punishment and the world of law." Nicolas Rodgers analyses opposition to the impressment of English sailors in the American revolutionary era and gives a very useful background on the broader context of this controversial practice of naval recruitment. The way in which the British naval mutinies of 1797 illustrate the tensions of class conflict and social hierarchy is the focus of Joseph Price Moore III. A solidly researched paper by Sean Cadigan explores the social relations of production in the Newfoundland fishery between the passing of the Palliser's Act (1775), which defined

the prevalent wages and ten system and its demise in 1832. Cadigan emphasizes that such laws little affected emerging industrial capitalist relations between planters and servants in the early nineteenth century.

Perhaps the most innovative section consists of four separate essays headed "gender, family and the world ashore." Citing cases of women disguised as men who went to sea, Dianne Dugaw traces changing notions of femininity as evidenced in ballads, memoirs, diaries, and other personal and public records thereby opening up hitherto neglected but historically significant dimensions of maritime history. Margaret S. Creighton in her look at American sailors and mid-nineteenth century rites of manhood pursues a similar theme in examining social and sexual objectification of seamen and seamwomen. Through her study of the New England whaling industry between 1790 and 1870, Lisa Norling looks at the institutionalization of culturally based gender stereotypes and divisions and their accompanying sentimentalization. Lastly, Valerie Burton deconstructs the myth of Bachelor Jack in the context of class, gender and power. Burton shows how the image of the seafarer reinforced not only notions of masculinity but capitalist labour relations in the merchant marine.

This collection then sails into the realm of reconstructing the physical and social profile of sailors through the meticulous reconstruction of quantitative data gleaned from naval records. James Pritchard examines the ill-fated French expeditionary force sent in 1746 to recapture Louisbourg; he reassesses the size of the fleet and provides a wealth of information on the composition of all French naval ranks, their origins, their age, and their military status, as well as the available existing pool of seaman in France as a whole. In turn, Ida Dye offers physical and social profiles of American seafarers during the War of 1812—age, rank, race, stature, physical appearance, and birthplace—and provides a composite portrait. A final

section in this collection consists of two very different studies of seafaring labour in the industrial world, with special emphasis on Canada. Eric Sager offers a thoughtful and compelling argument based on his study of the twentieth-century Canadian Seamen's Union to augment more traditional documentary sources. Finally, Del Muise rounds out the volume with a deeply researched examination of social and economic changes in Yarmouth, an important nineteenth century port in eastern Canada, and its seagoing workforce in the face of the industrialization of shipping in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In recovering the hidden and complex dimensions in the records of sail and the diverse, yet ordinary people who participated in its history, the articles in this book, both individually and collectively, deserve accolades for charting the largely uncharted reaches of our understanding that transcend national boundaries and encompass wider questions relating to work, race, gender, and change.

Rainer K. Baehre  
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Richard Apostle and Gene Barrett. *Emptying Their Nets: Small Capital and Rural Industrialization in the Fishing Industry of Nova Scotia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992. xix + 393 pp., maps, tables, figures, appendix, notes, sources. \$65, cloth; 0-8020-5894-9. \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-8020-6831-6.

This is a book that needed to be published. It is the work of a group of academics whose views are sometimes disapproved by the fishing bureaucracy. Several contributors have had their opinions printed in newspapers. This book will provide greater permanency.

It is a commendable effort, the culmination of a six-year research project designed to address serious shortcomings in many

government-inspired studies of the Atlantic fishing industry. Their chief criticism is that other studies have been either weighted on the anthropology of the primary producers, or else inordinately focused on the economics of the industry. To understand fully the industrial structure of the fishery a myriad of social and cultural factors must be taken into account. This was the goal of the researchers; the result is a worthwhile book.

Yet this is more than just another academic exercise. It advances a different and refreshing approach to the badly needed long-term restructuring of the fishing industry. At the outset it dismisses the view that recent expansion in the industry occurred only in the major processing companies. On the contrary, the phenomenal growth in many smaller independent enterprises have brought new life to numerous rural coastal communities. This is demonstrated through an in-depth case study of Clare Municipality, which takes into account the entire social fabric of this unique area and illustrates how it is inseparable from the economics of the local fishing industry. By way of contrast, a community in Cape Breton with its own unique but different characteristics is afforded the same in-depth treatment. Both case studies go beyond arm's-length surveys. The researchers in fact spent considerable time on site gaining valuable insights supported by documented data. Indeed, the entire book tapped sources frequently omitted by Task Forces and other investigative endeavours; small boat captains and owners, plant workers, buyers and brokers, fishing families. All were surveyed by the researchers. Another factor frequently ignored is the role of women in the industry. This study illustrates how important women are to the economics of the fishery.

The contributors make no bones that smau, while not necessarily always beautiful, is flexible, innovative, and can be economically prudent as well as sociologically desirable. In contrast, large plants can be both inefficient and unprofitable. The researchers

have therefore stated what has become obvious in recent years. While the major players in the fishing industry have foundered, the small enterprises have not only navigated troubled waters but many have gone on to thrive. It is also evident that modern technology and the ever-present drive for increased productivity can be self-defeating.

This book requires a prior knowledge of economics to weigh its thesis intelligently. Neither is it an easy read. This is unfortunate because once again, important information is unlikely to filter down to those most likely to be affected by changes in the industry-fishers and plant workers. It will therefore rest with university students who will be assigned this book (and there are likely to be many in the Atlantic provinces) to convey the core of its contents to residents of coastal communities.

The book has excellent tables (although very much dated), copious notes and helpful chapter summaries. Surprisingly though, there is not one word of former federal Minister of Fisheries Romeo LeBlanc who tackled the same problem a few years ago with equal vigour and vision.

Gregory P. Pritchard  
Blue Rocks, Nova Scotia

Sally Cole. *Women of the Praia: Work and Lives in a Portuguese Coastal Community*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991. xvii + 189 pp., maps, notes, bibliography, index, photographs, tables, glossary. US \$39.50 cloth; ISBN 0-691-09464-0. US \$12.95, paper; ISBN 0-691-02862-1.

The dustjacket correctly describes this book as a "richly sensitive ethnographic work," for this is one of the best ethnographies I have read. Sally Cole demonstrates a thorough and intimate knowledge of her community, allowing us to trust both her description and her analysis. It is her analysis, of course, that is so interesting, and which makes this book

an important contribution to a number of debates: about the role of women in fishing communities; about the consequences of "economic development" for women; about how women construct their lives in different (and sometimes hostile) circumstances and about how traditional disciplines, including anthropology, have got things so plainly wrong by ignoring what women have to say.

Cole begins, traditionally enough, by presenting the history and current dimensions and something of the conditions under which women live in Vila Cha, a small fishing village a few miles north of Porto, in Portugal. She also identifies her central theoretical concern to "integrate the voice and experience of actual women into a discussion of women and socio-economic change. Almost equally critical of traditional male ethnography of Southern (Mediterranean) Europe, with its stress on the concept of "honour and shame" and its consequent perception of women as "victims of their sexuality" and a certain form of feminist development theory that also tends to ignore the activity and interpretation of actual women, Cole chooses to focus on the women's work and economic activities and the way that helps them to shape a more autonomous and powerful construction of gender.

She carries out her project using a skilful blend of description and analysis with case studies (life stories) of five differently situated women-Alvina, an older fisherwoman; Maria, also an older woman, who had been skipper of a fishing boat; Laura, a few years younger, whose husband had emigrated to find work; Adelia, a young factory worker; and finally Fatima, a young stay-at-home wife, a traditional *donna de casa*.

The women of Vila Cha, like the men, indeed like the members of most inshore fishing communities the world over, were and are very poor. Throughout the book, the lives and conditions of the *Pescadores* are contrasted with those of the more prosperous farmers, *lavradores* in the surrounding communities. Cole makes the point that the

harshness of the battle for economic survival freed the *Pescadores* women from many of the traditional restraints of their richer sisters. The result was a much more egalitarian arrangement between the sexes, both within the family and in the community, bordering, Cole suggests, on female dominance of important spheres of activity. The women had used their role as hard and essential workers (*Trabalhadeiras*) to renegotiate much more satisfactory lives for themselves. However, the implied contrast with the *lavradores* women leads one to the unhappy conclusion that such autonomy can only be achieved in conditions of economic privation.

The problem surfaces more acutely when Cole turns to more recent changes in the community, exemplified in the stories of her two younger women - the factory worker and the *dona de casa*. It is one of the strengths of Cole's work that she does not abandon her ethnography in the nostalgic mists of the past, but resolutely confronts the unfinished and much more awkward present. Cole describes what are clearly significant changes in the conditions within which women negotiated their lives as the traditional fishery disappears and more and more *Pescadores* of both sexes find themselves working for wages in factories. As the household moves from an essentially productive unit to one focused on consumption, as women cease to be savers and guardians of the hearth and become instead spenders and creators of the idealized TV advert home, and as the successful household becomes more clearly dependent on the male wage, so many of the conditions of Vila Cha powerful, autonomous women fall away. Cole does her best to present this change in the most positive light possible, using the perspective of the younger women's preferences. Yet I remain unconvinced by this aspect of the book. By Cole's own account, the older women are highly critical of what they see as a loss both of the values they hold important and of their independence. Even the younger women are

open about the contradiction they find themselves caught in. For sure, Cole is right to assert that they are as capable of negotiating satisfactory lives for themselves as their mothers were, but it also seems clear that they have a tougher job on their hands.

So, for that matter, does feminist analysis. Sophisticated, sensitive and theoretically alert ethnographies like this one show us how far we have come in the last two decades. They also show us the range and complexity of questions we have yet to answer.

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Ålands Nautical Club. *Sjöhistorisk Årsskrift for Åland 1989-90*. Mariehamn: Ålands Sjöfartsmuseum, 1990 [Hamngatan 2, PB 98, SF-22101 Mariehamn, Finland]. 136 pp. ISBN 952-90-2529-7.

Considering its rich maritime past, it is no surprise that the **Åland Islands** boast both a very pleasant maritime museum and an active nautical association (*Ålands Nautical Club*). Both organizations are responsible for the publication of this maritime history journal, which was started in 1989. This is therefore the second volume in the series.

The book contains eleven articles, of which most are of more than just local interest. The first, by Allan Palmer, is an account of the 1990 season of the *Albanus*, a replica of a late nineteenth-century *galeas* which was built in 1987-89 in Mariehamn. She is now used for chartered cruises for school classes, business companies and other groups. In 1990 she visited Lakes Mälaren and Visby and proved an able and seaworthy vessel. Allan Palmer acted as her skipper on most of these voyages.

Marcus Lindholm takes us to a far more distant past. His article examines the wrecks located in one of the main entrances to the **Åland** archipelago, the fairway past Flisö and Degerby. They were found during a diving expedition in 1964 and were assumed

to date from the sea battle between Swedish and Russian naval forces in 1720. However, Lindholm concludes that the documentation of the excavation was so poor that more investigation *in situ* will be needed before the origin of the wrecks can be determined with any reasonable probability.

Per-Ove Hôgnàs describes the wrecking of a coastal sailer destined for Stockholm in 1811. The accident is quite well documented and highlights everyday life on such small craft. Of greater interest to an international audience are the two studies that follow, by Bertil Lindqvist and Gôte Sundberg (the curator of the maritime museum). They record the life and business activities of two Åland peasant-shipowners, Axel Erikson (the uncle of the well-known Gustaf Erikson) and Axel Karlsson. Both lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Åland shipping expanded from the coastal and Baltic trade to all the seven seas. Both were masters on several ships and owned shares in them as well; the former was even the major owner of a few. These ships included a few Canadian-built craft such as *St. Julien* and *Hanna Blanchard*. Since both studies include many excerpts from masters' letters to owners, they illustrate quite vividly what it was like to run elderly sailing vessels during "the twilight of sail."

For those desiring more information on Åland shipping history, there is a useful review of existing Ålandian maritime history literature by Justus Harberg and a presentation of archival material by John Hackman. There is also a presentation of the present state and future prospects of the *Åland Maritime Museum*, as well as activity reports of the Museum foundation and the *Ålands Nautical Club*.

All the articles are supplemented by short summaries in English which should make them accessible even for those who do not command the Swedish language.

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Shawn Thompson, *River's Edge: Reprobates, Rum-runners and Other Folk of the Thousand Islands*. Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing Company, 1991. 320 pp., photographs, maps, index. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-919431-46-1.

*River's Edge* is a lengthy collection of memorabilia of people connected with the St. Lawrence River and Thousand Islands. On the surface it provides vivid impressions of life along the river for many local inhabitants, based on visits and conversations with fifty-nine individuals living on the north and south shores of the river. In talking with so many different people, Shawn Thompson realized that there were varying themes and even close comparisons of experiences along the river. These themes are grouped into nine categories or chapters, such as "The Navigators, Rum-Runners and the Law," "River Rats and Church Mice," "Catching Some Sun: Guides and Trappers." Some subjects, such as the oil spill on the St. Lawrence River on June 23, 1976, end up being treated several times by several interviewees, with the result that, though the book is very easy reading, I found it too long.

This is Thompson's second book. *River Rats: The People of the Thousand Islands* was published in 1989. While *River's Edge* provides a wealth of personal information and local history that perhaps has not been previously documented, the book suffers greatly from very poor indexing, end-notes improperly numbered, and flawed maps.

A Name Index refers only to the individuals interviewed; it ignores many people who appear within the interviews. Thus, it refers us to an interview with Johanna Lawrenson which in fact is in the middle of a conversation with someone completely different, (p. 81) The index refers to the Gefell family, yet the heading for the conversation lists only Annie Gefell. Similarly, the index mentions only John Bishop, yet Les Bishop is also listed in the main heading above the conversation. The lack of a subject index

forces us to trust in luck to locate items of interest. Thus, Bob Liddell recounts his childhood experiences (p. 95) and mentions pre-historic Indian burial sites on Gordon Island, one of which he dug up without his father's consent, unearthing bones and arrowheads. An archaeologist might find such a first-hand account useful in locating sites, yet without a subject index, a reader cannot find this exciting piece of culturally significant information except by accident.

End-notes for page 156 are incorrectly numbered. End-note #1 refers to John Gray when in fact he is actually found on page 154. He should also have been assigned a different number, for this throws all the other numbers out of order. In the text, Thompson also lists the number one as an end-note twice (pp. 152 and 154).

At times, Thompson fails to qualify the statements of the people he interviews. He never challenges the remarks of Roly McIntosh, who "helped raise [what] was supposed to have been a gunboat. It was just really an old barge. The government must have spent thousands and thousands of dollars, down at Mallorytown Landing." (pp. 103-104) In fact the Canadian Government, which authorized the raising of this historic vessel (now on display at Brown's Bay), prepared an official report of their work on this site which indicates that the wreck exhibits characteristics consistent with Royal Navy construction and was probably used as a gunboat before ending its service as a barge later in its life. This interpretation is easily verified. Nor does Thompson challenge Bob Bertrand who states that "by 1621, they were livin' in Kingston." (p. 119) Is this an attempt to change Canadian history? Kingston was not founded until 1673.

Thompson's maps also leave much to be desired. Owen Island mistakenly appears as Spilsbury Island (pp. 312-313) and, on the same map, his codes of #4 (Sagistawika Island) and #14 (Endymion Island) are not noted on the corresponding map. There is no scale for the map mentioned on pages

310-311. On pages 314-315, #9 (Needles Eye) is incorrectly placed, while #15 (Cranberry Creek) is missing altogether, as is #2 (Squaw Island) from the map on pages 316-317. Don't trust the maps to find some of these people! Furthermore, placing a large map into the spine at the back of the book is a source of frustration since one has to force the book open to see the whole map.

In short, *River's Edge* is too long, occasionally repetitive, poorly indexed, and has unchallenged and historically inaccurate information. With better indexing and accuracy, I would gladly have paid the price; as it is, *River's Edge* is too expensive for what amounts to a few nights' interesting reading.

Ken McLeod  
Osgoode, Ontario

Louis Blanchette. *La tradition maritime de Matane; suivi d'un hommage aux capitaines de bateaux de la région de Matane*. 2<sup>me</sup> édition; Rimouski: Histo-Graff, 1992. 198 pp., cartes, photos, bibliographie. \$15.95 (+ \$2.45 poste), paper; ISBN 2-9802958-0-9.

La première édition était de 1984. De toute évidence, l'expérience profita à l'auteur: il revient en effet avec un compendium, illustré à profusion, de tout ce qui s'est passé au port de Matane et dans le golfe et le fleuve en ce qui concerne la mer, les marins et les navires. Les détails abondent, tous positifs, les navires changent de propriétaires, de capitaines, de destinations, de rôles et surtout de cargaisons: Matane reste le port d'attache de toute l'activité ainsi décrite. Tout y est, semble-t-il sauf les manquements!

Cette scrupuleuse extension renseigne sans l'ombre d'un doute et rend service à quiconque recherche le nom d'un navire ou d'un capitaine, la date d'un événement ou celle d'une transaction. La vue d'ensemble fait défaut mais son absence se justifie par le but même du livre: il vise à faire connaître l'histoire locale d'un port et de son



rayonnement. Sa force découle de ce qu'il est une deuxième édition, ainsi qu'on l'a noté au début: toutes les améliorations qu'on attend dans un tel cas, y figurent. L'enthousiasme et la compétence de l'auteur devraient entraîner la formation d'une équipe qui poursuivrait, sous son inspiration les études susceptibles d'approfondir les connaissances en histoire de la mer, dans tout le golfe et le Saint-Laurent inférieur.

Quoi qu'il en soit, on souhaite que M. Blanchette se trouve des collègues qui pousseront la recherche dans ce domaine essentiel. Son livre constitue une percée, une première exploration. Le recueil ainsi conçu est un peu hétéroclite. Elles n'en indiquent pas moins la voie à suivre. C'est de la véritable histoire locale.

Les cinq premiers chapitres constituent un tout qui, historiquement, se tient. Le chapitre VI pourrait être qualifié de dictionnaire biographique. Il est unique en ce domaine. Il a donc toutes les qualités et tous les défauts du genre: les personnages sont trop près de nous, voire encore vivants, pour que des jugements soient portés sur eux. Les chapitres VII et VIII sur la bataille du Saint-Laurent pendant la deuxième guerre et sur un certain nombre de naufrages apportent vraiment du nouveau. On ne saurait en dire autant du chapitre IX et des deux appendices qui reproduisent des articles de journaux.

G.-H. Dagneau  
Sainte-Foy, Québec

Margaret Conrad (éd.). *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia 1759-1800*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1991. 280 pp., maps, illustrations, tables. \$21.95, paper; ISBN 0-919107-33-8.

The virtually simultaneous arrival of the computer as desk-top publisher and the almost automatic publication grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, both in the 1980s, have combined

to produce a veritable spate of publications of conference proceedings. Many such publications leave the distinct impression that, while it must have been exciting to be in attendance and to exchange views with other participants, the papers presented could hardly have been the high point of the conference. Such is not the case with *Making Adjustments*. It contains a number of very fine papers impossible to consider justly in a brief review. Some explore new but minor themes in the history of colonial Nova Scotia. Others provide new illustrations of older important themes. Still others explicitly seek to revise standard interpretations. Yet all fit together nicely into a whole. The very strength of this collection raises somewhat different questions than the oft-heard complaints about such works.

At the risk of omission, I was particularly impressed with several contributions. Gary Hartlen's brief piece on slavery in the planter migration and Nancy Vogan's discussion of a manuscript tunebook from 1766 in the Colchester Historical Museum are both fascinating, the latter suggesting that many more documentary riches are still out there to be discovered. For new light on traditional themes, I was particularly taken by Gwendolyn Davies' biographical sketch of the curious career of the Reverend John Seccombe and Carol Campbell's outline of the early settlement of Truro by Scots-Irish from the American colonies (the non-Puritan planters). But the hallmark of this collection are pieces of major revisionism. John Reid and Julian Gwyn both argue that we need to put Nova Scotia back into imperial or transatlantic perspective; Gwyn insists that war was important to Nova Scotia. David Desserud maintains that neutrality in Nova Scotia during the American Revolution was hardly an apolitical stance. Barry Moody explores kinship and inheritance patterns in a planter township. Brian Cuthbertson, in one of several papers that extends well beyond the terminal date in the title of the collection, does something that

many scholars have spoken of as important but few have actually attempted, tracing the patterns and influences of the planters in the nineteenth century, in this case in terms of elections in planter constituencies. E. Jennifer Monaghan offers a wonderful keynote address on literacy and gender in colonial New England, with some obvious questions for colonial Nova Scotia, she even discusses the diary of a Boston schoolgirl of 1771 who had been brought up in Cumberland, Nova Scotia, although she does little with the apparent fact that the precocious young lady had somehow received considerable education in handwriting and exposure to books in an isolated frontier community before her arrival in the Massachusetts capital.

