

BOOK REVIEWS

Lewis R. Fischer, Harald Hamre, Poul Holm, Jaap R. Bruijn (eds.). *The North Sea: Twelve Essays on Social History of Maritime Labour*. Stavanger: Stavanger Maritime Museum, 1992. 216 pp., illustrations, figures, photographs, tables. NOK 150 + postage & packing, cloth; ISBN 82-90054-34-3.

This book comprises the papers delivered at a conference held at Stavanger, Norway, in August 1989. This was the third North Sea conference organised by the Stavanger Maritime Museum. The first was held at the Utstein Monastery in Stavanger Fjord in June 1978, and the second in Sandbjerg Castle, Denmark in October 1979. The proceedings of these meetings were published in one volume by the Norwegian University Press, Oslo, in 1985 in identical format to the volume under review, under the title *The North Sea: A Highway of Economic and Cultural Exchange* and led to the formation of a number of North Sea Societies in different countries bordering the sea, and to an Association of North Sea Societies, one of the objects of which is to continue the conferences on a bi-annual basis.

The papers presented at the third conference were concerned mainly with the use of the North Sea as a source of food and routes for transport. The organisers decided that contributions should concentrate on social, rather than technical or economic aspects of their subjects. Each paper is followed by comments by an appropriate authority present at the conference.

Inevitably the closeness of the papers' subjects to the North Sea theme varies. One of the most interesting and valuable papers,

that by Nicholas Rodger on "Shipboard Life in the Georgian Navy," has very little to do with the North Sea and the same remark applies to Paul van Royen's essay on "Recruitment Patterns of the Dutch Merchant Marine in the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries." On the other hand, Professor Lewis Fischer's "Around the Rim: Seamen's Wages in North Sea Ports, 1863-1900," James Coull's "Seasonal Fisheries Migration: The Case of the Migration from Scotland to the East Anglian Autumn Herring Fishery" and four other papers dealing with different aspects of fishing industries are directly related to the conferences' central themes. One of the most interesting of these is Joan Pauli Joensen's paper on the Faroe fishery in the age of the handline smack—a study which describes an age of transition in social, economic and technical terms.

James Coull inevitably touches on the employment of women in the Scottish fishing industry but the main paper on the involvement of females with the sea, Brit Berggreen's "Dealing with Anomalies? Approaching Maritime Women" is disappointing and the commentator, Karel Davids, asks some pertinent questions. Your reviewer feels that Berggreen might have got new angles on her subject from that classic of its kind, James W. Balano's *The Log of the Skipper's Wife* (Camden, Maine, 1979). Here is a first-class, first-hand account of the role at sea of the wife of an American merchant shipmaster, free of sociological jargon or self-conscious feminism.

Basil Greenhill
Saltash, Cornwall

Finnur Magnusson. *The Hidden Class: Culture and Class in a Maritime Setting. Iceland 1880-1942*. Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1990. 160 pp., maps, figures, photographs, bibliography. DKK 220, cloth; ISBN 87-7288-279-4.

This thoughtful volume explores the historical and recalled experience of life in two small villages—Eyrarbakki and Stokkseyri on Iceland's south coast. In eleven highly informative and well illustrated chapters the author delivers an object lesson in the actual complexity of small maritime communities that are often misconceived as rather socially and culturally homogenous. Magnusson takes the reader through a highly sophisticated ethnohistorical examination of the "cultural formation of a working class and working class consciousness among [Iceland's] maritime proletarians in 1880-1942."

The volume is structured around three themes. 1) Change in Icelandic society in the nineteenth century which led to permanently settled "maritime urban communities" (the two villages described, and others). Emergence of class consciousness figures centrally here, as the landless struggle against a triple bondage imposed by land ownership, traders and their middlemen, and fishing. 2) Relationships between labourers and merchants. 3) The "creation of ideas and attitudes attached to work" in the ordinary life of labourers. Work is revealed to have many meanings, "ranging from freedom to personal reputation..." in and outside of groups.

The result is a rich human document that is both testimony and discovery of the diverse and harsh life experience of an older generation. It is an ethnohistorical window on general changes in Icelandic society (especially during the late nineteenth century to World War H) and contributes importantly to social anthropological scholarship, European ethnology, and maritime history. Scholars who seek to understand the nature and course of maritime societies and cultures will find this account invaluable for

comparison with "culture building and class formation" in other societies, both European industrial capitalist societies and with other maritime societies, especially around the North Atlantic.

Magnusson's perspective is theoretically informed by broad familiarity with critical anthropological studies in Scandinavian maritime ethnology. He eschews the evolutionary and materialist bias of others in favour of "culture and human agency in social change," a dynamic theoretical perspective inspired by E.P. Thompson, the Swedish scholar Mats Lindqvist, Gerald Sider, and others. For Magnusson, class consciousness emerges from struggle rather than the other way around, demonstrating this viewpoint through a presentation of data from a diverse body of ethno-historical accounts and interviews, both by others and himself.

Perhaps more than any other maritime scholar to date, Magnusson reveals how the day worker-proletarians and landless of Iceland operated within a moral economy of old beliefs about rights and unwritten laws that supported their claim to rights. These conditions made their history more like that of changing agrarian peasantries than industrial societies. Each reader will have his or her special reasons for valuing what the author accomplishes here. For my part, I find his discussion and analysis of worker- and fishermen-relations with fish merchants particularly invaluable. It makes sense of a relationship widely portrayed and not very well comprehended under the heading "paternalistic" in terms of a tense moral economy where both merchant and workers are bound by constant fears of lost employment and economic wherewithal, exploitation, suspicion, destruction of reputation, and reciprocal rumour and character destruction. In the context of small communities where the lines and connections between people are many and unavoidable, the stresses in this relationship are usually hidden by a thin disguise of non-antagonistic

personal relationships on a day-to-day basis.

This study illustrates the dual realities of North Atlantic maritime ethnography, the literature on these societies has grown greatly in the last quarter century to the point where comparison and the search for general processes and theory is a realistic aim. Yet, in each part of this area, its changing societies command new and deeper study, instructed by distinctive environmental-ecological realities, changing family and community life, and economies and political life and values. Hence study of Iceland's maritime working class culture contributes importantly to this purpose.

Such research is desirable not simply for academic understanding. Iceland's fisheries, like those of other North Atlantic fishing countries, especially Norway, Canada, and Faroes, now experience unprecedented social and political crises due to resource failures in state managed fisheries and wider economic and political developments. Where each of these countries goes from here should be instructed by a sound understanding of their respective "histories" in the broadest sense, and what their peoples are in social and cultural terms.

We should note that, as Magnusson stresses, our academic understanding of Iceland's relatively small society is built upon false images of social homogeneity and traditional stasis, mythic images borne of folklore's preoccupation with Iceland's popular culture. Iceland had long been a society divided between landowners and landless. Its fishing proletariat emerges from the latter. And before Iceland's twentieth-century adoption of industrial fisheries, fishing had been an important component of its primarily agrarian society. Magnusson argues that scholars, especially historians, have not illuminated this historical relationship. Rather, they were preoccupied with economic cycles, legal reforms, and Airing debates. In result, there was neglect of "aspects of everyday life, [and] descriptions of the working class__"

The data on which this account is based reveal the resourcefulness of an accomplished ethnohistorian. Magnusson uses: internal migration records that reveal a population constantly on the road, regularly returning to Eyrarbakki and Stokkseyri during the period 1882-1901, and an economy highly dependent upon migratory labour; local history, local municipal records (1919-1936) and poor relief; the archive book on local government 1907-1919, which reveals poor relief and distress, with letters from labourers and tenants that illustrate views of poverty and its handling; Danish merchant records 1880-1920 that reveal relations between company, farmers, fishers; especially Minute records of local labour unions, where a new consciousness emerges 1910-1942. But much of the data consists of forty interviews with twenty-six people taped during 1984-1986. While Magnusson speaks of the content of the interviews, he says little about the individual informants, permitting their accounts to speak for themselves. Interview material is used in the text as "examples of individual situations and life cycles." He also drew from a rich literary tradition on local histories, but found that their value varies. The author devotes some time to justifying the partial, fragmentary nature of material. It is perhaps unnecessary in our time.