Although (perhaps because) this collection is so strong, I have reservations about its format, indeed about its very existence. Surely the many fine essays would have found a wider audience in a major journal, such as *Acadiensis*, which must have been substantially weakened by its inability to print these pieces. The chief justifications for a separate publication apart from a journal—lengthy synthetic editorial introduction, bibliography, and especially a careful index—are absent from this book. *Making Adjustments* is the second major collection of essays on the Nova Scotia planters in recent years. Their publication has certainly rejuvenated "Planter Studies." One must wonder, however, whether any further segregation of planter studies from the mainstream historical journals—and from the mainstream historical conferences, for that matter—is, in the long run, really such a very good idea.

J. M. Bumsted  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

T. C. Smout (ed.). *Scotland and the Sea*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1992. vii + 232 pp., photographs, maps, figures, tables. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85976-338-2.

This is a charming book, attractive to look

at, beautifully laid out and remarkably free of textual error. The editor is to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work. So, too, are all the contributing authors. It is rarely that one enjoys a whole collection of essays but, while I have my favourites, I found all of these offerings interesting and some of them quite fascinating. One of the great strengths of this work is its interdisciplinary range, authors being drawn from history, geography, English studies, institutes and archives. The result is that the reader is subjected to fruitful shifts in analytical focus and methodology from essay to essay, heightening one's awareness of the complexity of marine-based economies over a long stretch of time. Surprisingly, too, for a book that covers such a wide theme as Scotland and the sea, the volume hangs together remarkably well. Chronological organization helps: one has a sense of evolution and of logical consistency which contributes to the overall "flow" of the book, provides an (unwritten) subtext which permits the reader to make the mental shift from topic to topic and age to age, and does (as the editor claims) "bring into focus the immense significance for Scotland of being a maritime nation." Although born in Scotland, and on Clydeside at that, and although I practised maritime history for a while, I had not before thought of *all* Scotland in these terms. I will in future. This volume quietly and effectively makes the case that, from Roman times to North Sea Oil, marine-based resources have been of vital importance to the Scottish economy and to Scottish society.

I have been using the term "marine" rather than "maritime" because the book deals not only with what is normally taken to comprise maritime history (ships and shipping, seafaring, shipbuilding and ship-owning) but also with offshore oil, fish and fishing. Indeed, for scholars like myself who live and work in Atlantic Canada, the topics of oil, fish, what one author refers to as "maritime sharecropping" and the interface between domestic and commercial econo-

mies as illuminated by bait fishing, are all familiar. However, new insights are provided when they appear in the context of the north-east as opposed to the north-west Atlantic. Indeed, I have been made aware of how valuable~to both the authors of these essays and to scholars in Atlantic Canada~comparative work on the history and economy of the North Atlantic rim would be. We need to get together, or at least to read one another's work. We have much to discuss.

I have two slight complaints to make about this book. One is that a bibliography of recent work on Scotland and the sea would have been invaluable, but there is no bibliography at all; only chapter notes. The other is that the volume would have benefited enormously from something more generous than the one paragraph introduction by the editor, especially given the wealth of wisdom that T.C. Smout has to offer. This work cries out for an epilogue to encompass and reflect on what has been achieved in its pages. But perhaps that will come in a companion volume on "The Sea: a North Atlantic Rim Perspective," which is, I hope, something that T.C. Smout might now consider for a future endeavour.

Rosemary E. Ommer  
St. John's, Newfoundland

Yrjö Kaukiainen (ed.). *The Baltic as a Trade Road: Timber Trade in the Baltic Area; Competition Between Steam and Sails*. Papers of the VII Baltic Seminar, Kotka, August 1989. Kotka, Finland: Provincial Museum of Kymenlaakso, 1992; Publication #16. ii + 254 pp., tables, figures, 45 FIM, paper; ISBN 951-96183-3-3.

In August 1989 a two-day seminar devoted to Baltic trade and shipping was held at Kotka, a Finnish town on the coast just west of the border with Russia. Kotka began in the 1870s as a sawmill town and port of export of lumber. It was therefore entirely appropriate that the seminar should be

devoted to the development of the lumber trade and the transition, in the period after the birth of Kotka, from sail to steam.

This report of the seminar is distinguished by some excellent papers. A splendid example of the remarkable work done by Lewis Fischer and Helge Nordvik is provided by using the material in the British crew agreements now housed in the Memorial University of Newfoundland to examine the case of the maritime wages paid by sailing tonnage in the Baltic trades in the late nineteenth century. It concludes with a comment widely applicable to maritime historical studies, "a better comprehension of the maritime sector as a whole is only going to come when we know more about the economic history of the entire region...as ...more research is completed we should have a much better framework with which to situate maritime questions." (p. 254)

Yrjö Kaukiainen's study on profitability of sail and steam in Finland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries comes to the very ably presented conclusion that the existing primary sources do not provide an answer to the question of the relative profitability of sailing and steam vessels. His description of shipowning accounting methods in Finland in the late nineteenth century is probably widely applicable internationally. On the other hand, Sarah Palmer's study of "Sail v. Steam in 19th century Britain" would have benefited from a deeper analysis of the technical and shiphandling problems which beset early steamship ventures. British merchant paddle steamers were, incidentally, driven usually by side-lever and not by the very different beam engines Palmer attributes to them.

There are two interesting papers by Estonian contributors. One, by Urmas Dresen of the Maritime Museum of Tallinn, deals with the development of the port of Narva in the late nineteenth century and draws on material not previously accessible to English-speaking scholars.

The report is a most useful document

and should be in the libraries of every historian with an interest in the maritime affairs of Northern Europe.

Basil Greenhill  
Saltash, Cornwall

Edward H. Lorenz. *Economic Decline in Britain: The Shipbuilding Industry 1890-1970*. Oxford: Clarendon Press and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. x + 166., tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, index. \$63.95, cloth; ISBN 0-19-8288502-7.

This is not the definitive history of the decline of the British shipping industry for it is conceived and executed as a speculative piece. Nevertheless the book has an important place in the historiography. It is a timely exercise in stocktaking, incorporating a critical review of the existing secondary literature on Britain's twentieth-century economic performance as well as titles more specific to the shipbuilding industry. As comprehensive as one might reasonably expect for a text of this length, the brevity and lucidity of Lorenz's exposition suggests it will be well received by specialist and non-specialist alike. It merits a place on every teaching bibliography of twentieth century European maritime and comparative economic history, though the price may militate against its adoption as an undergraduate text. Undoubtedly, however, its greatest impact will be upon researchers for, while his thesis is neither wholly original nor entirely convincing, Lorenz raises significant issues and offers a challenging perspective on the comparative performance of the British and French shipbuilding industries.

In essence the argument is a familiar one: from a position of preeminence in the late nineteenth century British shipbuilders failed to maintain even a respectable share of the market in new tonnage into the latter part of the twentieth century because distrust between management and workers militated against innovation and reorganiz-

ation in response to changed market conditions. France makes an interesting and revealing comparison, more so perhaps than the obvious success stories, Japan and, latterly, Korea. From a much smaller base of production in the late nineteenth century the French were to match British production in the 1970s and '80s. Lorenz ascribes this to inherited systems of labour organization, the key difference being the craft basis of British shipbuilding. French nineteenth-century shipbuilders made use of large amounts of casual labour, often indeed employed part-time in agriculture. Management accordingly had a greater part in the direct organization and supervision of work. In Britain, by contrast, craft production tailored to the customized requirements of British and foreign shipowners left shipbuilding trade unions with greater autonomy and authority at the work place. Lorenz emphasizes managerial preference for a system which secured maximum value from cheap apprentice labour and self-motivated team work. Only in the post-war period when market conditions changed were demarcation lines and customary work practices seen as a restraint upon innovation. By then both management and unions were unwilling to contemplate the upheaval contingent upon a transition to techniques of mass production.

Ultimately Lorenz's argument resolves itself into a Chandlerian paradigm for the shipping industry and, by extension, British manufacturing industry in general. But he presumes rather than demonstrates the efficacy of managerial hierarchies in coordinating production to the demands of the twentieth century market economy. The task of providing detailed evidence is postponed to a future date, while questions posed in the final chapter reinforce the tentative nature of the thesis. We can look forward to a lively debate ensuing from Lorenz's book.

Valerie Burton  
St. John's, Newfoundland

S.K. Al Naib (ed.). *European Docklands: Past, Present, and Future*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1991. 85 pp., illustrations. £5.95, paper; ISBN 0-901987-82-4.

S.K. Al Naib. *London Docklands: Past, Present, and Future*. London: Thames and Hudson 1990. 130 pp., illustrations. £5.95, paper; ISBN 0-901987-81-6. Canadian distributor, Douglas & McIntyre, Toronto, Ontario.

The Reichmann Brothers have made London's Canary Wharf world famous. However, it is more than a story of developers getting caught on the downside. *London Docklands* and *European Docklands* present Canary Wharf and other reuse projects as part of a larger story of significant technological change and its aftermaths.

These well-illustrated books are labours of love by Dr. S.K. Al Naib of the Department of Civil Engineering, Polytechnic of East London. They blend appreciation of historical development, surviving artifacts, structures and sites with an understanding of the challenges facing planners, politicians, corporations and individuals worldwide as they wrestle with the problems of what to do with docklands rendered obsolete by technological and communications revolutions. There is also the story of achievement and successful conversion and adaptation.

Both books follow a similar pattern of historical analysis beginning with how and why the need for larger docks arose, how they were built, financed and operated plus what is happening now they are no longer needed in their original roles. *European Docklands* covers Antwerp, Copenhagen, Cherbourg, Rotterdam and Duisburg-Ruhrort. *London Docklands* understandably goes into more detail. In each case we are given enough historical and technical information to understand some of the forces, products, social patterns, technical problems and achievements which the docklands embody. We are introduced to the role of

factors such as changes in building materials, ship sizes, modes of power transmission ranging from mechanical to compressed air, hydraulic and electric, along with varying modes of land transportation and cargoes from opium and tobacco to petroleum.

Both books should be read by planners, politicians, developers and community activists looking for guidance as they consider the fate of other docklands now becoming idle or grossly underused as a result of changing patterns of manufacture, trade and transportation. There are also lessons, or implied questions, for maritime historians. Often regarded as scruffy, even embarrassing, industrial wastelands of the sort better people do not talk about, docklands are at the heart of maritime history and our history is richer for them. Should maritime historians pay as much attention to docks as they do to vessels and people? Dr. Al Naib and the reviewer think so. As an engineering professor, and historian, whose major area of research and teaching is understanding technological change and its interaction with society—be it past, present or future—I find works such as *European Docklands* and *London Docklands* very useful indeed.

Ships without docks are like ideas, artifacts or structures, without context. The written history and appreciation of ships seems to be growing faster than that of docklands. It would be tragic if the appreciation came only after most of the world's great old historically significant docklands had been levelled and converted to high priced condominium heavens. Canada has much to learn in this respect.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Al Naib for writing these books; let us hope it will be repaid by careful reading, more research and wiser planning for the future of the magnificent cultural and historical resources of our aging docklands.

Norman R. Ball  
Waterloo, Ontario

Peter Turnbull, Charles Woolfson, and John Kelly. *Dock Strike: Conflict and Restructuring in Britain's Ports*. Aldershot, U K and Brookfield, VT: Avebury Publishing Company, 1992. x + 270 pp., figures, tables, maps, appendices, references, index. US \$59.95, library binding; ISBN 1-85628-176-0.

In the 1989 national dock strike, British dockworkers, falling into a pattern already evident in the fate of coalminers, printers and seafarers, suffered an historic defeat. The National Dock Labour Scheme of 1947, which had enabled the Transport and General Workers Union (T & GWU) to exercise considerable control not only over the labour process but more importantly over the process of hiring and firing, was abolished; thousands of workers became redundant.

*Dock Strike* accounts for this defeat by examining the way in which the technological revolution in cargo handling associated with containerization created a surplus of labour, generating inexorable pressures for labour force restructuring. With the atrophy of the National Dock Labour Scheme under the force of these changing conditions both labour and management sought to alter the political regime governing the industry. Labour sought "*total regulation*" with the Dock Labour Scheme extended to all the country's ports, and a new, wider definition of dockwork; the employers... called for *total deregulation* of the industry." (p. 109) In the end, after a bitter fight, the employers won.

For those aware of similar events earlier in North America much of this will seem familiar. Nevertheless, the struggle in Britain occurred on a larger canvas, since the battle lines were drawn on a national scale, rather than on a port by port basis as in Canada, or a coastal basis, as in the U.S. Moreover, the assault on the unions in Britain was initiated and organized by the state as part of the Thatcherite revolution. One of the contributions of *Dock Strike* is thus that it demonstrates the power and militancy of British dockworkers. The Conservative govern-

ment had been in power for a decade before it felt able to declare war on this "avant garde of the working class," and even then not until technological change had opened up breaches in labour's ranks. When the state entered the battle it brought huge sums to pay to workers as a means of securing a victory over the union. As a government representative later conceded, "The decision by Ministers was that ex-registered dock workers who were made redundant by their employer would qualify for these payments *without any cash limits* on these payments." (p. 233) Over £250 million were allocated by the government and employers as direct and indirect payments to upwards of 6,600 workers involved in these "liquidation redundancies." The price of defeating the T & GWU was thus one that the Thatcher government was willing to pay "whatever the cost." The authors persuasively argue that, in the UK case, this concentration on developing coercive management has meant that too little attention has been placed on long-term investment in the ports themselves. The results are likely to be devastating as Britain's ports fall behind those of other European nations.

Dedicating their book to the great unofficial dock leader Jack Dash, the authors make no pretence of detachment. Yet, no one reading this book could fail to be impressed by the analytical clarity, wealth of documentation and intimate knowledge of the industry, which together make this one of the best works of its kind.

John Bellamy Foster  
Eugene, Oregon

Iain Ward. *5M/ Geng: The Hong Kong Marine Police, 1841-1950*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1991. xx + 214 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index. US \$19.50, paper; ISBN 962-209-286-1.

Some kind of emergency is always happening in Hong Kong and the Marine Police

are usually in the thick of the action, enforcing the law, suppressing piracy, or dealing with the effects of natural disasters or wars. This book, by a senior Marine Police officer, is about the formation and history of the force, from the founding of Hong Kong as a British colony to 1950. A similar sized volume would, no doubt, be needed to cover the period from 1950 to the present day.

From extempore beginnings the Water Police had, by the 1880s, become a disciplined force with a fine headquarters overlooking the harbour. Rowed boats gave way to steam pinnaces and eventually to purpose-built launches commanded by British and Commonwealth NCOs, all forceful and unconventional characters attracted by action and excitement, including frequent gun battles with pirates. The Chinese constables and crews were well trained, professional and long serving.

In the 1840s, pirate fleets of armed junks and lorchas controlled the coasts of Fuliën and Kwang Tung and major naval actions were required to defeat them. Later the problem became one of raids, robbery, extortion and hijacking, all of which, in the nautical context are defined as piracy and controllable, more or less, by police action. The book contains many accounts of actions to protect or recover pirated vessels, including large steamers.

Major new problems arose out of the Sino-Japanese war after 1937. Then came the Japanese attack in December, 1941. The Chinese personnel assisted in the evacuation of forces from Kowloon, then were released to look after their families while the Europeans joined in the final but hopeless defence. The survivors were interned in Stanley Camp.

When Japan surrendered in August 1945, the pre-war Colonial Secretary, Franklin Gibson, proclaimed himself Acting Governor, hoisted the Union flag, and informed the British Consul at Macao. Had he not done so, Hong Kong would have been handed over to the Chiang Kai Chek gov-

ernment in accordance with American policy and would have been taken over by the communists in 1949. As communist and nationalist forces fought on the mainland, Hong Kong's pre-war population, which had been reduced to a third of its 1941 size during the Japanese occupation, came flooding back at the rate of 100,000 a month. Both piracy and policing instantly returned. At first the latter was provided by naval personnel under Commander Gick; a Canadian, Lt. Timothy L. Bayliff, was a prominent member of the group, known as "Gick-force." The regular force was soon reconstituted and was able to make use of a selection of war-built craft, including naval tugs and fast Search and Rescue launches.

This is all exciting stuff and Superintendent Ward has set it out in a clear and readable manner, with excellent pictures, maps and appendices. Only an insider can put together this type of account. Presumably Ward is now at work on a companion volume to cover the period since 1950.

Douglas Maginley  
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

Alan D. Watson. **Wilmington: Port of North Carolina.** Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992. x + 213 pp., map, tables, photographs, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87249-778-X.

George R. Buker. **Jacksonville: Riverport—Seaport.** Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992. viii + 192 pp., map, illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87249-790-9.

These two books purport to deal with the history respectively of "North Carolina's principal port" and Florida's "major automobile import center." Neither is a patch on similar Canadian port studies that never dared aspire to become full-length books.

If one wanted to be charitable one could argue that neither of the ports was

ever particularly successful. Indeed, had nature been allowed its course the evidence is that they would not have been developed at all. Had it not been for the demands of wars (yes, right up to and including the Gulf War—these books are nothing if not current) and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, both ports, one suspects, would long since have silted up and been forgotten to all but a few who might have designs to continue their sometimes clandestine past and sneak into the U.S. with illegal cargoes.

Buker, erstwhile historian of the aforesaid Corps of Engineers, should have stuck with them: except for the last pages of his 165-page monograph we learn nothing about Jacksonville as a viable port for merchant shipping. Watson on the other hand at least has the idea of what constitutes the history of a vital and active entity that a good operating port is. But he needed the sure hand of an editor to put him on track and keep him there. Thus on pages 133-5 he discusses, however briefly, some of the essential features of the human infrastructure necessary to keep a port functioning smoothly.

Both books fail to give anything to entice Canadian readers to follow up on the research. Although both make fleeting reference to Canada (largely in connection with blockade-running), and Watson hints at factors that would have made Wilmington at least a problem for Canadian naval supply shippers to be aware of, we are left dangling without any suggestion that there might be more there to discover. Watson blithely acknowledges the existence of an icebreaker based at Wilmington without so much as a blink (p. 137) whilst Buker dismisses in two pages the cessation of activities at Jacksonville during World War II due to the untrammelled rampages of German submarines, (pp. 150-1)

It so happened that this reviewer was reading these books at the same time he was perusing Albro Martin's *Railroads Triumphant; The Growth, Rejection and Rebirth of a Vital American Force* (New

York, 1992) in which the distinguished American railway historian was less than complimentary about the acumen and enterprise of his fellow-countrymen south of the Mason-Dixon Line. There is certainly nothing in these two books that would do anything to change this opinion, and, indeed, the lack seems somehow to have spilled over into the habits of the two historians. About all that can be said of the books is that, as examples of the art of book printing and publishing, they are satisfactory. Only in this regard should the University of South Carolina Press feel satisfied with these two "Studies in Maritime History."

Kenneth S. Mackenzie  
Ganges, British Columbia

James P. Delgado and J. Candace Clifford. *Great American Ships*. Washington: The Preservation Press, 1991. 312 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, **bibliography**, index. Cdn \$25.50, US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-89133-189-1. Canadian distributor, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Richmond Hill, Ont.

In 1985, the US National Park Service was directed by Congress to conduct a national survey of maritime heritage resources. *Great American Ships* represents one of the most tangible results of the work of the National Maritime Initiative, as the programme came to be called. One of a series of guidebooks published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, *Great American Ships* presents condensed histories (and in most cases, an illustration) of selected vessels from the National Maritime Initiative's "Inventory of Large Preserved Historic Vessels."

The guidebook follows the generally-accepted definition of large ships as those being more than forty feet LOA. Vessels included in the volume either have been restored or were at time of writing the subject of a preservation effort; most are available for viewing. Many are open to the public, and a fair number are also still operational.



The guide is organized regionally. Each state or region is given a brief introduction. The vessel descriptions range from the very brief (a one-paragraph entry for the wooden steam tug *W.O.Decker* at South Street Seaport in New York) to quite lengthy (two pages for the USCGC *Taney* in Baltimore). The vessel histories outline the salient features of the ship's career and her current status. The descriptions often focus on the reason for the ship's nomination to the National Register, such as "the last surviving" or "one of the best preserved examples of."