The Hidden Class is a valuable contribution to our understanding of Iceland's maritime/fishing social life and to the social anthropology of maritime societies and cultures. Magnusson's ethnography and interpretive approach offer important lessons for understanding other North Atlantic coastal societies and the changes they face. As the first volume in a new North Atlantic monograph series, Aarhus University Press sets a fine and compellingly interesting standard. Future volumes should be of great interest to readers. And Magnusson's subsequent publications should draw wide attention.

Raoul Andersen
St. John's, Newfoundland

Stephen J. Hornsby. *Nineteenth Century Cape Breton: A Historical Geography*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992. xxvi + 274 pp., maps, figures, tables, photographs, bibliography, index. \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-0889-9.

Cape Breton has a long and complex European past. Migrants from France and the Basque country had reached its shores by 1600 and, following the loss of traditional fishing grounds in Newfoundland's south coast in 1713, the French intensified their fishery on the neighbouring island. Louisbourg replaced Plaisance as a regional capital; by 1750 it was one of the busiest ports in North America. There is a rich and sophisticated literature now on patterns of everyday life for the French period. The British period, commencing with the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, is less well known from this perspective. Stephen Hornsby has produced for the crucial nineteenth century what scholars such as Donovan, Johnston and Moore have done for the early eighteenth: an intimate portrait of society, economy and settlement on the island. His volume differs in the close attention paid to the spatial distribution of activities. These patterns are subtle, the result of complex processes, and in attempting to explain them the author provides what is probably the most comprehensive account of Cape Breton's nineteenth century experience to date.

Hornsby's historical geography has its conceptual roots in A. H. Clark's seminal work on Prince Edward Island. It is organized into two temporal cross-sections focusing on the early and late nineteenth century; each section has common themes that discuss processes of change. The book begins with a chapter on the human geography of Cape Breton in 1800 and ends with a comparative account in 1891. In between there are chapters on agriculture, fishing and mining, Scottish immigration, and outmigration from the island in the second half of the century. The emphasis is more on econ-

omy than society, and economic production takes precedence over an analysis of distribution and marketing. There are, for example, detailed maps of the physical endowment (topography, soils, forest zones), of crown land grants from 1786-1880, of improved land, livestock, butter production, of fishermen and their catch, coal production, and of population. Each of the three economies spawned different settlement forms and social structures. Although given less attention, it is the intricate cultural geography of Cape Breton—patterns of ethnicity, kinship, language, religion—that captivates. Hornsby's reconstruction of Scottish migration and the adaptations forced by new conditions in a frontier setting is a major contribution to the literature.

As a staples-producing colony, Cape Breton conducted a vigorous commerce overseas through the nineteenth century. Shipping is not a central theme in this volume, but it was vital and the author's holistic approach ensures maritime enterprise is given considerable attention. Shipping returns, merchant letter books, newspapers, and census data are combined to reconstruct intricate trade routes, both local and international, and mercantile strategies. Two thirds of the island's population depended on the cod fishery in 1800. It was an international economy with headquarters mainly in Jersey and markets in the West Indies and southern Europe. A triangular pattern of shipping evolved, involving Jersey mercantile capital and the movement of Old World supplies and specialist labour to a colonial island where resident fishermen were preponderant in the production of cod for distant markets. By mid-century, in the wake of massive Scottish immigration, agriculture was the leading occupation. Farm exports, with coal, generated extensive shipping locally, primarily to St. John's and Halifax. Coal, which employed far fewer men at the production end, actually dominated outbound cargoes through the century. Shipping is discussed in the context of

staples theory, where backward linkages or economic spin-offs, such as shipbuilding, develop around the export base or port. Data on shipbuilding are sparse and scattered, and the author's graph of its growth and decline as steamers entered local waters is but one example of the impressive research that has gone into the making of this volume. One would like to see similar calibrations for other multipliers such as barrel-making and small-boat construction, but the sources probably are not there.