Two prefatory chapters are well-organized and useful. The first, "A Maritime America," gives a broad outline of American maritime history by ship type, ranging from schooners to steamships to ferries. "Preserving Ships" outlines the history of maritime preservation. The story of efforts to preserve maritime history is of almost equal interest to that of the vessels themselves, and is worthy of fuller treatment elsewhere.

Many of the vessels in this book have faced more dangers in their second careers as heritage artifacts than in their voyaging days. For those with some knowledge of the maritime preservation field, there is a great deal between the lines in the descriptions of, for instance, the historic ships at San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park. In fairness to the authors, such issues are properly outside the scope of a guidebook, and they do candidly treat the problems of maritime preservation in "Lost Ships and Losing Battles," their epilogue.

*Great American Ships* is a useful guide to America's preserved vessels, and takes its place along side other works such as Norman Brouwer's *International Register of Historic Ships* and Alexander McKee's *A Heritage of Ships*. The book is marred only by some small errors, as when a photo of the Gloucester schooner *Adventure's* windlass is identified as her steering gear.

John Summers  
Oakville, Ontario

Edwin L. Dunbaugh. *Night Boat to New England 1815-1900*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992. xvii + 370 pp., maps, photographs, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. US \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-313-27733-8.

Approximately two hundred passenger and freight steamers (and their captains) which ran between New York and the ports of southern New England or between Boston and the ports on the Maine coast during the nineteenth century are identified in this book. Of particular interest to the author are the assignments and schedules of the Long Island Sound night boats, culled from the maritime press. These are rehearsed almost on an annual basis.

In addition to the mind-numbing accounts of steamer arrivals and departures and of vessels actually fulfilling schedules or under repair or used as back ups, this work has some information which is fascinating and some which is significant. It carefully establishes the links steamer operations had with railroads. Starting in 1835, passengers took rail service from Boston to a river or coastal port such as Hartford, New London or Fall River to make the connection with New York. Passengers from New York also used these water and land routes. The combination allowed businessmen to leave one city in the afternoon, sloop aboard a steamer and be on hand for work in the other the next morning. These links not infrequently led to railroad companies controlling steamers or shipping companies with a view to advantaging their owners. But after 1889, when one could travel by rail between Boston and New York, and even after the turn of the century when the night boats were taken over by a single railway company, they still did a brisk business. By then, however, such unscrupulous transport magnates as Cornelius Vanderbilt and Jay Gould had left their mark on the business ethics of steamer services.

Innovative technology was not much used after the formative years of coastal

passenger service. Even when metal hulls and compound engines were available, vulnerable wood hulls and fuel-hungry beam engines were preferred. Dunbaugh suggests that availability of timber and cheap fuel accounts for this backwardness. Ship owners' penchant for reducing competition and accepting identical rates and indifference to passenger safety may also have reinforced the status quo. Accidents were endemic. Hundreds of passengers and crew members were killed or hurt. Dunbaugh fully analyses collisions, boiler explosions, groundings, burnings and sinkings, their causes and casualties.

Steamers diverted to tasks in the Civil War are identified. The characteristics and schedules of a number of steamers marginal to sound or Marine Coast services such as Hudson River vessels and others working into St. John, New Brunswick and Yarmouth, Nova Scotia are mentioned. Vessels taken off their schedules to provide day trips for leisure-seekers are noted. Very little information on capital formation, freight tonnage and passenger numbers is provided. Even boiler pressures and ship tonnages are seldom cited. However, if you want to know the schedules of, say, the *Providence*, a wooden-hulled, beam-engined vessel built in 1867 and obtained by Gould and his flamboyant partner, James Fisk, for a sixth of its construction cost, this book has the answer. It also has a fine photo and illustrations of seventy other coastal steamers.

Robert Kubicek  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Normand E. Klare. *The Final Voyage of the Central America, 1857*. Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1992. xiii + 278 pp., maps, appendices, photographs, illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$32.95, cloths; ISBN 0-87062-210-2.

In 1857 the paddle steamer *Central America* (ex-George Law), sailing from Panama to

New York with 596 passengers and crew on the Atlantic segment of the New York to San Francisco gold rush sailing route, foundered in a severe hurricane some 160 miles southwest of Charleston, South Carolina. 435 lives were lost. Normand Klare, a descendant of two of the survivors, recounts the loss of the ill-fated vessel in this well written volume.

Proceeding chronologically, Klare carries the tale of the *Central America* tragedy from the building of the three-masted side-wheel steamer in 1847 to present-day attempts to salvage the vessel, lying in 8,500 feet of water, to recover the millions of dollars worth of gold she carried. Along the way he introduces us to William Lewis Herndon, the ship's captain, already famous for his exploration of the Amazon basin; the vessel's passengers, some well-known, others obscure; the effects of the hurricane and the attempts of the officers and crew to avoid, or at least delay, the sinking of the ship in order to save as many on board as possible; the only marginally successful attempts at rescue by other vessels that came to her assistance as the storm drove them and the *Central America* farther and farther apart; and the effects of the tragedy on the survivors and on the nation. The loss of the gold bullion was at least partially responsible for the Panic of 1857.

Although Klare's research into the greatest loss of life on a commercial vessel in the nineteenth century has left no stone unturned, his narrative emphasis is on the sinking itself and the heroic attempts by the crew to save the ship and its passengers. Here the story stands in obvious contrast to the loss of the *Arctic* off the coast of Newfoundland three years before. In that earlier calamity, 350 persons had died as a result of panic and cowardice on the part of the crew, a maritime disaster well documented in *Women and Children Last* by Alexander Brown (1961). In contrast, and as was recognized at the time, the officers and crew of the *Central America* upheld the finest tradi-

tion of bravery at sea as the hurricane overwhelmed their ship off the Carolina coast.

Readers will appreciate not only Klare's diligent research efforts but also the fact that the publishers have placed his footnotes at the bottom of the page—where they belong! They will also value his appendices containing an account of the ship's treasure and attempts since 1988 at its recovery, the lives of the survivors in the aftermath of the sinking, and a complete listing of the passengers and crew of the *Central America*.

As a model of diligent research and lucid prose, Klare's volume belongs in every maritime collection and collegiate library. Laymen and scholars alike will find it a solid investment in time and knowledge.

James M. Morris  
Newport News, Virginia

Sean Street. *The Wreck of the Deutschland*. London: Souvenir Press, 1992. xiv + 208 pp., maps, photographs, figures, bibliography, index. £15.99, cloth; ISBN 0-285-63051-2.

This slim volume is the story of the wreck of a North German Lloyd emigrant steam vessel with 215 persons aboard, including the crew of ninety-nine and three pilots. The ship departed Bremerhaven 5 December, 1875, outward bound for New York, with a planned stop at Southampton before heading into the Atlantic. Overnight the weather deteriorated, with strong winds and snow. During the early dawn of 6 December the vessel far off the intended course down Channel, fetched up hard aground on the Kentish Knock, a well-known sand bank to seaward of the Goodwin Sands near the Thames estuary. Forty-two persons perished.

The author, a freelance poet and playwright, was led to researching the stranding of the *Deutschland* after becoming interested in a poem about the vessel's loss by the nineteenth century poet Gerald Manly Hopkins, a Jesuit priest. Consequently, instead of

beginning with the full story of the wreck, the writer opens with a history lesson concerning the future German Chancellor Bismarck's life and rise to power and his subsequent domestic policies, with special emphasis on his suppression of Catholics and Jesuits. We then must plod on through the life and times of five German Franciscan nuns who were among the unlucky casualties of the shipwreck. Theirs is a sad story but hardly much of a nautical theme.

Sean Street is a skilful writer and makes excellent use of research material at his disposal, including the report of the inquest held by the North Essex coroner in Harwich, where the casualties were brought ashore. He also discusses charges of wrecking brought against some of the local fishermen, and quotes from the official inquiry of the wreck by the British Board of Trade. Since Street is a poet, we can forgive his use of some lubberly expressions in the text, such as "ceiling" for the overhead, "weight" for displacement, and that common redundancy "knots-an-hour." After finishing the story of the shipwreck, Street continues with more religious rhetoric and a discussion of Hopkins' poem about the wreck. It is obvious where the author's interests lie.

For those interested in maritime research, this book is not recommended until it is perhaps remaindered. It is much too expensive when considering that roughly a third of the material has no bearing on the loss of the vessel and does not enhance maritime studies.

The story of this wreck, as with many wrecks, reminds us that when handling a vessel the prime consideration at all times is good seamanship. As a Turkish admiral once remarked to that intrepid nineteenth century traveller Lady Hester Stanhope: "Allah is Allah, but I have two anchors astern."

Moreton J. Ensor  
Brewster, Massachusetts

Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma (eds). *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*. Madison: University Press of Wisconsin, 1991. xix + 226 pp., maps, photographs, figures, notes, index US \$40, cloth; ISBN 0-299-12640-4.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Rome's ancient trade with India was that it was established without conquest in an age when Roman power was at its height. Following the destruction of Carthage, Rome was enjoying an unprecedented monopoly of sea-trade in the Mediterranean; its supremacy was unchallenged. Yet the first attempt to take over the Red Sea-India trade route had failed in 26 BC. General Aelius Gallus lost most of his army in an unsuccessful attack on Marib with the object of seizing control of the spice trade and South Arabia's age-old East African commerce. As a result, Rome elected to avoid further confrontation and obtained an agreement to trade by inviting Arabian and Indian embassies into the Roman diplomatic world.

In an open market, the Romans found themselves in competition with Arabian and Indian merchants in the south, while expansion north was blocked by the powerful Central Asian empire of Kushan, which controlled the overland caravan trade route to China. Permanent trading stations were established however on the sub-continent of India and trade flourished for four centuries, with Byzantine Romans continuing to trade into the 6th century AD.

Muziris was the principal trading station on the southwest Malabar coast. More than a hundred ships sailed down the Red Sea from Myos Hormos or Berenice to India every year, leaving in July to catch the strong southwest monsoon winds for a fast run across the Arabian Sea to Muziris, and Broach further north, arriving in September and returning with the milder north-east monsoon from November to April. Goods were trans-shipped at the trading stations and ferried around the coast by Indian

vessels to be distributed inland by Indian merchants. Other important stations were Arikamedu on the Coromandel coast of the Bay of Bengal, and Mantai, a port of great antiquity astride the East-West sea route to the Far East at the northern tip of Sri Lanka, investigated and described in detail by the archaeologists. Rome exported a great variety of goods, including gold and silver coins as bullion; Pliny remarked that "in no year does India absorb less than fifty million sesterces." This caused the Emperor Tiberius to complain to the Senate "of the reckless exportation of money to foreign nations and even the enemies of Rome" in exchange for gew-gaws. Yet the evidence seems to indicate that Indian luxury goods, pearls, precious stones, ivory, ebony, spices, exotic animals and slaves may have been obtained by barter.

Thirteen eminent scholars combine forces to re-assess both the literary, and archaeological evidence uncovered during the past four decades. This makes the collection of essays in this volume a valuable contribution to the history of the period. It should be seen in perspective against the thousands of years of trading by land and sea which preceded it.

Edmund Layland  
Cape Town, South Africa

Richard W. Unger. *The Art of Medieval Technology: Images of Noah the Shipbuilder*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991. xviii + 168 pp. + 77 drawings, photographs, bibliography, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8135-1727-3.

In many ways, this is a sequel to Unger's well known earlier book on medieval shipping, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy: 600-1600* (Croom Helm, 1980). In this new work he has used a specific source, the iconography from the medieval and early renaissance periods showing Noah and the building of the ark, and employs this

material to develop a better understanding of both the way in which ships were built, and the role of the ship in the socio-economic changes in the medieval period in different parts of Europe.

A subsidiary theme of the book is an examination of the understanding that artists of the medieval period had of technical matters, and how this was reflected in their illustrations of ships and shipbuilding. The medieval artist portrayed shipbuilding as he knew it from his own local observation, both temporally and geographically. The depictions of Noah and the ark show shipbuilding and social organization at different locations and times in medieval Europe. Nearly all works showing shipbuilding involve Noah and the ark.

The earlier chapters in the book are mainly given over to a discussion of the religious role of most medieval art, the status of manual labour, and the place and symbolism of Noah in early Christian theology and art. Chapter 4 discusses the differences in the methods of hull construction between northern Europe with its clinker or lap-strake construction, with overlapping planks providing both strength and flexibility, and the early Mediterranean construction with planks fitted edge to edge and joined with mortices, tenons and dowels along the edge, giving a more rigid hull. By the tenth century skeleton building began to replace shell construction in the south, and over the next few centuries came to dominate large hull construction in the north. Unger examines the transmission of ideas and ship types between north and south. A change in social organization is postulated with the change in techniques. Shell construction requires individual highly skilled workmen, with the overseer filling an organizing role. With skeleton building the overseer or master shipwright determines the form of the hull by his choice of the frame and mould sections used when setting up the skeleton of ribs and stringers. The shaping and fitting of planks to the skeleton of

frames and wales, followed by caulking, is said to require less skill than the cutting and fitting of dozens of mortices and tenons along the plank edges.

The change is broadly reflected in the depiction of Noah as shipwright and shipbuilder. In the north he appears working on the vessel with simple shipwright tools, the T-axe and occasionally the adze, either by himself or with a few helpers. In the south he becomes the overseer of a more complex system with a larger and more specialised work force. He is the well dressed bourgeois in flowing garments, directing the work of a number of shipwrights stripped down to short tunics, and wielding a wide range of tools, axe, adze, chisel, saw, maul and auger.

The book makes fascinating reading for anyone interested in medieval shipbuilding. It uses unusual sources, the depictions of Noah and the ark, investigates them carefully, and uses the results to construct a picture of both shipbuilding methods and the differing and changing role of the various participants in the building of a ship. Although a scholarly work, the style is lively and the book should appeal to the educated layperson. For anyone with a specialist interest in medieval ship construction, it should be seen as a supplement to Unger's earlier work.

RJ.O. Millar  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Duane A. Cline. *Navigation in the Age of Discovery: An Introduction*. Rogers, A R : Montfleury, Inc., 1990 [Box 697, Rogers, Arkansas 72757]. xiv + 214 pp, illustrations. US \$17.50, paper; ISBN 0-9627213-0-1.

All right, we've been using the phrases dead reckoning all our lives, but where does "dead" come from? That's just one little puzzle which makes this book so interesting to modern mariners. Another question, why does an Arkansas writer have an interest in an early navigation study? The answer to the first question is that it arose from *deduced*

*reckoning*, which then was abbreviated to *ded. reckoning*. You know the rest. The second is explained by Duane Cline-his remote relative, Christopher Jones, came over on the *Mayflower*. In fact he was the captain! Duane is the National General Education Chairman of the Mayflower Society. He also did graduate work at Northwestern University and is a member of the US Power Squadron. He not only writes about historic navigational instruments, he makes them!

My interest in this book arose from the fact that the *Mayflower* crossing occurred in the same era as Champlain's twenty-three crossings and his exploration and mapping of the Great Lakes. Champlain wrote his own book on navigation techniques, but it was written from the point of view of an experienced captain of the early seventeenth century, some points of which are incomprehensible to today's readers. Cline clears this all up, with well-illustrated chapters on maps, lighthouses, quadrants and astrolabes, compasses, log-lines, and lead lines.

*Navigation in the Age of Discovery* is a refreshing relief from the theories of LORAN-C. and Sat Nav. The book is quite easy to read, and tells us from whence we came—nautically.

Theodore D. Wakefield  
Sewall's Point, Florida

Tim Joyner. *Magellan*. Camden, ME: International Marine Publishing, 1992. xviii + 365 pp., maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87742-263-X.

This is the first scholarly biography of Magellan since the publication of Lagoa's untranslated two volumes in 1938. It is an impressive piece of research, drawing on primary and secondary sources, and a mine of information on every conceivable aspect of his famous voyage. It is also a joy to read.

The book is divided into four parts. The

first summarizes early explorations by mariners of the Pacific, Europe, the Arab world and Asia, and the intense antagonism of Portugal and Spain as they expanded their commercial empires. The second is devoted to Magellan's early life, his youth as a page at court, his eight years spent as a seagoing soldier in Portuguese campaigns in the Indian Ocean which introduced him to the fortune to be acquired in the spice trade, and finally his defection to Spain after his public humiliation by King Manuel in rejecting his appeal for support. The third part examines the tribulations mounting the expedition after obtaining the enthusiastic support of Charles I. Such support was vital; not only did Charles' advisors try to undermine his confidence in Magellan but Portuguese agents attempted to sabotage the venture. The predicament faced by the Portuguese soldier-mariner serving a Spanish king at a time of intense rivalry is a constant thread: suspicions as to his loyalty, difficulties he faced when obliged to recruit Spanish captains and pilots when the Portuguese were among the best and more readily available, the need to keep plans secret from Portuguese spies and, in the end, to avoid Portuguese shipping routes. The fourth and longest part, devoted to the voyage, gives particular attention to Magellan's passage through the Strait. Joyner knows these waters from his days as an oceanographer in the US National Maritime Fisheries Service.

Joyner doubts that Magellan deliberately set out to circumnavigate the globe. His primary objective was to find a westerly route to the Moluccas which he calculated (incorrectly) to lie on the eastern side of the antemeridian line of the Treaty of Tordesillas. As the route to the Indies around the Cape of Good Hope belonged to Portugal, Magellan sought an alternative to guarantee Spanish access to the spice trade and deny Portugal's monopoly-and assure himself a fortune. Magellan had a "stubborn confidence" (p. 10) in his ability to carry out his purpose despite two mutinies, the wreck of

one ship, the desertion of his stores ship, losses from scurvy, a harrowing voyage across the Pacific, and other disasters. A complex man, it is ironic that this characteristic which ensured the success of his enterprise also prompted the rashness which led to his death in the Philippines.

This work deserves to take its place beside scholarly and absorbing maritime biographies such as Morrison's *Columbus*, Beaglehole's *Cook*, and Kennedy's *Bligh*.

Freeman M. Tovell  
Victoria, British Columbia

Roderick Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.). *Emporia, Commodities, and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400-1700*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991. xiii + 509 pp., maps, tables, graphs, illustrations, discussion of papers, bibliography, index. DM 102, paper; ISBN 3-515-05962-8.

As Adam Smith once noted, the discovery of the New World and the maritime route to the East Indies constituted the "two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind." For obvious reasons, the Colombian exchange has received the bulk of scholarly attention over the past few years. This, however, may change as the quincentennial of Vasco da Gama's epic voyage approaches. The fact that a wide range of scholars have been researching the implications of the economic, social, and cultural interchange that largely began with da Gama's arrival in India is admirably demonstrated in this volume.

The book is the latest in a series published under the direction of the South Asian Institute at the University of Heidelberg. It contains twenty-three revised papers from a 1989 Symposium focusing on the Indian Ocean and South China Sea trades during the early modern period. Many leading scholars in these fields attended and contributed to the volume, including N. Steensgaard, S. Arasaratnam, Leonard Blus-

se, Ashin Das Gupta, and Anthony Disney.

As with any collection of this type, the fundamental problem for the editors was to focus the vastly different research interests of these scholars around a central theme or themes. Ptak and Rothermund seek to accomplish this by grouping the papers around three fundamental questions: the debate concerning the function of emporia in the Asian maritime trade, the flow of specific commodities, and the role of Asian and European entrepreneurs in the trade. The editors also promise that this volume will go beyond earlier collections by fleshing out the "very general terms" that have hitherto characterized the study of traders and commodities, and by presenting emporia not as "isolated case studies," but in the context of larger trading networks.

While space precludes even a cursory summary of the articles, a brief overview of the volume seems in order. Part I seeks with some success to define and construct a model for Asian emporia and larger trading networks both before and after the arrival of the Europeans. Consistent with recent historiography, this section frequently reiterates the revisionist case for the strength and resiliency of indigenous economic structures, "despite a background of increased European power and militarism." (Arasaratnam, p. 37) Based on solid archival work, Part II provides a plethora of welcome detail on the flow of products throughout the Indian Ocean basin: Bengali textiles to Ming China, the opium trade in India during the Portuguese period, the bulk trade in salt in Indonesia, to name a few. This section should prove valuable for scholars working in relating fields. Part III attempts to define the motivation of indigenous entrepreneurs in pre-colonial India (not surprisingly: profit) and, despite limited sources, gives specific case studies on Asian merchants like the Persian trader Khwaja Shams-ud-din Giloni, and Europeans like the German trader Ferdinand Cron operating (for profit) in Portuguese India. Perhaps the most interesting

case study, however, is Disney's examination of the "aristocratic entrepreneurship" of the Viceroy Count of Linhares in 1630's Goa. Overall, this volume offers the reader a useful, if at times uneven, summary of the state of the historiography on the Indian Ocean trade, which defines the major lines of research and issues that will dominate this field in the years heading to 1997.

Glenn J. Ames  
Toledo, Ohio

James D. Tracy (ed.). *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade, 1350-1750*. Cambridge & NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991. viii + 504 pp., tables, figures, annotated bibliography, index. US \$49.50, cloth; ISBN 0-521-41046-0.

This second volume of essays derived from a 1987 University of Minnesota conference on "The rise of merchant empires" concerns the reasons for the dominance of European merchant enterprises, particularly in the powerful indigenous empires of Asia.

Douglass North sketches transaction costs, with familiar emphasis upon politics. He sees England and Holland as affording the best atmosphere for their monopoly trading companies. M. N. Pearson provides a wide-ranging survey of the influence of politics on commercial opportunity. The Asiatic powers were evidently less interventionist in merchant affairs than those of the west. Although the Spanish was never intended to be a "merchant empire," Pearson and North both execrate it as a case-study in failure. Thomas A. Brady's insightful contribution also focuses upon new European political organization as a major advantage. Merchant companies were allies and agents of their governments, running their companies as they would have run the state.

A much-needed revision of perceptions of the Portuguese eastern empire in the sixteenth century is developed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Luis Filipe F.R.

Thomaz. Although Portuguese monarchical capitalism aborted, trade to Asia and "country trade" in Asia increased throughout the century, providing a *major source of* royal revenue and private profit. After the 1580 union of the Iberian crowns, Portuguese merchants controlled the pepper trade and gained a role in the Spanish American empire. José Jobson de Andrade Arruda's complex essay considers the entire Luso-Brazilian empire as an investment. From the initial brazilwood, through the sugar trade, and on to the gold mines, Brazil paid the royal coffers well. While Brazilian markets expanded by a factor of five with the gold rush of the 1690s, the English had become the major beneficiaries.

Dennis O. Flynn's very suggestive comparison of the Tokugawa Shogunate and Habsburg Spain as silver exporting empires demonstrates that this was a staple trade like any other, once the phenomenal Chinese overvaluation of silver ended in the 1640s. Unlike some other contributors, Flynn describes Japanese society as decentralized, capitalistic, and profit-oriented from the early seventeenth century.

The use of force in determining terms of trade is presumed by James Tracy's introductory essay concerning the ruthless Dutch entry into the spice trade. Geoffrey Parker summarizes and supplements his earlier work on western weapons and organizational advantages; he claims that military advantages were the key to western conquest. Anne Pérotin-Dumon explores legal and commercial aspects of the relationship between pirates and power. Belligerent extortion was an early phase in many new trades, and part of the merchant's alliance with their states. While piracy was tolerated on the peripheries where new trades were beginning, it was usually superseded.

Readers interested in more northerly venturings will find two interesting essays by leading authorities. Russell Menard finds no revolutionary reduction in shipping cost for the English wine trade, the European spice



trade, or the English Atlantic staples trades. Jacob M. Price focuses on the Atlantic trades in his masterful survey of transaction costs, including agency, insurance, credit and the understudied matter of bad debts.

K.N. Chaudhuri surveys traditional explanations for western dominance, concluding that mutual benefit was essential to trade. China and Mughal India, like Venice and the hosts of the Hanse, allowed extra-territorial enclaves. The armed forts and naval squadrons were reactions to prohibitive protection costs.

Since these eleven essays collectively discuss scholarship in seven languages, the annotated bibliography is a welcome bonus. The book reaches no conclusions, but forms an exciting introduction to relatively recent and exotic discoveries in early modern economic history, and to the broad issue of western economic dominance.

Ian K. Steele  
London, Ontario

David Harris Sacks. *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. xxvii + 464 pp., illustrations, tables, notes, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-520-07148-4.

Between 1450 and 1700 northwestern Europe moved from a position at the margin of Europe's network of regional and global trade and communication, centred on the Mediterranean, to a strategic position at the centre of a global commercial and communication network linked through the North Atlantic. As the late French historian Fernand Braudel observed, the greatest achievement of the Europeans in the Age of Discovery was not the finding of the Americas but the discovery of the Atlantic with its system of winds and currents linking Western Europe to all the oceans of the world. No region within northwestern Europe was more deeply influenced by this

discovery than England. In the sixteenth century London's population soared from 50,000 to 250,000. In 1550 Bristol, the great West Country port on the estuary of the Severn, had a population of perhaps 9,500 to 10,000; in 1700 it was over 20,000.

This was a time when the narrow gates in the walls that closed medieval Bristol off from the countryside, the kingdom and the world opened wide to new global influences. The once dominant wool trade with western Europe gave way to a wide range of new commodity trades reflecting growing commercial ties with the Americas and Northern Europe. The number of occupations practised in the city grew significantly, while the growing importance of rural manufacturing and the complexity of overseas trade weakened the monopolistic elements in the regulation of production and trade and caused important shifts in the system of municipal governance.

The subject of David Sacks' book is attractive and timely; the themes he takes up—trade and occupational diversification, shifting social base of municipal authority, new relationship to the state, the growing importance of the countryside—are essential. However, his treatment of these themes will seem to many readers allusive and tangential. For example in a long book with ten chapters there are chapters on "A Shoemaker's Holiday," "The Spirit World," the "Registering the Pilgrimage," and so on but none on shipbuilding, fishing, the Atlantic fisheries, the Atlantic slave trade, seafarers and the seafaring community, charts and cartography, or Bristol's rural hinterland. In other words this is not a volume of maritime history or one which deals substantively with the Atlantic maritime dimensions of a significant English town. Rather, it might best be described as an essay on the impact of social change on attitudes to municipal governance and administration.

David McGinnis  
Calgary, Alberta

Nigel Tattersfield. *The Forgotten Trade: Comprising the Log of the Daniel and Henry of 1700 and Accounts of the Slave Trade from the Minor Ports of England, 1698-1725.*

London: Jonathan Cape, 1991. xx + 460 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, bibliography, index £20, cloth; ISBN 0-224-02915-0.

Historians have long been aware of slavery's central importance to the growth and development of the British Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result, numerous scholars have examined Britain's role in the transatlantic slave trade. By combining a detailed analysis of a single slaving voyage with an examination of the participation of England's small outports in the slave trade, Nigel Tattersfield has made a valuable contribution to the study of this key branch of English maritime commerce.

*The Forgotten Trade* is divided into two sections. The first is based upon a fair copy (completed in 1857) of a log written by Walter Prideaux, the supercargo of the *Daniel and Henry* of Exeter. Prideaux chronicled the events of a 1700 voyage from Dartmouth to the Guinea coast, the middle passage to Jamaica, and the return trip to England. The second section focuses on the role of English outports (Exeter, Lyme Regis, Plymouth, Bideford, Whitehaven, among others) in the slave trade. Using numerous port record books, High Court of Admiralty papers, Colonial Office shipping returns, and a wide array of sources from provincial record offices, Tattersfield demonstrates that while London, Bristol, and Liverpool may have been the leaders in the slave trade, numerous minor seaports sought profits from transporting human cargoes.

Prideaux's log reveals the many difficulties that characterised slaving voyages. The *Daniel and Henry*, like most Guineamen, spent weeks on the West African coast before completing its cargo of 452 slaves. The slaves' mortality rate during the ten and a half week crossing of the middle passage

was appalling; nearly half (206 or 45.5%) died before reaching Jamaica. Because of these losses, Prideaux experienced second thoughts about the trade's morality, and the *Daniel and Henry's* owners withdrew from further participation in the Guinea trade.

Throughout his presentation of the *Daniel and Henry's* log, Tattersfield provides an informed commentary about the representative nature of this single merchantman's experiences. Many English vessels were forced to tarry on the Guinea Coast, and numerous guineamen were accompanied by sharks across the middle passage, feeding on the jettisoned bodies of dead slaves. And like the owners of the *Daniel and Henry*, many entrepreneurs found that profits from black cargoes were illusory.

The slave trade's hazardous nature and its dubious profitability form two major themes in Tattersfield's examination of the outports' role in this commerce. In a port by port analysis, the author uncovers the labyrinth of business and family relationships that characterised England's overseas business community during this period. Investors in slaving voyages from the outports were well informed and acquainted with their counterparts in London and Bristol. Despite these connections, few of the many businessmen discussed profited from the trade. Nevertheless, merchants in virtually every port from Berwick in the northeast to Whitehaven in the northwest dispatched vessels to West Africa and the Caribbean. The focus on the outports' slaving voyages is a useful balance to the tendency of most slave trade studies to examine only the exploits of London, Bristol and Liverpool, the leading slaving centres.

The only problem with Tattersfield's useful book is his surprising assumption that Britain had played only a small role in the slave trade: "Britain was primarily acting as a whiter-than-white knight, a St. George on behalf of black Africa, who had never been greatly involved in the [slave] trade itself."

(p. 357) This naive view accounts for the book's title. Far from forgetting, most historians have fully realised Britain's prominent role in this commerce. Despite this weakness, *The Forgotten Trade* is a valuable account of the slave trade and is a worthwhile addition to the maritime history of the First British Empire.

Carl E. Swanson  
Greenville, North Carolina

Jenifer Marx. *Pirates and Privateers of the Caribbean*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1992. x + 310 pp., illustrations, select, bibliography, index. US \$32.50, cloth; ISBN 0-89464-483-1.

An exhaustive if not always exhausting overview of the subject, *Pirates and Privateers of the Caribbean* traces piracy from its origins through its historical practice in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The final chapter examines the decline of piracy in the nineteenth century and its modern manifestations in the drug trade. However, the main focus is the period from Columbus to Blackboard when Caribbean waters were a Spanish lake. Through an introduction and ten chapters sail French corsairs, Elizabethan sea dogs, Dutch "Sea Beggars," buccaneers, pirates and privateers—as motley a crew as ever went on the account.

As a writer/researcher/diver, Marx has worked for twenty years with her husband Robert on underwater archaeological sites around the world. While demonstrating a wide knowledge of the documentary sources, Marx seems to have written the book for a more general audience. With a topic like piracy that has been greatly romanticized, knowing where a piece of historical information originated is almost as important as the information itself. Unfortunately, Marx only provides references for direct quotes, depriving us of access to the original sources, and undermining the authority of her research.

The book is full of fascinating anecdotes

culled from missionary accounts, colonial documents and contemporary writers like the pirate-surgeon Esquemelin, the pirate-hydrographer William Dampier, the French buccaneer Louis Le Golif or Borgne-Fesse and Captain Charles Johnson, better known as Daniel Defoe. The book reads like a pirate roll-call with familiar names like Hawkins, Drake, Piet Heyn, Henry Morgan, Thomas Tew, William Kidd, Thomas Tew and Edward Teach or Blackboard. Lesser known villains include Montbars the Exterminator, El Diabolito, L'Olonnois and Calico Jack Rackham whose crew included the only two recorded female pirates, Anne Bonny and Mary Read. Men with one eye, one arm, a wooden leg, birth defects and psychotic tendencies parade across the pages, as do shipmates who joined willingly or, once captured, chose piracy as an alternative to death or marooning.

Lack of maps and too few illustrations detract considerably from the usefulness of the book, since many of the port towns and harbours mentioned either no longer exist or have been renamed. The book could also have used a heavier editorial hand to organize the material more tightly, remove some of the extraneous information, and correct the occasional typo. For students of maritime history, the book's main weakness is the author's failure to define clearly the difference between piracy and privateering. Traditionally, privateers served as a nation's licensed naval auxiliaries, capturing enemy vessels during wartime, while pirates took prizes indiscriminately and were universally despised as enemies of mankind and treated accordingly if captured. By failing to make this distinction, Marx leaves the impression that the two were synonymous and no ship at sea was safe. While the lines between the two activities were frequently blurred, there did exist an international system of law which tried to regulate the provision of letters of marque to privateers and the taking of prizes. Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal (and their

colonies) all had legal procedures in place by the sixteenth century to distinguish between authorized and piratical captures.

Readers seeking a survey history of Caribbean piracy will find this book full of colourful information. Those desiring an analysis of the social, economic or political implications of piracy and privateering will have to look elsewhere.

Faye Kert  
Ottawa, Ontario

L. G. Carr Laughton. *Old Ship Figure-heads & Stems. With which are Associated Galleries, Hanging Pieces, Catherades, and Divers other Matters that Concern the Grace and Countenance of old Sail-Ships.* London, 1925; reprint, Conway Maritime Press, 1991. xv + 281 pp., illustrations, plates (colour, B+W), indices. £80, cloth with slipcase; ISBN 0-85177-597-0.

This book was originally intended to illustrate systematically and in sequence the development of ship ornamentation in its various forms. When the available material proved so vast and scattered that complete research was impossible, the author decided to use English material supplemented, when possible, by foreign collections and data.

The eight sections of the book offer a complete history of naval ship construction and ornamentation. Little mention is made of mercantile practice. The use of terms of the shipwright's craft is made easier by three pages of key drawings illustrating "two ends and middle of a ship." (p. 1) The text is well supported by numerous sketches and is well documented by footnotes.

Few records exist of ship decoration before the thirteenth century except for remains of Viking ships whose principle feature was a snake, bird or animal head at the bow and small carvings on the tiller bar. Then, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, stages or scaffoldings appeared at the bow and stern. These became perma-

nent structures supported by Gothic arches with carvings of saints or royalty. Paint and gold leaf were extensively used, the outstanding example being the *Sovereign of the Seas*. Massive figureheads and supporting columns overloaded ships and frequently interfered with ship handling, particularly on French ships. Carvings and paint costs became so extravagant that Admiralty Boards placed severe restrictions on them. During the 1700s, there was an Oriental tinge due to the number of ships built in Eastern yards for naval and mercantile use.

Ornamentation of both bow and stern was usual on important ships but it was not until the attempt was made to combine the best features of the galley and sailing ship that the resulting beakhead made a conspicuous place for a figurehead. This became a regular decoration during the reign of Henry VIII, persisting until the advent of steel warships. The stern went through several developments, square, elliptical and round, until the round stern was authorized in 1817. The stern and galleries were lavishly decorated with carvings and figured galleries and rails. Nevertheless, neither figureheads nor stern ornaments were popular with the Navy Board and Admiralty. Twenty-three orders were issued 1703-1817 regarding the appearance of Royal Navy ships. One in 1742 stressed "the strengthening of ships and ordered the carvings of stern and quarters be made small and very light." (p. 19) Figureheads were abolished on all large ships in 1894; the last RN ships to be decorated with figureheads were sloops of the *Odin* and *Espiègle* classes during World War I.

This is a beautiful book with interesting plates and informative sketches. It is based on solid documented research of the shipwright's craft, yet it is easy and interesting to read. It will appeal to ship enthusiasts, model builders and collectors of marine art.

Arthur W. Mears  
St. Stephen, New Brunswick

M. M. Witt. *A Bibliography of the Works Written and Published by David Steel and his Successors*. London: Greenwich Maritime Monographs, 1991 [order from: A J. Simmonds, Maritime Bookseller, 23 Nelson Road, Greenwich, London, SE10 9JB, England], xi + 156 pp., illustrations, index. £27.50, cloth; ISBN 0-9517675-0-X.

The name Steel needs no introduction to the student of eighteenth century naval history, his "Elements and Practice of Rigging and Seamanship," "Elements of Naval Architecture," and his regular "Navy Lists" are all well known and in use even today. What is perhaps less appreciated is the full range of publications put out by Steel himself and, after his death in 1803, by his successors.

Mr. Witt has fully catalogued well over two hundred items ranging from textbooks through charts to pilots and sailing instructions. There is also an essay on the Steel family, and Witt provides genealogical details. The result is a well conceived bibliography that will be welcomed by professional **librarians**, booksellers and serious collectors alike.

This volume is the first in a projected series of standard reference works on naval and maritime history. It is also a fine example of contemporary book production. However, readers should note that the publisher has limited this edition to only 525 copies, of which numbers 1-500 are for sale. One looks forward to further publications in this series.

Norman Hurst  
Coulsdon, England

Adrian B. Caruana. *The Pocket Artillerist or: The Art of Coarse Gunfiring. A Handbook for the Safe Firing of Muzzle Loading Ordnance*. Rotherfield, England: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1992. 124 pp., tables, figures, glossary. £12.50, paper; ISBN 0-948864-09-5.

Gunners of the armchair variety and those

who actually get to stand in the swirling smoke of historic ordnance will find this book interesting. It will provide them with a thorough review of the principles and procedures regarding the safe firing of muzzle-loading devices of all kinds, ranging from heavy artillery on travelling carriages, through garrison guns and down to the Cohorn mortar.

Adrian Caruana's knowledge of guns was acquired during a lifetime involvement with artillery. Retired as a captain from the Royal Artillery in 1979, he is one of only two certified "proofmasters" of ordnance in the United Kingdom. He has written several books and numerous articles on the topic of these historic weapons. His prose is straight forward and precisely informative, but not the least officious.

Most modern pyrotechnics lack the extremes of actual gunfiring. When ignited, authentically-loaded ordnance will disturb the growth of trees one hundred yards down range and be heard six miles away. It is with this type of artillery work in mind that Caruana explains the construction of guns, their proof and test firing, the correct types and quantities of wads and charges, the ignition process, the treatment of misfires and the essentials of safety. Tables of original charges for rifled muzzle loaders, iron guns of 1859 and brass guns of 1780 are presented as are step-by-step drills for twenty-one configurations of men and artillery.

Contemporary treatises on the management of ordnance, such as the work of William Congreve, are important resources for artillery enthusiasts, but Caruana's book provides an accessible and modern approach to the subject. Although the cost of this slim volume seems high, the text is an entertaining and informative read that will be a valuable addition to any gunner's library.

Robert Malcomson  
St. Catharines, Ontario

R A . Stradling. *The Armada of Flanders: Spanish Maritime Policy and European War, 1568-1668*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. xix + 276 pp., maps, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-40534-3.

Within its limits, this is a useful study. The author set out to study Spanish policy and its implementation in respect to the rise and decline of the Armada of Flanders. The temporal coverage is less extensive than the subtitle suggests: the pre-history of Spain's permanent naval formation at Dunkirk, 1568-1621, is dealt with in a brief, but useful, prologue; the decade 1658-68 forms a briefer, and less useful, epilogue. Stradling's interest is focused upon the chronological narration of the challenges, successes and failures of the flotilla in the North Sea, Atlantic and Mediterranean between 1621 and 1658. Politics and administration are privileged; other maritime themes receive less attention. The author states that he "eschews discussion of shipbuilding techniques, material, equipment," etc. (p. 164). We learn considerably more about the land officials who administered the flotilla than we do about those who sailed in its ships.

The investigation is grounded in a detailed study of archival sources, especially Spanish. Unfortunately, many of the relevant Flemish documents no longer survive, and little use is made of the extensive archives of the Armada's principal opponent, the United Provinces. The study is written in modern idiom. The text has a tendency to move onto tangents, or less than fully developed themes where allusions are preferred to sustained development. Limitations of evidence for causal connections produces a conspicuous reliance upon 'doubtless' and related adverbs. The study of captains and crews in the chapter "Men and Ships" is episodic, with very little provided on the common seamen themselves. For example, in an age when, the author asserts, sea warfare was significantly influenced by the

ideology of religion, we learn little about the religion of the ships' complements. Indeed, we are told far more about an alleged firewood allowance speculation by Dunkirk officials in 1607-9 than about any aspect of the social and cultural life of the mariners. The evidence provided for prizetaking, by both the Armada and privateers, has very largely been previously published and Stradling here eschews further analysis of the statistical evidence as "marginal".

What is central to this investigation is the year-by-year chronicle of the efforts to create, sustain and exploit a formidable naval force in the Spanish Netherlands. Originally intended as a central feature of a *guerra ofensiva* against the Dutch, the Armada came, in addition, to be used extensively against the English and French. When defence of the Spanish heartland became the priority during the 1640s, the regional force was diverted south, to be used against the Portuguese and in the western Mediterranean. The placement of the Armada of Flanders within the larger strategic issues confronting the Spanish monarchy is a useful achievement. Stradling is careful to anchor his chosen subject firmly in the larger themes of the successive military and naval challenges facing Spain and its dependencies. He is not as judicious in establishing the relative significance of his topic within the larger fabric of history. The assertion that "Dunkirk, for so long master of prizes, became itself the single greatest prize of the war [of the 1640s], epicentre of the struggle for European mastery" (p. 131) remains unestablished and the reader who more than once senses hyperbole never has this concern put to rest by the author.