Hornsby's geographical instincts lead to some interesting conclusions on relationships between colonization, settlement patterns, and shipping. Farmers sold timber off their lots to local merchants and traders for vessel construction, using the capital to further expand their farms. Some of the more prosperous frontland farmers bypassed the merchants, building or chartering schooners to transport produce to markets. Only 5% of Cape Bretoners lived in towns. The lack of urban growth, particularly of a single entrepot like Louisbourg in the previous century, is in part explained by the highly decentralized pattern of shipping, involving a dozen ports, to markets within the Atlantic region.

Surprisingly little has been written on the maritime history of Cape Breton in the century under review. A comprehensive bibliography lists only a handful of references. Because of the wealth of data on the island's economy, particularly the spatial distribution of economic production, this is a crucial read for any scholar entering the field.

John Mannion
St. John's, Newfoundland

Hugh W. McKervill. *The Salmon People*. Special 25th anniversary edition; North Vancouver, BC: Whitecap Books, 1992. xiv + 198 pp., notes, bibliography. \$15.95, paper; ISBN 1-55110-017-7.

History is, or should be, about people and place. This book, first issued by Gray's

Publishing in 1967, deals admirably with both, and twenty-five years later, *The Salmon People* is surprisingly relevant.

From 1959 until 1963, McKervill served at Bella Bella as a United Church minister. During the summer, his Kwakiutl parishioners disappeared in fishing boats or into canneries, so he purchased a gill netter and went fishing, too. This experience enabled him to gather stories of all the people who depended on or exploited the salmon-Indians, fur traders, Chinese, Japanese, cannery owners, cannery workers and fish boat proprietors of every nationality. The book is replete with anecdotes, but most are about Europeans. The Indians (with a few exceptions), the Chinese and the Japanese are dealt with as cultural groups, not surprisingly since integration has been so difficult for them. He pleads a case for the Indians, their way of life drastically diminished by the effects of contact. He also makes clear, by tracing the history of their involvement in the fishing industry, that the motivation behind the wartime evacuation of the Japanese was economic. However, for the Chinese, displaced early by machinery, he shows less sympathy. He adopts the comic tone of the cannery owners as he repeats their tales—one a quite horrifying account of striking Chinese being forced back to work by the threat of having their bunk houses burned down as the indignant owner splashed gasoline on the walls.

McKervill is no "social gospeller." His sympathy is for the men who established businesses, and he does not begrudge them "the just reward of risk." Strike leaders are usually seen as threats to the industry. Neither is he above taking a sly poke at some church activity though he clearly respects the work of medical missionaries.

The evocative descriptions of the coast make this book a pleasure to read. Port Essington, "an organism," and Rivers Inlet are as richly drawn as the individuals and the cultures. The style is graceful with many an original turn of phrase to delight the

reader, like "the brittle-brained, anti-Asiatic movement."

Though primarily about people, woven throughout is the story of the salmon and the history of both the canning and the fishing industries. In a brief introduction to this new edition, McKervill discusses recent developments in the themes he pursued. His concerns for the salmon and the salmon people are no less today than they were twenty-five years ago.

Morag Maclachlan
Vancouver, British Columbia

Florence Tickner. *Raincoast Chronicles 14: Fish Hooks & Caulk Boots*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1992. 80 pp., photographs, sources. \$10.95, paper; ISBN 1-55017-078-3.

Here's a story that portrays a young girl's life with her family on a floating logging camp back in the depression era of the 1930s on the British Columbia coast. There are not many BC people today who have ever seen a floating camp; it's a way of life rarely found today.

Tickner knows the subject well having lived with hand loggers, those hardy independent types that preferred to do things their way rather than work with others or under hard-driving bosses. They were known as "gyppo" loggers. They worked hard and dangerously for what little money they earned, but they got by, and rarely went hungry like so many on relief in the cities. Tickner gives the reader a vivid account of the gyppo loggers. They had small timber claims in places rarely visited by city folk, remote inlets such as Knight Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, Bute Inlet, and Jervis Inlet, to name only a few. The loggers were real characters. Some worked together but others were loners. They had many tricks of their trade. Although they had certain areas to log, there were times when they yielded to temptation. A few choice trees outside their

claims were often taken on steep hillsides where the logs were easily skidded into the water. Who could blame them?