The clarity of this book most certainly could have been improved. What, for example, is "an unofficial privateer?" (p. 43) Is this the same as the "'private' privateers" introduced five lines later? For the latter, Stradling states these were "variously referred to by the authorities as *armadores* or *particulares*". The glossary defines *arma-*

*dor* (although *not* in a way which would explain the term "'private' privateer"), but for *particular* we are told "see armador" (neither term is included in the less-than-comprehensive index). Moreover, we are informed that royal licences were issued to *armadores*. (p. 47) These ambiguities are never resolved, and when a definition of privateer is finally provided (p. 204) it is strictly conventional. Overall, the reviewer is left with the impression of multiple dangling ends, never firmly tied together. This is unfortunate, for Dr. Stradling has knowledge to offer to the patient reader.

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Jean Boudriot and Hubert Berti; trans. David H. Roberts. *Chébec "Le Requin" 1750: Étude navires méditerranéens*. Paris: A.N.C.R.E., 1987; English translation, Rotherfield, England: Jean Boudriot Publications 1991. 154 pp., 22 plans at 1:48 scale, summary sheet at 1:72 scale, drawings, tables, photographs, documents, maps, bibliography. £82 (+ post & packing, £4 U.K., £6 abroad), casebound; ISBN 2-903 179-07-7. English text only, £12 paper; ISBN 2-903179-09-3.

Xebecs were among the fastest sailing warships ever built—originally lateen-rigged, with fine lines and very light scantlings, and carrying a press of sail. They were the preferred vessels of the corsairs of the Barbary States, and it was only natural that the French Navy should have also adopted this type of vessel for commerce protection in the Mediterranean. It was also only natural that Boudriot and Berti should have chosen one of those vessels—the *Requin*, one of four xebecs built at Toulon in 1750, and for which both original draughts and a dockyard model are available—as the subject for a monograph in their excellent series "Collection archéologique navale française." The monograph itself comprises a 152-page booklet (French text), an 88-page booklet

(English text), and twenty-three separate folded plans, all in a slip case.

Boudriot and Berti begin with a chapter in which they survey several different types of Mediterranean craft such as the felucca, brigantine, oared galley, tartane, lateen bark, and polacre. As the "family" of Mediterranean craft is a very extended one indeed, the authors restrict themselves to those types that were actually used by the French Navy at Toulon. Boudriot and Berti proceed from this general view to a history of the xebec and the use of this type of vessel by the French Navy between 1750 and 1779, when the last xebec to serve in *La Royale* was condemned. The heart of the book, however, is a very detailed description of the *Requin* and a very full account of the vessel's career. There are comprehensive notes on the thirteen principal 1:48 scale plans for the vessel—Plan No. 14 is a 1:72 scale version of the two larger scale lines drawings—and on nine more sheets, again in 1:48 scale, that show every one of the frames in detail. Further notes cover the intricacies of the rigging, cordage sizes, and painting; photographs of the dockyard model set out clearly the particulars of the deck, the various fittings, and the decorative work. The booklet is profusely illustrated throughout with lines, drawings, photographs of several contemporary models of xebecs, reproductions of contemporary engravings and documents, sketches, and maps.

An English translation has been very ably prepared by David Roberts. It is presented in a separate booklet that is paginated exactly like the French original so that the two texts can be read in parallel. Unfortunately, the illustrations have been reduced by approximately 10 percent, with the result that they, and especially the photographs, are less crisp than the ones in the original. More regrettable, two sections have been entirely omitted from the translation—the survey of different types of Mediterranean craft and the service history of the *Requin*. These economies have been effected in

order "to help reduce the cost." It is to be wondered, though, if model shipwrights, apparently the intended beneficiaries of the economies, would not be as interested in the missing information as in the details of masting and rigging and of framing and fittings. (For those who already have the French original, the English translation is available separately from the publisher at a cost of £12.)

This monograph represents a substantial and valuable contribution to the history of the French sailing navy and will be of interest equally to the naval historian and to the model shipwright.

G. Edward Reed  
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John McKay and Ron Coleman. *The Anatomy of the Ship: The 24-Gun Frigate Pandora 1779*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1992. 128 pp., figures, photographs, tables. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-583-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Press, St. Catharines, Ontario.

Built in 1778, HMS *Pandora* escorted convoys from Quebec to Britain during the American War of Independence. At war's end, she was laid up at Chatham until she was refitted in 1790 to hunt down the *Bounty* mutineers in the Pacific. She was wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef in 1791 while carrying the captured mutineers of the *Bounty*. The wreck's discovery in 1977, the Queensland Museum's underwater excavations, the recovery of artifacts, and the belief that a third of the hull is intact, encouraged the authors to research the vessel's construction and trace her history.

Ron Coleman is curator of Maritime History at the Queensland Museum; John McKay is an architectural draughtsman and a member of CNRS. Together they assembled eight pages of explanatory texts, six of photographs, and over a hundred of isometric and detailed scale drawings. The texts

explains England's late-eighteenth century frigate construction programme and describes the hull, armament, masts, rigging and all equipment, including the *Pandora's*, box in which the prisoners were confined.

*Pandora* was one of the *Porcupine-class* of frigates designed by Sir John Williams. McKay used thirteen Admiralty draughts of different *Porcupine-class* frigates as a basis for the hull drawings. The authors provide a section on copper sheathing and a table showing the lengths, diameters, numbers of copper bolts used in a 24-gun ship. *Pandora's* armament in 1790 included four 18-pounder carronades and twenty 6-pounder guns, one of which has been recovered. Anchors, cables, pumps, ship's boats, oars and sweeps, the prisoners' cell, and probable decorations are all described. The dustjacket shows a possible colour scheme. There is also a detailed description of Alexander Brodie's patent galley stove and still, which is visible at the wreck site. There is an isometric and six 1/72 scale drawings of the stove in the book's fittings section. The text includes a description of Pollard's steering system adopted as the Navy's standard in 1771; an isometric drawing illustrates the method of operation. The archaeologists recovered two parts—a copper spectacle plate and a pintle.

The isometric drawings are not to scale but show the external and internal hull, masts, yards, rigging, steering gear and the ship's boats. The excellent detailed drawings are to scales ranging from 1/18 to 1/228, though a mistake was made in giving the scales in the text. The principal scale in the drawing keys, given as 1/144, should in fact read 1/128; other scales in the keys should be adjusted accordingly. An *erratum* note was included with the book once the mistake was discovered; those who bought the book before this could be done, should contact the publisher. Some drawings, to provide significant details for clarity, are to no scale. These will be helpful to the model builder. Eight photographs show a model of *Pandora*



owned by the Queensland Museum in its various stages of construction.

Navy Board warrants, *Steel's Rigging*, and the 1787 general order were the sources for the masts', yards', riggings' or sails' sections. The rigging section has an eight-page list of the type, size, and quantity of rigging items. Thus, we read "Fifty Burton pendants, four inch round, five fathoms, wormed, parcelled and served." (p. 109)

This is a fine addition to the "Anatomy of the Ship" series. It is interesting, contains magnificent drawings and a wealth of information valuable to all interested in eighteenth century frigate construction. The book is essential to the model builder of naval vessels of that era.

Dan G. Harris  
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Roy E. Schreiber. 77ie *Fortunate Adversities of William Bligh*. American University Studies, Series *IX*, History, Vol. 108; New York, Bern, London: Peter Lang, 1991. 257 pp., list of sources, bibliography, index. US \$43.95, library binding; ISBN 0-8204-1516-2.

This is a short biography of Captain Bligh, whose legend is familiar to the cinema-going public, and whose life is familiar to those interested in the maritime history of the eighteenth century. The title refers to the fact that the major steps in Bligh's naval career, notably his promotions to captain and rear-admiral, immediately followed the unhappy episodes of the *Bounty* mutiny and the New South Wales rebellion. However Professor Schreiber does not claim that this provides any new key to understanding Bligh, and he avoids following up the suggestion that he suffered from a psychiatric condition known as "Intermittent Explosive Disorder." He is doubtless wise not to get involved in psychoanalysing the dead, but this does leave unanswered the question of what the book has to offer which is not offered by existing biographies of Bligh. This

is not a long work, and the text is further limited by such eccentricities as setting notes, apparatus and index in triple-spacing. The author does not claim to have discovered any important new sources or facts, and could not at this length compete with the established full-length lives. A reviewer has to ask what purpose the book serves. It reads as though it were a competent summary of the subject by someone not deeply familiar with it, for the benefit of those not familiar at all. It might almost be an undergraduate course written up for the press, except that the notes, though skeletal and uninformative, make it clear that the book is almost entirely the fruit of manuscript research. One can hardly criticise this in itself, but one may well ask if the author was sufficiently prepared for it. His very short bibliography omits numerous items of basic importance such as Beaglehole's edition of Cook's journals and Dawson's calendar of Banks' letters. The text reveals at every turn a very superficial acquaintance with the subject and period. To conflate the elder and younger Hyde Parker, or to refer to a vice-admiral being appointed a commodore, are not in themselves disastrous errors~but it would be hard to imagine anyone falling into them who was at all familiar with the eighteenth-century Royal Navy. One cannot help feeling that Schreiber might have been better advised to have spent less time with documentary sources most of which are well known, and more time using printed works to make himself acquainted with the period. There are important and original things to say about Bligh, and with a profound knowledge of the eighteenth century, a scholar of imagination might be able to say them in a book shorter than this-but it is to be feared that Schreiber is not yet equipped to do so, still less to write a new standard biography. This is not so much a bad book as a book without an apparent purpose.

N A . M . Rodger  
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Leonard F. Guttridge. *Mutiny: A History of Naval Insurrection*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1991. ix + 310 pp., photographs, maps, bibliography, index. Cdn \$36.50, US \$26.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-281-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

This is a remarkably interesting book. Guttridge covers a great variety of mutinies in a number of navies. In the British navy, pay appears to have been a cause of rebellion in *Egmont*, at Spithead, at the Nore and at Invergordon. This is to be expected, not necessarily because the British sailor is more avaricious than others but because British authorities have long had a tendency to overpay those in high office and to underpay those in more humble office—a dangerous practice as these four mutinies made clear.

For the layman and for the naval personnel seeking to minimize the frequency of mutiny, Guttridge lists and often analyses a remarkable number of mutinies. Like others before him, he tends to attribute mutiny to the incompetence of officers, overcrowded living quarters, poor food, insufficient shore leave, inadequate complaint procedure, awareness in the lower deck of neglect by those in authority and even, as in the case of the Russian battleship *Potemkin* or in the Imperial German Navy after World War I, political considerations of the moment.

Because of its consequences, there exists a general tendency towards the use of euphemisms when real mutiny arises: "incidents," "unrest," "disaffection," even "collective disturbance". Mutiny is not a word easily accepted at any level in a navy. Indeed, Guttridge casts some doubt about the exact meaning of mutiny. In the United States he implies some doubt about its definition, as there also is in the same country about the definition of sodomy which appears to cover a wide variety of modes of behaviour. Such doubt does not exist in British or in Canadian law, where there can be no doubt that a single or lone person cannot commit mutiny.

This was made abundantly clear by Lord Goddard, then Lord Chief Justice of England, in 1957 when writing the judgement of the Courts-Martial Appeal Court on the appeals of Grant *et al.* (Nos 10,11,12, and 13 of 1957). In dismissing the four appeals, the Lord Chief Justice clarified the issue by writing: "What is mutiny? There is no doubt that mutiny is a collective offence, that is to say it cannot be committed by one man." He later adds that it is an offence which deals with *collective* insubordination, *collective* defiance or disregard of authority. The definition of mutiny in the Canadian National Defence Act is equally clear in the same sense. In short, while there is doubt in the United States that mutiny can be committed by one man alone, there exists no such doubt in Canada where it simply cannot.

Guttridge's book brings to mind "La Vergue Et Les Fers" by the French author Alain Cabantous, a tale of mutiny and desertion in the seventeenth and eighteenth century French navy. There exists an interesting similarity of findings by both authors; this is hardly surprising as mutiny is simply mutiny wheresoever it may occur.

Guttridge makes at least one preposterous misstatement of fact. In discussing the Canadian naval mutinies of 1949, he quite wrongly states that the "findings of a secret inquiry into the affair were never published." (p. 234) This is quite unfair: our Mainguy Report was published by government without delay and made wild headlines in the media for months. This error is all the more surprising because, apart from listing certain press reports, Guttridge cites the Mainguy Report (p. 308); clearly he was aware of the Report's existence and publication. Such a slip inspires a measure of diffidence.

Nevertheless, Guttridge's impressive list of naval mutinies and his exhaustive examination of so many of them remains a matter of very real interest. While at times he appears loath to attribute blame, this may well be a result of the vast number of mutinies with which he deals. His book and

that of Alain Cabantous are quite the best of their kind which I have encountered and make of mutiny a much more common occurrence than most people suspect.

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David Curtis Skaggs and William Jeffrey Welch (eds.). *War on the Great Lakes: Essays Commemorating the 175th Anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1991. vi + 154 pp., map, tables, notes, index. US \$29, cloth; ISBN 0-87338-424-5. US \$17.50, paper; 0-87338-425-3.

This is the product of a top-flight conference held in September 1988 to commemorate the Battle of Lake Erie and to celebrate the long peace that followed.

Conference papers—especially those at popular, many-layered, event-filled conferences such as this one—inevitably exist on at least two levels: as prepared for animated delivery to a diverse audience, and as prepared for posterity, for publication. Immediately after delivery, a paper becomes a memento, and a potential historical essay, transformation is tricky, and depends upon editorial expertise. In this case, the editors have done a beautiful job, as has the book-designer. The ten essays by some of our best historians flow smoothly, yet retain individual variety, while end-notes satisfy even this note-addicted reviewer. Three essays on Canadian-American sources are supported by usefully-dense documentation. An index is followed by biographies of the contributors. Yet the editors have managed to retain buoyancy: Christopher McKee, for example, is a witty lecturer—far funnier in person than he can be in his impeccably-researched award-winning books; his jokes (if not his asides) are retained.

Here is Gerard Altoff's narrative overview of the battle; Frederick Drake presents a tightly-documented comparison of artillery,

W. A. B. Douglas gives Barclay well-deserved respect (as did Perry himself) and indicates the profound significance of his bravery for Canadians; Dennis Carter-Edwards describes the consequences of Perry's victory; R. David Edmunds analyses the Indians and their difficulties; Harold Langley, the complex quest for peace; Ian Pemberton presents a Canadian perspective and Christopher McKee an American one. Finally, Stuart Sutherland describes Canadian sources while Douglas Clannin outlines US manuscripts.

Should you buy this book? Yes, for two reasons. First, it provides a model for post-conference publication; second, it presents new material, new possibilities, for what previously seemed a well-worn topic.

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William J. Williams. *The Wilson Administration and the Shipbuilding Crisis of 1917: Steel Ships and Wooden Steamers*. Lewiston, NY & Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992. iii + 220 pp., appendix, bibliography, index. US \$69, cloth; ISBN 0-7734-9492-8.

In the summer of 1917, the British Prime Minister stated in a speech that the key to victory "is to be found in one word, 'ships'." By then, the Allied merchant fleets had been decimated by losses to submarine warfare. If enough new ships were to be built to counteract those losses, they would have to come from American yards. Woodrow Wilson's early attempt to structure an organization to build his bridge to France is the subject of historian William J. Williams' latest book.

In 1916, the United States Congress had legislated a shipping act which had as its focus the revitalization of the American merchant marine. Among other things, the legislation provided for an administrative apparatus to be known as the US Shipping Board. The board had the authority to establish public corporations for building,

commandeering in emergencies, leasing, and manning a fleet of merchant vessels. Out of that authority came the creation of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. One important element in the legislation was lacking, namely, language allowing a clear chain of command between the Shipping Board's chairman and the managing directorships of any corporations founded by the Board. A second problem—this one not in itself a fault of the legislation — was the human element. President Wilson had used poor judgement in selecting William Denman to head the Shipping Board. Denman, a lawyer from San Francisco, had practically no executive experience nor did he have any knowledge of the shipping industry or of ship construction. He did, however, have a thirst for power, and he exercised that thirst by attempting complete domination, not only over the membership of the Shipping Board but over the Emergency Fleet Corporation as well. Major General George W. Goethals received the appointment as General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. This was the same man who had engineered and overseen the construction of the Panama Canal. Goethals' long career had been spectacular, and because of his success in Panama, he was generally considered to be a national hero. As a person, the general was dogmatic, a characteristic nurtured and developed by the dictatorial powers he had held in Panama. He was therefore not the type of man to accept orders from an unknown such as Shipping Board Chairman Denman. The deteriorating relationship between the two men was further stressed by Denman's enthusiasm for a rather hair-brained concept stressing the building of steam-powered freighters, these to be constructed of wood, a scheme which Goethals strenuously criticized. Because of the clash of these two personalities, when coupled with opposing polarity over the direction of shipbuilding policies, the programme was in chaos for the first four months of its existence. Early on, President Wilson should

have established clearer lines of authority, something he could have done easily through an executive order. Instead, Wilson vacillated, hoping the two men would work out their differences. It was only when things reached an unworkable point that Wilson asked Denman to resign as Chairman. Goethals voluntarily submitted his resignation at the same time.

Williams' writing fills a void in the maritime history of World War I, and it does so in a most readable manner. If there is criticism, it is that he ends his story all too abruptly. We would like to have been told, for instance—an epilogue treatment would have sufficed—of the wartime and postwar performance of the wooden steam freighters which were the catalyst for much of the trouble between Denman and Goethals.

Considering his fine grasp of the first months of the ship construction programme of 1917, I would encourage Williams to pursue the story through 1918-19, after the point when Denman and Goethals resigned and the Shipping Board came under the chairmanship of Edward J. Hurley. This later phase was considerably more successful than the disastrous tenures of Denman and Goethals. An examination of the two administrators, Denman a failure, Hurley a substantial success, would make a great case study on how to and how not to run an emergency shipbuilding programme.

Charles Dana Gibson  
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Dan Van der Vat. *The Pacific Campaign: World War II. The U.S. - Japanese Naval War 1941-1945*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991. 430 pp., maps, photographs, sources, index. £25 cloth; ISBN 0-340-49661-4.

With the publication of this book, Dan Van der Vat has outstripped the accomplishment of his previous volume on the Atlantic War.

This is a sweeping, complete, and carefully considered text on the Pacific campaign. It is suitable for both the naval historian and the general reader; both will be able to devote time and attention to it with profit.

The book begins with two tidy chapters—well done, succinct and complete—giving the political and international background of the Pacific war, something which is not found in all studies of this subject. Having set the scene, he then continues to recount the story of the war in a fast-paced and accurate narrative, missing little. Totally devoid of notes, he laces his material with pithy and brief comments throughout, usually in parentheses, which do not detract from his pace. This may disturb the historian but it will certainly appeal to the general reader. The section on Sources and Acknowledgements is refreshingly short and clearly contains only those works which he actually consulted in the writing of the book (as opposed to some authors who list every book ever written on the Pacific campaign!).

Van der Vat's parenthetical comments make it abundantly clear that he is not enamoured of General Douglas MacArthur's strategic acumen or of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto's contribution to the Japanese naval war effort. On the latter he points out that a few more mistakes like failing to ensure a constant supply of properly trained pilots for the fleet would have ensured his being perceived "even by the Americans, as an asset to their cause." (p. 264)

The author also discusses the similarity of the Japanese experience and errors in the development of submarine and anti-submarine warfare to that of the Germans, observing that no one sought German advice or assistance with problems in any systematic fashion. He cites the Japanese army's attempt to build its own submarines for supply purposes at the end of the war without naval consultation as an example of inter-service rivalry and failure in coordination and command at the most senior levels. The book also contains an excellent description, sum-

mary and assessment of the Battle of Leyte Gulf, as well as an assessment of Halsey's now famous error and Ozawa's success at deception, describing Admiral Ozawa as the most talented of Hirohito's admirals.

This is an excellent book, almost totally free of typographical errors, and is highly recommended as an addition to any naval collection and well worth the price.