I experienced some of the anecdotes she describes with colour and exhilaration while visiting friends in Jervis Inlet. There were no video-taped movies filled with American violence to corrupt a young child's mind. Instead, nature, the smell of the forest, the lapping of the waves under the floats or peering down into the clear green water of the inlets watching for fish to take a baited fishing line, or exploring the little sheltered bays in rowboats was her way of life. Food supply wasn't a big problem then. The forests were full of deer and fish were abundant. There were berries to harvest for jams and jelly, so there was little time for boredom. Schooling was a problem, so correspondence was the only answer. Communication with the outside world was by small gas boats used by loggers to buy their requirements from outpost trading stores like Minstrel Island or Echo Bay in Gilford Island. Tickner describes the thrill of meeting one of the old Union Steamships that serviced these remote areas; to hear whatever news the vessels brought and to receive orders of goods purchased in Vancouver.

When a timber claim was logged out, a new site was located and the floating camp was moved, usually by a small tug. Florence didn't mention all the tricks hand-loggers used to get logs into the water, but I'm sure she's well aware of them. Tugboat skippers liked their booze, and many were addicted. When loggers had problems moving stubborn logs, a bottle would entice a tugboat owner to pull some logs into the chuck, and no one would know the difference.

The book has sixty photos of floating camps, of loggers' families, logging operations and get-togethers. There are photos of coastal steamships like the little *Comox*, the *Venture*, *Cassiar* and *Chelosin*. All in all, Florence Tickner's book is a valuable addition about British Columbia's coastal loggers and their way of life. Because the stories are

short anecdotes, the book can be picked up and put aside for brief intervals without losing the plot or essence. As for myself, I found it hard to break away from. So will you.

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

Joe Upton. *Journeys Through the Inside Passage: Seafaring Adventures along the Coast of British Columbia and Alaska*. North Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1992. 189 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-55110-000-2.

The west coast has attracted an increased number of chroniclers in recent years. The region has lacked the rich published folk tradition of the Eastern seaboard, but not for want of stories, experiences, disasters and lifeways. Recently, the story-tellers and publishers have come together producing a rich and vibrant literature on west coast maritime life. Upton has contributed significantly to this growing body of insightful, personal accounts of west coast life. An earlier book, *Alaska Blues*, focused on southeast Alaska; in *Journeys Through the Inside Passage*, he extends his reach somewhat to include the British Columbia section of the Inside Passage.

Journeys is an interesting blend of personal narrative and historical account. Using the Inside Passage as the basis for the book's organization, Upton takes readers up the passageway by section. For each segment of the journey, he offers poetic descriptions of the geographic setting, a mariner's account of the ocean waters, historical highlights which illustrate the significance of each portion of the route, and descriptions of residents which remind us that the character and personality of the places and waterways lay as much in the present as in the past.

This is an easy read. His short vignettes of peoples, places and events are strung

together in a pleasing maritime yarn. One leaves the book with a sense of the west coast, and with a good feeling for the personalities which give the coastal communities their special character. *Journeys* is not simply a poetic rendering of a passing coastal lifestyle; Upton provides critical, even biting accounts of the dangers, the fear, the constant rain and the rough seas that are part of west coast life.

Inevitably there are gaps. Aboriginal people of the coast receive very little attention, leaving the book with a rather narrow sense of coastal life. Unfortunately, Upton did not make full use of the available literature on the history of the northwest coast, a small but rich body of writing which would have clarified some of Upton's stories and added new ones to the list. The book also focuses on the quixotic—what northerners often refer to as the "colourful 5%"—rather than the ordinary, giving an incomplete impression of the coast and its residents.

One should not look to this book for a definitive account of the history of the west coast; Upton makes no claims for inclusiveness or completeness. His goal was to bring an understanding of place and of different times, and in this he generally succeeds. The strength of the book lies with what Upton knows best, the lives of the fishermen and the nature of the water. As it is, the book is a useful memoir and an evocative description of the people who have lived, worked and died in the cold waters of the Inside Passage.