James C. Lawless  
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Edward S. Miller. *War Plan Orange: The U.S. Strategy to Defeat Japan, 1897-1945*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1991. xxi + 509 pp., maps, figures, tables, notes, photographs, bibliography, appendices, index. Cdn \$47.95, US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-759-3. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

War Plan Orange, the US maritime strategy to defeat Japan, is well known. However, its formulation and implementation has never before been explored as well and as thoroughly as in this ground-breaking work. Indeed, any study of the Pacific campaign or American strategic planning before World War II must now surely refer to this work.

Edward Miller, a retired executive, traces the development of the plan's many versions from its origins at the turn of the century to its succession in 1940 by the Atlantic-first RAINBOW series. The process that is unveiled bears out Miller's conclusion that American strategic planning, although free-form and informal in style, was effective nonetheless. From the beginning there was agreement among navy, and eventually army, planners that only a maritime campaign would defeat Japan if war broke out, and that it must proceed through three phases. First, Japanese gains would have to be contained. This would then have to be followed by an advance across the central Pacific. The third phase would require the final reduction of Japan through blockade.

The **planning** for phases one and three remained fairly consistent. However, very different approaches were developed for the advance westward; Miller devotes much of his study to a discussion of that debate. The process was dominated at various points either by "thrusters" who championed a bold thrust to the Far East, or by "cautionaries" who called for a more gradual advance. In the end, a strategy embodying elements of both approaches (but far more of the cautionary) was developed and, after some tinkering, formed the basis of the American victory in the Pacific. This complex process is explained well by the author, but should be warned that this is not light reading.

Miller's research is impressive. He has uncovered new evidence which allows him to advance fresh interpretations. For instance, he refutes traditional arguments that the mandate award to the Japanese at Versailles was disastrous for American strategy. The award meant that planners no longer had to be concerned with ticklish neutrality laws when acquiring bases for the westward thrust across the Pacific but could seize them instead from the enemy. Deep in an archives Miller discovered Admiral Kimmel's hawkish plan to lure the Japanese fleet away from the vulnerable Malay barrier to Wake Island; there they were supposed to be ambushed by the Pacific Fleet. Such aggressive thinking was the legacy of thirty-five years of planning that stressed instantaneous response and helps explain how Pearl Harbor could happen. Miller also presents intriguing information about important historical figures. The revered naval theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan is revealed as a bumbling strategist and we learn that Douglas MacArthur unwittingly signed the death warrant for Corregidor and Bataan when as Army Chief of Staff he endorsed a new cautionary strategy.

Despite the strength of Miller's work, controversies over War Plan Orange will undoubtedly continue to exist. In his recent biography of Admiral John Towers, for

example, Clark G. Reynolds credits him with influencing the decision to bypass certain island strongholds. Miller hardly mentions Towers and instead traces the idea back to Orange planners of the 1930s. Such debates will continue, but thanks to Miller's impressive scholarship they will be conducted at a more highly informed level.

Michael Whitby  
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Donald M. Goldstein & Katherine V. Dillon (eds.); Masataka Chihaya (trans). ***Fading Victory: The Diary of Admiral Matome Ugaki 1941-1945***. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991. xvii + 731 pp., photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8229-3665-8.

This is a highly revealing daily account of the activities and personal thoughts of Vice Admiral Matome Ugaki, Imperial Japanese Navy (UN). The diary covers the war in the Pacific from the decision to attack Pearl Harbor to the Admiral's last hour on Japanese soil before a self-imposed suicide mission on August 15, 1945.

The Admiral was an exceptional officer who served his country properly. After graduating from the Naval Academy in 1912, he received training at sea and specialty training in Naval Gunnery and the Naval War College. He then commanded a cruiser and a battleship before being promoted to Rear Admiral and appointed Director of Operations, Naval General Staff in December 1938. In 1941 he became Chief of Staff of the Combined Fleet and was promoted to Vice Admiral in 1943. He was seriously wounded when he and Admiral Yamamoto were shot down at Bougainville Island. In 1944 he became Commanding Officer, 1st Battleship Division and in 1945 was the Commanding Officer of the 5th Air Fleet. He accepted his share of responsibility for the loss of the war. En route to his suicide mission he observed that "...we have failed

to destroy the arrogant enemy...a failure which should be attributed to my lack of capabilities." (p. 665)

The editors have done an excellent job of placing Ugaki's writings in historical and military perspective. One need not be a student of the Pacific war to appreciate *Fading Victory*. The background comments provide sufficient historical or military context for the diary entries. Each of these entries is dated and begins with the weather, followed by a wide range of observations: details and comments on the activities of that day, military operations, battle entries, political comments, philosophical views of life, poems, tributes to his wife, on having a sake with fellow officers and mundane asides about his friends, his dog, haircuts and his bad teeth. The entries begin Thursday, 16 October, 1941 with Ugaki's comments on the Chinese Incident, the Tripartite Alliance and Soviet Russia. On the USA he writes: "the attitude of the United States has turned firm and positive and cut off our way of obtaining oil by freezing out funds...The most important and impassable barriers are the request for evacuation of our forces from China and the United States' attitude of not recognizing our superior position in the western Pacific including China." (p. 7)

Whether Pearl Harbor was a surprise or a sneak attack has been a postwar issue in Japan. Ugaki, with his respect for the Samurai code, was quite clear: "It isn't unfair to assault one asleep. This ensures a victory over a most careless enemy." (p.35) He did feel that the task force should have followed its success with a second major attack: "This [the return of the task force] is open to criticism as sneak-thievery and contentment with a humble lot of life. Since our loss is not more than thirty planes, it is more important for us to expand our results."

Ugaki had a low opinion of the enemy after Pearl Harbor. Yet he indicated disdain when he thought the Japanese could have done better, and admiration for the enemy when due, as with the defenders of Hong

Kong. On the Doolittle raid an agitated Ugaki wrote: "this shattered my firm determination never to let the enemy attack Tokyo or the mainland." (p. 113) He maintained his optimism after the American strategic victory at Coral Sea, the loss of four carriers with aircraft and a heavy cruiser at Midway and the long struggle for Guadalcanal. But on 31 December, 1942 he wrote: "How brilliant was the first stage operation up to April! And what miserable setbacks since Midway in June! The invasions of Hawaii, Fiji, Samoa and New Caledonia, liberation of India and the destruction of the British Far Eastern Fleet have all scattered like dreams." (p. 319)

For the remainder of the war Ugaki continued to believe in eventual victory despite the losses and lack of logistic support. The formation of the Kamikaze Corps pleased him but he had respect for midget submarines far beyond their real effectiveness. After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when Ugaki was ordered to suspend any positive attack on Okinawa, he wrote: "This seems to be endorsing our Surrender. I completely disagree with the order, as I believe that we should fight until the last moment." (p. 663)

*Fading Victory* provides a detailed view of naval operations in the Pacific during World War II. We relive the war through the eyes of a capable, arrogant senior naval officer with a fascination for the Samurai philosophy. We share his agony over the loss of his ships, his wife, his men, his fellow officers, and finally his country's war. We chuckle at his poems, his hunting, and his fishing (he broke two rods and took in only one prawn). We wonder about a man who suffered with aching teeth throughout the war, only to have them capped three days before his suicide. Our understanding of Admiral Ugaki increases with each page. How typical he was to the Japanese military mind of that era I cannot say.

Carl W. Ross  
Kingston, Ontario

Eric Groner (revised and expanded by Dieter Jung and Martin Maass). *German Warships 1815-1945. Volume Two: U-Boats and Mine Warfare Vessels*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1991. xi + 240 pp., drawings, notes and abbreviations, glossary of builders and dockyards, index. £35, cloth, ISBN 0-85177-593-4.

This is a sequel to the volume that covered Germany's major surface vessels (reviewed here in January 1991) from the earliest days of the North European German Leagues to the final days of World War II. Both volumes are major re-works of Erich Gröner's pre-war massive research project, with new and amended details added by Jung and Maass after his death in 1965. While they apologize for not being able to ensure that every single detail of every boat and ship is entirely accurate, it would be the harshest of critics and the most diligent of naval ship-building specialists who could find fault with these definitive references and their contents.

Included in this volume is every U-boat, from the earliest wooden trials models of 1850 to those which were planned but never built during both World Wars I and II; all are carefully described, with drawings provided whenever they existed or survived the war. Useful to both model-makers and those trying to identify photographs are such details as the provision of extensive tables showing the number, shape and placement of the hundreds of casing drainage holes in U-boat hulls! Every single U-boat's history is given in the class tables with their careers, in three or four lines, consisting usually of commissioning date and date and location of loss. Here the book suffers from its actual German publishing date of 1982, for recent research has amended about seventy of these loss dates and causes (see my article in *The Northern Mariner*, October 1991). There are useful sections on World War I U-boat bow and stern distinguishing features, on foreign boats taken into Kriegs-

marine service, and the ever changing details of conning towers, as well as brief sections on Type XXII to the projected Types XXVI to XXXVI. The Allies owe quite a debt to the armies that overran the Reich before these planned "super U-boats" could be built, for our warships would have been hard pressed to cope with their high underwater speeds, strengths and depths. Lists and modest details of the mini-U-boats of the *Seehund* and *Hecht* types are given, although the authors gave up on the manned torpedo types, *Neger*, *Biber* and such.

The large section on mine warfare vessels, starting with those of World War I, is a valuable and very detailed listing and description of this oft-neglected class of vessels. In this volume are covered not only the sweepers and layers, but small motor sweepers, including those captured throughout Europe, mine transports, defensive net layers and tenders, net barrage lighters and tugs. Again, a few lines are devoted to every vessel, often including in the case of these surface ships a word or two about post-war use. It is a stupendous listing, and not for the faint of heart or for those only vaguely interested. But for the U-boat or mine warfare buff or practitioner, it will be an invaluable and permanent reference, to be dipped into again and again, or consulted to resolve puzzles or arguments.

F. M. McKee  
Markdale, Ontario

Charles Dana Gibson. *The Ordeal of Convoy N.Y. 119: A Detailed Accounting of One of the Strangest World War II Convoys ever to Cross the North Atlantic*. 2nd ed.; Camden ME: Ensign Press, 1992. xxviii + 180 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. US \$28, cloth; ISBN 0-9608996-5-0.

Imagine trying to cross the North Atlantic during World War II in small coastal vessels and barges. This was the task assigned to



Convoy *N.Y. 119*; its perilous oceanic trek of late 1944 is chronicled in this book, which was first published in 1973. Gibson is uniquely qualified to document the story of *N.Y. 119* because of his own experiences in a similar, but later and much more successful convoy.

The story of this weather-battered convoy is told in ten brief chapters. A prologue provides a quick synopsis of the Battle of the Atlantic and developments on the beaches after D-Day which seemed to make this convoy feasible and necessary. Unfortunately, the publisher did not update the prologue with details of how "Ultra" contributed to the Battle of the Atlantic and the passage of this convoy. However, Gibson has added a succinct paragraph which partially offsets this drawback. An introduction outlines the story of the earlier US Army Transport Service (ATS) convoys, and the problems they encountered at sea and in port.

The main text follows the progress of *N.Y. 119* from its genesis to the conclusion of the salvage operations associated with it. In general Gibson remains faithful to the document record, but when the sources are patently inadequate, he recreates conversations and speculates on some details. These exceptions are, however, well indicated in the notes. The book delivers a good summary of the difficulties that the convoy faced (manning, ship selection, equipment failures and turbulent weather), but it has the feel of a diary or log entry rather than a real narrative. Each chapter is heavily sub-divided by date headings; even individual paragraphs are sometimes separated by a series of stars. Gibson's account of the disorganization and confusion which prevailed when this weather-battered convoy arrived in England is of particular interest.

The many photographs, illustrations, diagrams, and maps complement the text nicely. Warship buffs may be disappointed by his failure to include statistical data on the convoy's escorts. Given the relative lack of any significant German reaction to the

convoy this is not a serious oversight.

Overall, despite the rather disjointed structure of its chapters, this book still deserves to be read by anyone with an interest in North Atlantic convoys in general, and American ATS convoys in particular. It reminds us that in war, all forces and commands must be fully co-ordinated and organized to avoid wasting the fruits of their individual labours.

Peter K. H. Mispelkamp  
Pointe Claire, Québec

Patricia E. Gallagher LeBlanc. *From Tropical White to Battleship Grey*. Ottawa: Alone Publishing Enterprise, 1988 [PO Box 8312, Ottawa, Ont. K1G 3H8]. ix + 267 pp., photographs, illustrations, appendices, bibliography. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-9695814-0-8.

Edward LeBlanc began his career at sea in 1902 as a fourteen-year-old cabin boy on the American fishing schooner *Juanita*. He eventually rose through merchant ranks to attain the rank of Captain and served in a variety of ships, including seven schooners, a barquentine, two tugs, two naval trawlers, three cable ships, seven passenger ships, and fourteen freighters, nine of which were ships of the Canadian government Merchant Marine. LeBlanc's life was not without incident: he was washed overboard in 1911, survived the Halifax Explosion of 1917 and the depression which began in 1929 and continued through the 1930s, and was blown off the bridge of his ship by the nearby explosion of a torpedo in 1942. The appointment which gave him most personal satisfaction was as Master of R.M.G. *Lady Rodney* of Canadian National Steamships Limited from 1939 to 1942, a period that saw the transition "from tropical white to battleship grey" to which the title alludes. Awarded the O.B.E. in 1944 for "long, continued, faithful and arduous duty whilst serving at sea and in port" during World War II. LeBlanc died at Halifax in 1945 at the age of fifty-seven.

*From Tropical White to Battleship Grey* is LeBlanc's biography, self-published by his daughter-in-law with the encouragement and assistance of her husband, Eddie LeBlanc, who died in 1991, and other members of the family. It displays both the virtues and the vices of a book written primarily from the viewpoint of the subject's children and with a non-professional approach to both primary and secondary sources. The narrative is strongest when it conveys aspects of LeBlanc's character and career which would have been directly observable by his children. One example is young Eddie LeBlanc's description of an exciting nocturnal ride in a Buick equipped with a siren, accompanying his father, who at the time was Assistant Marine Superintendent of the Port of Montreal responding to a fire in the docks of Montreal during 1928 (p.92). Equally informative is the children's description of the unloading of a cargo of West Indian bananas from LeBlanc's SS *Cavalier* at Montreal during the 1930s (pp. 121-122). Significantly, the children's observations enable the reader to see LeBlanc, not as an individual without a care in the world, but as a family man struggling to support his wife Helena and their ten young children, four of whom died as infants, during economic times when appointments at sea were difficult to obtain.

LeBlanc's children did not observe him while he was at sea, and they are therefore unable to describe that part of his career. One has the impression that the author is floundering around for information, not quite sure about what other sources to consult in order to answer the question, "What did you do at sea Dad?" Personal papers in the possession of the family are used as discrete items at face value, mainly to reinforce the family's notion of events. For example, the family claims that the R C N treated LeBlanc unfairly over the years by refusing to renew the commission which he received as a Lieutenant during World War I, yet the author appears to have been

reluctant to consult the official documents in archives and other institutions in order to obtain the RON'S side of the story. The twenty-five books in the bibliography do not include Felicity Hanington's book *The Lady Boats*, a strange omission for the biography of a former master of one of those ships. As a result, the book is more family hagiography than impersonal biography.

*From Tropical White to Battleship Grey* does justice to its subject as an individual, but could have used the aid of some historical researchers and a competent editor to turn it into a more satisfactory contribution to marine studies.

Peter Robertson  
Ottawa, Ontario

Edwyn Gray. *The Devil's Device: Robert Whitehead and the History of the Torpedo*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1991. 320 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. Cdn \$39.95, US \$28.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-245-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

During the late nineteenth century, three innovations revolutionized naval warfare: the submarine, the mine, and the torpedo. Of these, the author informs us, the torpedo was the most important as launched from submarines, surface ships, or aircraft; the torpedo probably destroyed more ships in the first half of the twentieth century than any other two naval weapons combined. Yet the man who invented this powerful weapon, Robert Whitehead, is relatively unknown, a fault that Edwyn Gray has set out to rectify.

Robert Whitehead (1823-1905), a restless technical genius, was the son of an English industrialist. He early demonstrated a flair for innovation. After a sound theoretical and practical education in machinery design, he established an engineering works in the Austro-Hungarian empire. Appalled by the bloodshed he witnessed during the unrest of 1848, Whitehead resolved to invent

a weapon so terrible that it would make war impossible. The germ of the concept of the modern torpedo, a self-propelled mine travelling beneath the surface of the sea capable of sinking the largest ship, was suggested to him by a retired Austrian naval officer, Giovanni de Luppis. He had designed a small boat crammed with explosives, powered by a clockwork motor and guided by ropes for use from the land against blockading warships. De Luppis's prototype was unworkable, but Whitehead continued to work on the concept. In 1866, he constructed the first modern torpedo.

The author then traces the technical development of the torpedo from this first primitive prototype through increasingly more sophisticated designs. The Whitehead torpedo's acceptance by the Royal Navy in 1871 was its seal of approval and Gray provides some interesting new material on the important role played by Jacky Fisher in the gaining of that acceptance. His products now eagerly sought after by the world's navies, Whitehead had a number of competitors and imitators and Gray also describes their products.

It is curious that a technical innovator like Whitehead refused to take either the submarine or the aircraft seriously for it was the mating of the torpedo with the first in 1914-1918 and the second in 1939-1945 that revolutionized war at sea. Gray provides a good overview of the effect of the torpedo on naval warfare, how a smaller German navy equipped with torpedo-armed aircraft during World War II devastated the American battle fleet at Pearl Harbor, the Italian battle fleet at Tarante, and sank some of the most powerful warships at sea. Gray discusses in detail the problems encountered by world navies with the temperamental torpedo, providing some fascinating new information on the development of the Japanese "Long Lance" 21-inch weapon, perhaps the best of all the weapons modelled on the original Whitehead prototype. Rounding out this overview are some detailed and useful

appendices that provide data on three hundred different models of Whitehead pattern torpedoes in service from 1870 to 1991.

In short, this is an interesting and useful book that will appeal not only to those interested in naval history, especially the history of weapons systems, but also to readers interested in technical genius and innovation.

Donald E. Graves  
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Edward C. Meyers. *Thunder in the Morning Calm: The Royal Canadian Navy in Korea 1950-1955*. St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 1992. x + 248 pp., map, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-920277-71-3.

The author served two Korean War tours in HMCS *Cayuga* during five years in the navy. He writes, not as an historian or a polished raconteur, but with the bluntly expressed perspective of the lower deck. The official history of *Canadian Naval Operations in Korean Waters 1950-1955* (Thorgrimsson & Russell, 1965) is out of print and this book gives a valuable, though non-comprehensive, impression of the war and those navy times.

Some aspects which the official history skated over are specially interesting, like the grounding of HMCS *Huron* on the island of Yang-Do in 1953. The negligence evident from the Board of Enquiry stands in sharp contrast to the superb navigation of HMCS *Cayuga* in the daring Chinnampo operation in 1950 led by Captain J. V. Brook. Meyers expresses great admiration for Brook who was his CO, then marks him as one of those officers fighting to keep the RCN a clone of the Royal Navy. He talks of uneven discipline, frustrations and discomforts, boredom and excitement, black moods and the joys of Oriental ports, comradeship, the everlasting resilience of the sailor and pride in a job well done. There are pungent comments on officer-man relations, inefficient mail and

support services and the desire of men on the lower deck to be more "Canadian." This parallels the watershed "Mainguy Report" of 1949 to which Meyers refers—and misquotes—and which was just starting to affect substantial change.

Editing is inconsistent between text, appendices and chapter notes and he sometimes muddles the record, like turning yards into feet (significant when it's the distance between you and the enemy), and unjustly accusing the Royal Australian Navy of being dry! A more serious charge is that HMCS *Iroquois'* consort, USS *Marsh*, cut and ran when the Canadian destroyer was hit by Chinese shore batteries suffering three killed and ten wounded. Meyers claims that RCN ships were henceforth leery of support by the USN, and *Iroquois'* ship's company never forgave USS *Marsh*. This is unsubstantiated and, for the record, Rear Admiral William Landymore RCN (ret'd) who was *Iroquois'* captain at the time completely reflects it. This distinguished officer, it happens, tops Meyers' list of the four destroyer captains most highly regarded by the lower deck during the Korean conflict.

There's a gratuitous chapter on the unification of the forces, thirteen years after both the end of the author's naval service and the last gun of the Korean War. His bitterness about some officers' Royal Navy leanings is generalized here though Canada's navy had changed markedly in that interval to, in his own words, "the fiercely proud, highly efficient and well-respected naval force" that began its hard-earned development in those times.

The book has some unsupported conclusions and many errors in detail of ship's armament, equipment and procedures. However, it should be read for the colour and personal dimension it provides to an important and too little-known part of our navy's history.

Tony German  
Old Chelsea, Québec

Charles W. Koburger, Jr. *Naval Strategy East of Suez: The Role of Djibouti*. New York: Praeger, 1992. 114 pp., maps. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-275-94116-7.

For many students of naval and international affairs the expression "East of Suez" is a telegraphic description of the grandiose but threadbare maritime policy pursued by Great Britain in the Indian Ocean and beyond until it was unceremoniously abandoned by the Wilson government in the early 1970s. Accordingly, this slim little volume (in many ways an extended footnote on French naval and colonial history) is a timely corrective, alerting us to the fact that France had, and still has, its own "East of Suez" policy. At a time when our attention is focused on sea lanes in the South China Sea, the abandonment of US bases in the Philippines, and renewed concerns about mounting long-range maritime operations, it is valuable to examine the story of a relatively little known *point d'appui* which, if only by default, has gained rather than lost geostrategic significance over the years.

As Charles Koburger, the author of a variety of studies on the *Marine Nationale*, notes, Djibouti is "a country, a town, a port, an international airport, and a railway as well as a naval base." (p. xiv) While it is difficult to keep the different personae separate, his primary focus is on Djibouti as a base. The land itself is a god-forsaken enclave lying on the Horn of Africa: a wilderness of arid desert and remote highlands blessed, serendipitously, with a commodious, fjord-like harbour impeccably located at the Indian Ocean mouth of the Red Sea. Indeed, it is location that has conferred upon this port its not inconsiderable importance during the twentieth century.

Initially it was because Djibouti provided the *Marine Nationale* with an invaluable half-way house on the voyage from Toulon to Saigon during the French acquisition of Indochina in the 1880s. Then it was because of its position astride the much

vaunted "windpipe of empire," and more recently it was because of its propinquity to the Persian Gulf, particularly at a time when the naval resources of traditional Indian Ocean squadrons were shrinking and the number of classic naval bases was declining commensurately. Koburger provides the necessary statistics: 1400 nm to the Strait of Hormuz; 1300 nm to Suez; 2200 nm to Diego Garcia. No other naval "base" is as conveniently located to the geopolitical heartland of the Middle East, to that politically volatile, oil-rich pentagon, as Djibouti.

Lest this seem to exaggerate its importance, Djibouti was a primitive backwater of empire for much of this century which owed a good deal of its importance to being a place on the way to somewhere else. After World War I (during which it was associated with the hunt for German surface raiders) Djibouti lapsed into "its almost normal semicomatose state," (p. xix) a sun-wracked collection of warehouses, wharves and precious little else. The railway which linked it with Ethiopia threatened to draw Djibouti into Italy's Abyssinian campaign in the mid-1930s and Djibouti's adherence to the Vichy regime resulted in the imposition of a coastal blockade of the Côte Française des Somalis (CFS) by the Royal Navy in the early stages of World War II.

Koburger, in fact, devotes a good deal of time to describing the efforts of smugglers and other Casablanca-like characters to circumvent the blockade in dhows, schooners and submarines. This is all good anecdotal stuff but the author tries too hard to infuse these marginal episodes with historic or heroic significance and he overplays his hand when he suggests that Djibouti's survival rivalled that of Malta.

The Gaullist authorities took control of the CFS on 28 December, 1942. Thereafter Djibouti played an important role in supporting the French campaign in Indochina and the unrealized southern thrust against Ports Tewfik and Suez (Operation Toraador) during the Suez Crisis in 1956. Tora-

ador, according to Koburger, "marked the coming of age of Djibouti as a base." (p. 67) It acquired the necessary permanent operational organization and staff to initiate, direct and support areawide operations. The Commanding Officer Maritime (COMAR), Djibouti, reports to the Flag Officer French Naval Forces, Indian Ocean (one of France's four major naval commands), and although the CFS became an independent republic in 1977 Djibouti continues to provide the *Marine Nationale* with valuable logistical, repair, refuelling and intelligence services, monitoring, for example, the daily passage of thirty to forty oil tankers and the movements (in times past) of Soviet vessels in the area. Djibouti's value was further highlighted during the Gulf Crisis when a carrier battle group, built around the carrier *Clemenceau*, was based out of Djibouti for the execution of Operation Artimon, the French contribution to the coalition naval effort.

This is not a profound or particularly scholarly work—based as it is on a rather scanty collection of secondary sources—but it is a useful little addition to our knowledge of a crucial but relatively underreported maritime region of the world.

James A. Boutilier  
Victoria, British Columbia

Michael A. Palmer. *On Course to Desert Storm: The United States Navy and the Persian Gulf*. Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1992. xxii + 201 pp., photographs, tables, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$11 (+ 25% outside the USA), paper; ISBN 0-945274-09-2.

Michael Palmer's latest book is the fifth volume in the Naval Historical Center's "Contributions to Naval History Series." The title should be read quite literally, because the most recent activities of the USN in the Persian Gulf in the war against Iraq are barely mentioned. The objective of the book is to put the origins of American naval

involvement in this troubled region in historical perspective. The book effectively ends with the ceasefire between Iraq and Iran in 1988, which brought the so-called "Tanker War" in the Persian Gulf to an end. The events that occurred after 1988 are referred to in the preface and conclusion, but otherwise go unremarked.

Palmer traces the initial forays of the USN into the Persian Gulf in the nineteenth century, moving quickly into the twentieth century. He notes in passing that Captain A.T. Mahan's strategic musings on the Persian Gulf covered most areas of contemporary concern, with one exception: the importance of oil. The book dwells briefly on the growing involvement of US oil companies in the area in the inter-war period, but the main focus of the book is clearly, and appropriately, the post-war era. It succinctly reviews relevant US foreign policy activities in contiguous areas, such as US involvement in the Suez Crisis, the Six Day and the 1973 Arab-Israeli wars, but the focus throughout remains the Persian Gulf. The growing importance of oil or petro-strategy, is a well developed theme in this book. Another concerns American efforts to maintain stability in the area, without the commitment of substantial ground forces.

The importance of the USN in the American effort to maintain a discreet but influential presence in this volatile region soon becomes obvious. Palmer makes a persuasive argument for the continuing utility of naval forces in situations such as that in the Persian Gulf, where diplomatic complications and immense logistical problems make the permanent stationing of US ground forces very difficult. The book ends with the USN's largely successful operations in defence of oil tankers transiting the Persian Gulf in 1987-88, an operation which allowed the US to exercise considerable influence with a comparatively minor investment in forces. Included in a brief appendix by Dr. Hans M. Pawlisch are the details of Operation Praying Mantis, the retaliatory

actions undertaken by the USN in April 1988 against Iran after the USS *Samuel B. Roberts* was damaged by a mine. This operation resulted in numerous clashes between US and Iranian naval forces.

The book is tightly focused on an important but narrow subject, providing a concise history of a topic which defies facile explanations. Palmer's extensive research and experience as an author are well reflected in the finished product, which admirably summarizes the subject. His polished prose style is more academic than entertaining, in keeping with the nature of the topic. The many photographs, maps, and tables, as well as the well-organized index, useful appendices and reasonably complete list of abbreviations all contribute to a highly professional publication. While the book may not be suited for everyone, those wishing a good overview of the history of the United States Navy's involvement in the Persian Gulf need look no further.

Doug McLean  
Victoria, British Columbia

Gary Anderson. *Towards a Pax Universalis: A Historical Critique of the National Military Strategy for the 1990s*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1992; Newport Papers #2. 47 pp., paper. Available on request from: the Managing Editor, Naval War College Press, Newport, RI 028415010

The aim of the "Newport Papers" is to stimulate debate by distributing individual papers written by the faculty and students of the US Naval War College. This contribution should certainly do this. Despite its title, however, the paper is not historical. Rather, it is a strategic analysis that draws on some lessons of history to justify a new role for the US Marine Corps within the latest version of the US national strategy.

The author's opening premise is that in placing heavy reliance on a strong strategic reserve to protect American global interests,

the current "strategic vision" of US political and military leaders is flawed. To support this view, he embarks on a study of strategic reserves in the history of warfare. The trouble is, of course, that the present era has few historic parallels. Nevertheless, Anderson finds similarities between the American situation in today's complex world and the problems faced by the Romans, the Byzantine Emperors, and the leaders of post-Napoleonic Britain. He selects these diverse regimes as a basis for comparison because each had widespread geographic interests outside its imperial domain. He puts the US global security role into context by explaining it as one of non-imperialistic coalition-building. It is a role he sees as more akin to the old frontier marshal than to the popular image of global policeman.

From there, Anderson plunges into an interesting discussion of the successes and failures of the early superpowers, as he sees them, in keeping the peace within their areas of interest. His use of modern concepts such as deterrence and strategic intelligence to analyze the effectiveness of early military structures, is innovative yet potentially confusing. However, he deftly avoids the obvious traps by keeping the discussion short and simple. Perhaps a little too short in some places, for one is left wondering just how he got to his conclusion that the new US strategy is "visible" except in the Middle East. The rationale, one discovers, comes from a recent war game and the experience of Desert Storm. According to Anderson, without prepositioned forces or a forward operating base in the region, the United States will have great difficulty intervening quickly in the next Middle East crisis.

As possible solutions, he discusses four options: establishing permanent American bases in the Middle East, increasing military mobility, developing regional security regimes (hegemonic), and creating an enhanced naval power projection capability. Essentially, Anderson advocates the development of a "naval bridge" strategy using the

US Navy and, naturally, the Marines. This option, he argues, avoids the political problems of forward basing, would be less expensive than increasing the mobility of the US Army, and prevents future entanglements with difficult allies such as Iran. The problem with his proposition is that he does not explain how the new "Global Marshal" is going to convince the rest of the global citizens that their interests will be served by joining the posse. To many, the new "naval bridge" strategy will appear as a global SWAT team rather than as a true contribution to collective security.

Although one may not agree with his conclusions or his methodology, the way in which Anderson builds his case is fascinating. Relating the Roman, Byzantine and British Empires to the present American strategic situation may stretch the imagination a little, but the use of those examples is novel and not as unrealistic as one might think. The paper is controversial and provides much food for thought, and so is well worth reading. But have pen and paper handy because it invites comment from both the historical and the political perspectives.

Peter Haydon  
Bedford, Nova Scotia

Peter Mushkat, Fred Crickard, Robert Huebert (eds.). *Niobe Papers, Volume II: Oceans Policies in the 1990s*. Halifax: Oceans Institute of Canada, 1991. viii + 122 pp., maps, figures. \$18, paper; ISBN 0-7703-9262-8.

Fred Crickard, (ed.). *Niobe Papers, Volume III: The Canadian Navy in Peace and War in the 1990s*. Halifax: Nautica Books, 1992. 90 pp., \$10, paper.

The Naval Officers' Association of Canada has been sponsoring a series of annual conferences on an oceans policy for Canada. These two slim volumes contain papers presented in 1990 and 1991. Their contents

are of a high quality and deserve attention. Until recently there has been little published in the way of informed comment on Canada's maritime concerns and policies. These two relevant and well-reasoned volumes are therefore particularly welcome and should help to fill a large vacuum. The authors are an eclectic group expert in their fields and hence their papers are authoritative.

*Oceans Policies in the 1990s* has a wide focus; it spans topics from the law of the sea through environmental concerns to maritime security. These papers suggest how Canada's oceans can be managed and developed in an orderly manner. The most vivid contribution is by Stewart Wade, editor of *Fairplay International Shipping Weekly*, on international shipping and Canada. It sketches current trends and problems such as the lack of trained crews, the implications of running large tankers beyond their designed lives, and flags of convenience registries. Wade offers some considered advice on how Vancouver and Montreal, given the right tax incentives, could become significant ship management centres.

*The Canadian Navy in Peace and War in the 1990s* is written from the perspective of recent headlines. It describes the navy being used as an instrument of national policy in exercising sovereignty in Canada's oceans, in contributing to international operations in the Gulf, and in supporting diplomatic initiatives. The events covered and the views of the authors have particular relevance at a time when defence policy is being modified to fit the evolving international situation.

An obvious lesson from the analyses is the need for forces in being. Fortunately, Canada's modest navy—and its sister services—have been available when needed at the start of the '90s. As it happened, the tasks they had to meet did not involve the military threat which had dominated so much commentary during the lengthy Cold War. Surely the fact that they were needed urgently points to a continuing requirement which is fundamental to sovereignty for a

nation of Canada's size and stature. And surely the analyses provided in this volume could help to clear up woolly thinking about defence in a country which has maintained minimal military forces over the past thirty years. Substantial reductions in defence expenditures—a sizeable dividend—are unrealistic unless Canada wishes to relinquish its ability to exercise sovereignty.

Several noteworthy essays appear in this compact volume. A carefully-researched article by Ann MacInnis stands out for its reasoned discussion of how underwater surveillance in the Arctic could be partially achieved and how this would affect sovereignty. An interesting historical analysis by Vice-Admiral Brodeur demonstrates how in the past Canada was not taken seriously by her neighbour when intentions were not matched by actions and forces in being.

Both these trenchant booklets are attractively produced. They are thought-provoking, topical and recommended reading for anyone interested in Canada's ocean policies, civil and military. All three volumes of the *Niobe Papers*, and a forthcoming issue on the 1992 conference in St. John's, are available from Nautica Publishing, 1579 Dresden Row, Halifax, N.S. B3J 2K4.

Jan Drent  
Victoria, British Columbia

Peter Haydon. *The McNaughton Papers (The Canadian Journal of Strategic Studies) Volume II, "When Military Plans and Policies Conflict: The Case of Canada's General Purpose Frigate Program"*. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1991. 85 pp., plan, bibliography. \$10, spiral-bound; ISBN 0-919769-45-4.

The cancellation of the General Purpose Frigate Programme occurred almost three decades ago but it has never been completely forgotten within the Navy. Peter Haydon's paper clears away much of the mythology so that the true facts of this



episode may be examined.

Haydon's starting point is a consideration of the administration of defence policy. This is a complex topic and readers without previous knowledge may find this section difficult. Haydon has also chosen to examine the defence department organization in light of the later decision to unify the three services although this was not, strictly speaking, relevant to the decision to cancel the General Purpose Frigate Programme in 1963.

The paper next turns to the evolution of Canada's Cold War Navy. Haydon follows the Navy's fortunes from the cutback in 1945 through the Korean War revitalization to the introduction of the new NATO strategy of 1955. It is here that he identifies the beginnings of the commitment-capability gap. He further notes that naval planning in this period was hampered by the inability of the planners to identify the government's goals. It was to the Navy's credit that it became a leader in ASW technology even as it battled to establish its own strategic direction.

The paper suggests that this ambivalence contributed to the downfall of the General Purpose Frigate Programme. Recognizing the need for additional air defence for ships operating with NATO in the eastern Atlantic, work began on a new design with both ASW and area AAW roles in early 1961. Unfortunately, additional capabilities were later added which both increased the costs and compromised the clear operational need for a general purpose ship. It may be that the General Purpose Frigate Programme was doomed in the climate of fiscal restraint that followed the election of the Liberals in 1963. However, in Haydon's opinion the new Defence Minister Paul Hellyer managed to generate controversy not so much by cancelling the programme as by the process which he used to reach that decision.

Haydon has done much to illuminate the history of the General Purpose Frigate Programme by introducing and analyzing material from sources that were previously unavailable. His paper will be of particular

interest to those concerned with military-political relations in Canada. As a case study, this paper meets its goal of identifying lessons that may be valid today but readers should be cautious in drawing comparisons. As Haydon notes, the Navy was wiser as a result of the General Purpose Frigate episode. It would be fair to add that subsequent events have made the Navy wiser still.

R J. Summers  
Toronto, Ontario

Chuck Lawliss. *The Submarine Book*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 1991. 160 pp., photographs, figures, bibliography. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-500-01498-1.

Without doubt, the most revolutionary, strategic weapon system to emerge since World War II is the nuclear-powered, ballistic missile-armed, submarine—the SSBN. Ton for ton, no other single weapon system can even begin to compare with an SSBN for destructive capacity or seagoing utility.

Nuclear-powered submarines are the wonder warships of our century. Chuck Lawliss, who has no personal experience in submarines, makes this abundantly clear. He points out that the SSBNs and their smaller, more nimble sisters, the hunter-killer SSNs, are technological masterpieces embodying design features rivalling, or even surpassing, those used in space programmes. After all, surviving in the oceanic depths is at least as demanding as survival in outer space.

*The Submarine Book* is confined almost exclusively to a discussion of the American nuclear submarine programme. Information about the Soviet Union's, now Russia's, efforts, is understandably scarce. Because of the classified nature of the topic, Lawliss is severely restricted in subject matter. This leaves some pretty big holes in the fabric of his narrative. Nevertheless, he manages to keep his account moving at a fair clip and uses the information available to him to good effect. His descriptions of day-to-day

routine activities aboard a nuclear-powered sub at sea are interesting and his examination of the technical problems faced by the designers and operators is informative.

Lawliss also provides some interesting background to the development of the US Navy's nuclear submarine force, including a brief look at the career and personality of Admiral Hyman G. Rickover. The scion of the USN's nuclear fleet is depicted as a dedicated loner who single handedly envisioned, created, developed and directed the nuclear navy regardless of personal cost. Lawliss provides sufficient detail to give us an appreciation of what it must have taken to convince the Navy, the Congress and the American people to adopt such a controversial technology and to build nuclear-powered ships and submarines. Nuclear-tipped armaments for these vessels already existed and the marriage of the two was only a matter of time and opportunity.

Some of his observations, however, are poorly phrased. To describe the typical crewman selected for service in SSBNs as a "computer freak or Nintendo junkie" (p. 2) is neither accurate nor flattering. Similar gaffes are scattered throughout. For instance, as historical background the author has provided a brief overview of the development of the submarine; he also examines the use of submarines in wartime. Both of these discussions are riddled with mistakes of a very basic kind that could have been avoided through informed editing. Thus, the photo captions contain many errors, such as one which described "a submarine accompanying a convoy steaming toward England in the early days of [World War II]" (p. 73) which in fact is a Japanese sub at sea with units of the Japanese fleet in attendance. Such carelessness is unfortunate. While an astute reader might be able to recognize errors in the text, it takes a specialist's eye to do so in a photo caption. Since the book seems to be aimed at the uninformed layman, mistakes of this kind are unforgivable.

Because of the brevity of coverage in all

areas, the lack of reference to source material and the absence of an index, this book does not qualify as a reference work. Despite its limitations and flaws, however, it could serve as a basic general introduction to the subject from an American viewpoint.

Dave Perkins  
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

James C. F. Wang. *Handbook on Ocean Politics & Law*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992. xv + 568 pp., maps, figures, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$49.95 cloth; ISBN 0-313-26434-1.

The author, who is a professor of political science and international studies at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, intended that his *Handbook* should satisfy a need in "libraries, universities, governmental and non-governmental agencies concerned with ocean affairs" for "a single-volume reference book to provide accurate, comprehensive and timely background information and analysis" on an array of multidisciplinary subjects. Most are "salient portions of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention." (xi)

The book is arranged in five parts: an overview of the physical features of the oceans; a survey of multilateral international conferences on the uses of the oceans and the evolution of international principles on the law of the sea; a detailed review and analysis of the economic and political management of the living resources in the oceans, including access to resources and disputes over access rights, and non-living resources—oil and minerals, including deep-seabed mining; a review of environmental protection and pollution prevention measures for the oceans; and an overview of the principal uses of the oceans: naval activities, navigation, communications and shipping, and marine scientific research. The *Handbook* ends with a summary of the positions of "the major players" (states and regional and other groups of states) on selected

issues at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, from December 1973 to April 1982. Here and elsewhere, Wang has fairly and accurately assessed Canada's positions on some of the issues.

The book is comprehensive in the areas of resources, less so in other areas. The subject of fisheries, for example, is especially well-handled, as is Wang's treatment of the deep-seabed mining issue. It was disagreement over elements of the mining issue, under negotiation since 1967, that finally caused the USA and some other industrialized states to refuse to sign the Convention in December 1982. There are two instances of excessive detail in tables that together fill five pages: one is a list of the scientific and common names for some sixty-five "recognized small cetaceans," i.e. the dolphin family, the other provides totals of gross registered tonnage of merchant fleets by country in mid-1985.

In the part on uses of the oceans, there are several errors, e.g. under naval operations and on safety of life at sea conventions, and omissions, such as piracy, which is still a serious problem in the Caribbean and in Southeast Asia and has four articles on it in the Law of the Sea Convention.