Ken Coates
Prince George, British Columbia

Joan Skogan. *Voyages: At Sea With Strangers*. Toronto: Harper Collins, 1992. 149 pp. \$21.95, cloth; ISBN 0-00-223756-6.

Joan Skogan has written a book like no other I have read. It is an elegiacally beautiful account of an extraordinary situation. Seamen over the centuries have found them-

selves in versions of the situation that Skogan describes. Male writers, especially from middle class backgrounds, have revelled in the social and emotional consequences of throwing together the rugged individuals who seem to go to sea. But crosscut with gender and cultural difference, this description of a few voyages in the life of a female Canadian fisheries observer becomes a microcosm for exploring a whole range of social and emotional relations, responses to extreme situations, the sociology of isolated groups, gender relations and so on.

I have no doubt that her identity as the only woman on the boat or in the fleet, and her sensitive playing of that part opened Skogan to privileged accounts of the men she shared her life with. The book contains accounts of Russian, Polish and Canadian fishing boats, their crews and their experiences at sea and in port. Skogan has learnt and can convey the rich, and very different cultures her fellow crew members were embedded in. Unusually, she is just as aware of their perception of her, and of how to build relationships of trust in such circumstances. It is a gift most anthropology graduate students would give their eye teeth for.

The life of a fishery observer is not easy. I didn't think it was, but before I read Skogan's book, I didn't know what they actually *did*. She has resisted the temptation to give us a factual job description, allowing her activities to permeate her description, but nor does she shy away from technical terms, and any reader without at least a passing glossary of fishing and nautical terms is going to get lost from time to time—not that it would matter. This book is not about being a fisheries observer as such.

Indeed, it is not about the sea, or sea-faring as such. Yet the sea, and all that it entails, is the inescapable context of Skogan's account. This could not be a book about woods workers or miners or any other extreme and isolated context to which men go in order to work. Yet it tells us little directly about ships or sea-faring. It tells us

how and why these particular men, from these cultures and political systems got to be where they are and how that cultural background informs their mode of survival and relationships. If you read it, you will also learn something of how the sea can mould and transform the people who work and live on it. It's not an academic lesson, but it is a profoundly rich emotional one.

Marilyn Porter
St. John's, Newfoundland

Cabot Martin. *No Fish & Our Lives: Some Survival Notes for Newfoundland*. St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1992. xiii + 209 pp., map. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-895387-12-4.

This collection of Cabot Martin's columns from the now defunct *Sunday Express* is an exercise in consciousness raising. Insofar as a central theme can be discerned it would appear to be what the author sees as the disastrous consequences for Newfoundland's society, economy, environment, and general culture deriving from destructive fish management strategies employed or condoned by the Canadian government and exacerbated by foreign activities within and outside Canada's 200 mile economic zone while the Department of External Affairs, uncaring, impotent, or pusillanimous, looks on.

Martin approaches his task as a knight errant wearing in his helm a splitting mitt as his pledge of commitment to the cause of the inshore fixed gear fishermen. His grail is the conservation of fish stocks and, perhaps more significantly, the conservation of a Newfoundland coastal community made viable through a revived inshore fishery, supplemented perhaps by fish farming, under the aegis of an enlightened management regime in which Newfoundland plays an important role. The chief dragon to be slain in pursuit of his quest is the offshore dragger with its monstrously and indiscriminately efficient otter trawl whose intrusion into the spawning domain of the northern

cod marked the beginning of the disastrous decline of that stock. Other giants and dragons that beset his way are such constitutional arrangements as, for example, permit the government of Canada to set at naught Newfoundland's own "magna carta," the Labouchere despatch of 1857, and grant to France perpetual access to northern cod; and, to set at naught both historical precedent and the undoubted prior rights of coastally contiguous communities by admitting Nova Scotian deep sea trawlers to replace Europeans as plunderers of the northern fish stocks. As well, he tilts against such political jiggery-pokery as cynically makes mockery of the concept of historical rights to give Quebec fishermen access to the fishery off the Labrador coast.

Other enemies he identifies are scientific ignorance, and scientific arrogance that dismisses as inconsequential the knowledge gained by fishers through centuries of experience; institutional indifference or incompetence; public apathy, plain stupidity and a management regime neither in tune with nor responsive to the needs of those who have been the principal stakeholders in the fishery for some four centuries.