Much of the information is current to early 1990, yet some of the entries, for unexplained reasons as in the case of a list of bilateral fisheries agreements for the brief period 1975-1978, are not at all recent. The general and name index has only about 350 entries of a possible 2081. There is no separate list of international and national (US) cases, and few of the cases mentioned in the text are indexed. Indeed, the greatest shortcoming of this *Handbook* as a "single-volume reference" is the lack of an adequate index. Perhaps the companion volume, *Ocean Politics and Law: An Annotated Bibliography*, is suitably indexed.

Allen D. Taylor  
Cantley, Quebec

John H. Harland. *Catchers and Corvettes: The Steam Whalecatcher in Peace and War 1860-1960*. Rotherfield, UK: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1992. 448 pp., lines drawings, plans, photographs, bibliography, indices, £65 (+ shipping), cloth; ISBN 0-948864-09-5.

It is no easy matter to critique a labour of love. In this case, John Harland has overtaken his magnum opus *Seamanship in the Age of Sail* (Annapolis, 1984) with another masterwork of similar size and scope, one detailing the evolution of the steam-powered whale-chaser boat. Yet, despite its title, the book is more about catcher boats used in "modern" whaling than about navy corvettes, though Harland does present a cogent argument for the versatility of the whale-chaser, and shows why its design was coveted by Axis and Allies alike for a variety of military functions during World War II. In getting to that point, we discover two other subjects which each might merit book-length treatment. One is the history of the chaser boat; the other is a brief treatise on marine engineering. Harland is a superb artist both visually and in writing: he describes the technical niceties of steam power in a way that lay readers can understand while previously-informed readers will nod their heads knowingly. His explanation of the workings of steam engines and their associated deck gear is very fine, indeed. This is therefore a book for modern whaling scholars, naval historians, ship modellers and artists. It is a technical book about steam whale-catchers. There is even some storm surge, since Harland is not averse to retelling a few whalemens' stories, of boats capsizing, gunners gone missing, and the big ones that didn't get away.

The technical drawings, well redrawn by John McKay from plans retained by Norwegian museums and shipping companies, depict the evolution of the steam-powered chaser-boat accurately and give sufficient detail for modelmaking and painting. A selection of vessels are included, from

earliest to latest, from common varieties to the unusual and the unique.

There are two quibbles. One concerns the positioning and captioning of the illustrations. Since none is captioned except by figure number, we soon discover that some are not cited specifically in the text, while for some reason, only photographs are identified at the front of the book. Thus it becomes possible to miss finding the explanation of an illustration in the text, with no recourse to the table of photographs. This is unnecessarily frustrating when short captions could have made for clearer communication between author and reader. The other minor quarrel is over the decision to call these ships *whaleboats*. This is a specific term to those of us who dabble in the sail-whaling trade; it means a five-to-seven-man rowed double-end wooden boat, about thirty feet in length and used in hunting the whale from a sail-whaling ship. Most whaling historians use *catcher* or *chaser* for the big steel steamers to avoid confusion.

These, however, are but blips in a well-researched, brilliant effort at encapsulating this little-known and little-cared-for class of vessels. The naval component will interest an entirely different group of readers, and the book is otherwise recommended to anyone with a passion for the speedy work-horses of the whaling grounds, the steam-powered chaser boats, that is, *whaleboats*.

Robert Lloyd Webb  
Bath, Maine

Dag Bakka Jr. *Hvalfangsten: Eventyret tar slutt*. Larvik, Norway: Krohn Johansen Forlag [P.O. Box 43, N-3251 Larvik, Norway], 1992. 216 pp., photographs, ship plans, maps, tables, bibliography. Price available from publisher, cloth; ISBN 82-90528-24-8.

In 1939, whaling was still dominated by Anglo-Norse interests, and from a technical point of view was essentially a Norwegian industry. The title of this book means *Whal-*

*ing: The End of the Adventure* and describes the decline of the Norwegian hegemony over the twenty year period, from the postwar startup in 1945, until the final collapse of the whaling industry in the 1960s. The author is one of the prime movers of the Norwegian Shipping History Society and a past editor of this group's journal *Skipet*. Besides his books on Norwegian shipping, his contributions will be familiar to readers of magazines like *Ships Monthly*, *Sea Breezes* and *Fairplay*.

The last of the four volumes of Johnsen & Tonnesen's *Den Moderne Hvalfangsts Historié* was published over twenty years ago. Bakka's *Hvalfangsten* offers a useful supplement to it, providing us with much information in a very convenient form. There are capsule histories of all the major companies, as well as on the whaling stations on South Georgia. Other sections describe the preparations for the expedition's sailing day in the fall, and life aboard the catcher boats. General arrangement drawings show the layout of several good-looking catchers built by Kaldnes in Tonsberg.

The gunners were the aristocracy of the whaling fraternity, since it was on their skill that the success of the whole expedition depended. In most cases they were also in command of the catcher-boat, and not unaware of their importance in the scheme of things. On one occasion, a pilot boarding a catcher in Cape Town asked the gunner "Are you the Captain Sir?" to which the gunner replied with barely concealed pride, "I am more than the Captain." (p.39)

The book includes mention of the British firms, Christian Salvesen Ltd, United Whalers, and the South African companies, all of which had very close Norwegian connections. It does not cover the whaling activities of the Japanese and Russians, nor indeed those of Aristotle Onassis, or the Netherlands Whaling Company, even though both the latter depended heavily on Norwegian technical expertise. The activities of some of the well-known "pirate" whalers of the 1970s, *Sierra*, *Run*, *Ibs a Uno* and *Ibsa*

*Dos* are described, and the efforts made by Greenpeace to frustrate them. There is peripheral reference to postwar activity in Canada, including British Columbia Packers' joint venture with the Japanese at Coal Harbour and the whaling engaged in by Karlsen Shipping of Halifax. There is also quite a bit about coastal whaling in Norway in the '50s and '60s, which was engaged in with marginal success from small stations at Blomvåg, Steinshamn, Skjelnan, and Hestnes on the island of Hirta.

Useful reference material includes a list of the gunners who served with most of the Norwegian managed expeditions from 1947 until the mid-1960s, and alphabetical lists, with many photos and technical data concerning the factory ships, transports and catchers which served with the postwar expeditions.

Nicely produced on glossy paper, this book will appeal most to those with a reading knowledge of Norwegian, but the photographs and the lists referred to in the previous paragraph, would be of use to a reader with no acquaintanceship with the language at all. One hopes that one of the English maritime publishers may see their way clear to translating and putting this book out, once the current pall of gloom and doom hanging over the publishing trade has evaporated.

John H. Harland  
Kelowna, British Columbia

James R. Gibson. *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785-1841*. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1992. xxii + 422 pp., maps, illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-0829-5.

The book covers a broader subject than its title suggests. While the maritime fur trade between the northwest coast of America and China is at the centre of the story, Gibson

develops the whole subject of North Pacific trade between 1785, when the fur trade on the northwest coast began, and 1841, when American involvement in trade on the coast ended. By choosing 1785 as his starting date, Gibson excludes, other than a brief mention, the Russian fur trade with China prior to that date. For this, we must go to a paper (unpublished as I write) presented by Gibson to the Vancouver Conference on Exploration and Discovery, sponsored by Simon Fraser University in April 1992.

The book covers the highly unstable commercial and political situation in China, and the changing nature of the Chinese market, which initially had no interest in exports and no need for foreign goods. The sea otter skins opened this closed society because of the desire for their rich fur in Northern China. Payment was made in silver until the need to export goods to pay for opium forced the Chinese into foreign trade.

Gibson also brings out the flexibility and price volatility of the trade on the Northwest Coast, with the development of Indian middlemen and the involvement of traders in intertribal trade. For years, otter skins were the principal product offered by the natives, though salmon (salted down for the Hawaiian market) and timber, mostly for the same market, became more important as the sea otter became scarce. Instead of dying, the trade broadened to include many products from the Pacific islands as well as the Northwest Coast. A multifaceted trade ensued, with traders bringing muskets, powder and shot to the coast as well as metals and cloth. They might pick up elk skins at the Columbia or oolichan grease farther north, to barter for skins at locations where these commodities were scarce, and finally end up with a cargo of skins. They would then trade these in Canton for China goods—tea, textiles, and chinaware—which would be taken to Boston for sale or for re-export to Europe. It is unnecessary to follow all the convolutions of this complex trade, or to cover the effect on the Amerindian and

Polynesian people who became embroiled; these subjects are all discussed in the book.

Critical comments will be brief, because it is more useful to describe the book, which is well organized and well written. Yet it is a bit unsettling to read about the violence that existed on the coast under the chapter heading "Obstacles to Trade." True, it was an obstacle, but other aspects of violence were more important, as Gibson details. The subject deserves its own chapter.

The statistical tables, the extensive notes and the twenty-four page bibliography add considerable value to the work, although the index is skimpy. The publisher has done a proper job, with legible tables, running heads over the footnotes giving the page numbers, and quality printing and binding.

The book can be highly recommended to historians, and to a broader audience.

John Kendrick  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Brenda Guild Gillespie. *On Stormy Seas: The Triumphs and Torments of Captain George Vancouver*. Victoria: Victoria, BC: Horsdal & Schubart, 1992. xvi + 298 pp., maps illustrations, plates, bibliography, index. \$18.95, paper; ISBN 0-920663-12-5.

Described in the press release as a work of creative non-fiction, Gillespie's study of George Vancouver seeks to transcend the formal prose of the official published account of his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Distant and often somewhat cold in character, Vancouver presents a difficult subject for his biographers. Much of his original correspondence, notes, journals, and other material from the expedition to the North Pacific have disappeared. To overcome the stiffness of existing sources and biographies, Gillespie writes from the perspective of his brother John Vancouver, seeking creatively to interpret, but not to abuse the existing evidence. To achieve success, Gillespie must understand her

prime subject intimately and also to place him accurately in the complex world of the eighteenth century British navy, shipboard life, international diplomacy of the 1790s, and the special hardships of a long voyage of exploration. Given the limits of documentation, these are most difficult missions.

As a narrator vehicle, John Vancouver can be made to express any number of fictional inaccuracies, biases, egregious errors, and odd views. Yet Gillespie wants to present a correct and full account of George Vancouver's life and his epic voyage. Unfortunately, she commits numerous errors of fact and analysis. To make Vancouver less formal, more human, and more interesting, she intimates that the flesh-subduing commander enjoyed a sexual liaison with a Hawaiian woman aboard HMS *Discovery*. Without some evidence, such an insinuation simply does not fit Vancouver's character or his strong discipline as a British naval captain. Similarly, Vancouver is made to express anti-Spanish attitudes that his brother John may have held, but he did not actually utter. These repeat old propaganda stereotypes banished by modern historians and describe the Spaniards as abusing and enslaving the Indians of the Northwest Coast. In California, the Spanish fandango, that bothered Archibald Menzies with its passion, becomes a "lewd display." Was this the fictional observation of a prudish John Vancouver or the author Gillespie? Since George Vancouver did not state his views on the subject, it is difficult to speculate what he may or may not have thought. Given his relations with the Spaniards, it is doubtful that Captain Vancouver would have described the California officers and soldiers as "pompous, prickly, lazy little men all." (p.177)

Perhaps even more damaging to the real George Vancouver is Gillespie's preoccupation with the Honourable Thomas Pitt, later Lord Camelford, whose evil presence pervades the book. Without evidence, Camelford or his powerful relatives are

more or less declared guilty of destroying all lost documents, letters, and journals of the expedition. Certainly, Vancouver's judgement about flogging Midshipman Pitt may be questioned, but because he did not give the young nobleman sufficient special consideration. While Camelford did cloud Vancouver's last days, his omnipresent role in Gillespie's account is overblown. Creative non-fiction may be useful, but not when it alters the historical characters and events to create a parody. Even by referring to Captain Vancouver by his first name as George—sometimes up to nine times per page—through the artifice of John Vancouver, the author erodes the reputation of a very formal and serious British commander. In some crucial elements, Gillespie has created a George Vancouver who is a creature of pure fiction rather than shedding new light on the original man. Prospective readers should compare the present study carefully with W. Kaye Lamb's authoritative *The Voyage of George Vancouver* (4 vols.; London: Hakluyt Society, 1984).

Christon I. Archer  
Calgary, Alberta

John T. Walbran. *British Columbia Coast Names 1592-1906: Their Origin and History*. Facsimile reprint of 1909 edition; Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991. xx + 546 pp., illustrations, maps, \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-88894-143-9.

Captain Walbran's compendium of British Columbia coast names, first published in 1909, is a classic of its kind. It was very rare until the publication of a popular reprint in 1971 by the Vancouver Public Library. A similar reprint is now available.

The author was master of the Canadian Government SS *Quadra* on the Pacific coast for many years, and his life hobby was the collection of data on the history of British Columbia coast place names. Many of these names date from the early Spanish

explorers, and the hydrographic surveys of Captain George Vancouver and Captain George Richards, later chief hydrographer of the Royal Navy. As a result a good proportion of the names are those of prominent men in both the royal navies of Spain and Great Britain. With great scholarship, Captain Walbran combed the archives of both countries, and his masterpiece of research has never been equalled.

There are thousands of entries in alphabetical order, a boon to all historians, but also to all seafarers on the British Columbia coast. On my first trip up the coast in 1935, I had a valuable first edition copy of Walbran handy in the wheelhouse. The book also makes wonderful browsing, as human interest stories abound. For instance, Thormanby Island was named in 1860 by Captain Richards in honour of the Derby winner of that year, on which he and his officers had placed bets. All the names in the vicinity are connected with the turf: Buccaneer Bay, Derby Point, Epsom Point, Oaks Point, Merry Island, Surrey Islands, Tattenham Ledge and Welcome Pass. The last name was chosen because it was welcome news that Thormanby had won the big race.

Norman Hacking  
North Vancouver, British Columbia

David Seidman. 77ie *Essential Sea Kayaker: A Complete Course for the Open Water Paddler*. Camden, ME: International Marine Publishing, 1992. 144 pp., photographs, figures, appendix. US \$12.95, paper; ISBN 0-87742-305-9.

This very readable book lives up to its subtitle. While intended for the "beginning to experienced sea kayaker," my feeling is that the book is really meant for beginners. An experienced ocean paddler would probably be better off with a book like John Dowd's *Sea Kayaking: A Manual for Long Distance Touring*.

Seidman's book is divided into two

parts. He first deals with everything from determining the right kayak, paddle and accessories to basic kayaking strokes. There are sections on how to get in and out of a kayak and even how to load a kayak on a car roof rack. Deidman has thought of just about every aspect of ocean kayaking and writes about it in a very straight forward, easy-to-read manner. He is a former advertising copy writer and is now a contributing editor and columnist for a variety of boating magazines; his writing talent is apparent.

The second section, entitled "Toward the Horizon," deals with more advanced manoeuvres like the Eskimo Roll rescues, paddling through surf and a short section on family kayaking and paddling for disabled people. Seidman concludes with a comprehensive list of sea kayaking periodicals, books, manufacturers, and even a listing of sea kayak clubs and organizations. Since much of the book deals with "how to" type of information, more than text is typically necessary to grasp the ideas being discussed. The author has chosen line drawings for this purpose, and they are generally effective. Many of them are in sequence which is a sensible way to depict the action of sea kayaking paddling technique. There are also several black-and-white photographs which add variety to the line drawings. Overall, their quality is better than that of some of the drawings, and I would have suggested increasing the number of photos and reducing the number of line drawings.

In conclusion, the book is good value, and I found it useful. I do a number of sea kayak trips every year and I feel that I would have progressed faster in terms of confidence and skill level had this book been available six years ago when I first bought my Klepper ocean kayak. People who live in relatively remote areas (as I do) will find it particularly useful; here in western Newfoundland, there is no such thing as a sea kayak instructor anywhere. Only one or two passages were hard to understand, and I disagreed with a couple of statements in his

section on "weather." Otherwise Seidman has provided the sea kayaking fraternity with a very readable introduction on the basics of many aspects of sea kayaking.

Keith Nicol  
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Peter Murray. *Homesteads and Snug Harbours: The Gulf Islands*. Ganges, BC: Horsdal & Schubart, 1991. vi + 213 pp., maps, photographs, figures, bibliography, index. \$14.75, paper; ISBN 0-920663-13-3.

Peter Murray says that his intention is "to invoke a sense of what it was like for the islands' first settlers." (p. 3) Though there is much interesting information in *Homesteads and Snug Harbours*, the author's purpose is not satisfactorily realized.

He offers a number of interesting suggestions why people settled on the islands: their economic opportunities and difficulties, the diverse nature of the population and the role of climate and transportation. Yet these themes, which could have provided a unifying structure, are not developed. Instead Murray deals with each island separately. Mane, Galena, Pander and Saltspring each rate a chapter, but the smaller islands are grouped together, usually with two or three but as many as seven in a single chapter. Murray takes pains to identify the first settlers and is meticulous in recording dates of birth and death. Since **families** occasionally moved from one island to another or women found husbands on neighbouring islands, some names appear more than once.

The main weakness of the book lies, not in the structure but in the nature of the resources Murray tapped and the use he made of them. The typescript and audio tape memoirs in the British Columbia Archives and Record Service and the many published local histories provided a wealth of material, but Murray did little to draw his own conclusions. Where some attempt at analysis is made, the footnotes reveal



another mind at work and the places where the narrative is most satisfactory are where a good deal of groundwork has been done in an earlier local history. In this book, Murray, who claims to be a journalist and an historian, reveals himself to be a reporter.

The chapter titles tell much about Murray's approach. "Musical Bachelors and a Cowbell" and "Feuds, Wife Swapping and an Opera House" are two examples which reflect the fact that this book is a compilation of anecdotal material. They may also entice the reader who wants, in one slim volume, the cream of the colourful early history of the diverse Gulf Islands.

Morag Maclachlan  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Robert Blondin. *The Solitary Slocum: An Apocryphal "Autobiography"*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1992. 252 pp., bibliography. \$19.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55109-002.3.

Robert Blondin graphically and intimately describes Joshua Slocum's life, in the first person, from his birth on a poverty-stricken hard-scrabble farm on the North Mountain until, in 1892, nearly destitute, his family relying upon the charity of relatives for support, he acquires the *Spray* and plans his voyage around the world. After this, Slocum gradually deteriorates to the point where he becomes quite detached from reality. The tale concludes on 14 November, 1909, when Captain Joshua Slocum, at age sixty-five and accompanied by the ghosts of his lost loves and heroes, leaves Vinyard Haven on a near derelict *Spray*, bearing southeast into what, by night, becomes a full gale.

Joshua Slocum's history and the story of his remarkable voyage are well known. Unfortunately, in this "apocryphal autobiography," Robert Blondin appears to base his interpretation mainly upon two of Slocum's own books, *Cruise of the Liberdade* and *Sailing Alone Around the World* (New York, 1900). Both were penned for purely com-

mercial purposes and, concerning the latter, Slocum himself wrote to his editor that "I think I may be able to give the matter for the book many a touch which shall, when all will have been done, make it not the worst sea story in history." Not satisfied with the suspect content of these books, Blondin has attempted to add further interest by including every current event of note and worst-case scenario descriptions of port districts and social conditions. The tale is further embellished when Blondin introduces meetings between Slocum and Herman Melville, author of *Moby Dick*, Burroughs, inventor of the adding machine, Judson, inventor of the zip fastener, Gauguin and many other now-famous personages.

Had the author included with his sources Walter Magnus Teller's scholarly biography, *The Search for Captain Slocum* (New York, 1956) in which Slocum is described as a "sailor, peddler and teller of tales," Slocum's own *Voyage of the Destroyer from New York to Brazil* (Boston, 1890), in which he describes his command and expresses his admiration for John Ericson's novel steam warship, or even Victor Slocum's family history, then a more realistic evaluation of the Captain and his motivations might have been possible. As it stands, however, Blondin appears to have tailored what is basically fiction and those facts from his flawed research which happen to fit his own profile of the captain into this "apocryphal autobiography."

Blondin's is not the Slocum of *Sailing Around the World* (New York, 1900), nor is it the Slocum of Teller's carefully-researched biography. That Joshua Slocum was an eccentric, there can be little doubt, and perhaps one would prefer to remember him for his amazing voyages, rather than his personality. It is, however, quite another matter to be asked to accept the Joshua Slocum of this demeaning fabrication.

Robin H. Wyllie  
East LaHave, Nova Scotia