All of this is good meaty stuff. And, indeed, many of the individual columns are, *sui generis*, excellent. Some, however, show the marks of hasty preparation, as, indeed, does the collection itself. The author, his own editor, we suppose, has merely done a quick scissors and paste job. The untouched material has been separated into ten sections in each of which the individual items bear a relationship, sometimes tenuous, to each other and to a common theme. The brief introductory essays introducing each section seem, too, to have been hurriedly written. A strong editorial hand with a good blue pencil and a mandate to tighten up, to emphasize the theme, and to delete extraneous material including weak and less consequential columns, would have produced a far better book. Perhaps, too, it might have been desirable to have elimin-

ated such topical material as would have meaning only for those living through the events in question.

Even so, this is a worthwhile publication. The issues Martin raises are all important ones and his views are not lightly to be set aside even though passion sometimes overtops reason. As an eclectic reader who haunts second hand book stores, his writings are, moreover, replete with references, not only to the scientific highfliers of today, or to Newfoundland giants like Wilfred Templeman, but to people like Fanhi, the Chinese scholar who produced his *Fish Breeding* in 475 BC; Dr. Bellamy of Billingsgate who published his *Guide to the Fishmarket* in 1842; Phillip Henry Gosse of Carbonear; or such an unlikely scientist as Oliver Goldsmith. Titbits from such sources are as a piquant sauce making both technical fare and rhetoric more exciting.

In short, despite my reservations, many of which are editorial in nature, I commend this book to all Newfoundlanders who have a care for their historical and cultural heritage, and to all those who are concerned for biodiversity and particularly for the great renewable resources of the northwest Atlantic ecosystem which greed and bungling have placed in jeopardy. Having read the book, I would hope that you will join with me in wishing that some, at least, of Mr. Martin's giants may be transformed into peaceable windmills, and that, at any rate, the quest for his grail is crowned with success.

Leslie Harris
St. John's, Newfoundland

E. Paul Durrenberger. *It's All Politics: South Alabama's Seafood Industry*. Champagne, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xvii + 216 pp., figures, tables, sources, index. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-252-01910-5.

This book examines how Alabama's seafood industry has been shaped by political struggle and a complex set of state régula-

tions throughout its three main periods; but these periods are defined by technology and the species caught, not by politics *per se*. Durrenberger distinguishes three stages of development. Fish and oyster production from inshore waters was boosted by the emergence of rail links with the interior and local ice production (1819-1915). Canneries, introduced late in the period, required more favourable tax laws and processing of other species if their capacity was to be utilized profitably. Thus shrimp production was encouraged, providing a stimulus for industrial canning which became the focus of the industry in the second stage (1915-1945). For much of this time, shrimpers were organized and engaged in numerous disputes with processors. The final period (1945 to the present) is rooted in shrimp trawling and freezer plant technology. More recently, excess capacity and low prices for shrimp relative to costs have been serious problems. In all three periods, the author tries to demonstrate that fisheries policy reflected the relative power of the interest groups in the industry, while at the same time the experience of actors in the fishery was conditioned by decisions outside their control (e.g., import rules or environmental controls).

The analysis is based on a combination of historical documentation, especially the use of local press reports, contemporary observations and interviews. It is the recent analysis that I find most interesting, particularly the author's presentation of the interplay of science, environmental activism and fishermen's resistance to the introduction of devices to save sea turtles from becoming trapped in shrimp trawls. It is intriguing to read how each side can call on "neutral" science to justify its position. Durrenberger shows that the shrimpers are likely to pay the costs of saving whatever turtles are protected by the devices. Moreover, this presentation, along with the other cases discussed in the chapter, documents the relative weakness of shrimp boat operators compared with environmentalists, corpor-

ations and sports fishermen in the framing and enforcement of regulations.

Durrenberger's key points are well presented in the first and final chapters. His specification of the key variables and their interconnections is convincing, while his critique of Gulf fisheries science and his argument in favour of a serious effort to improve "sociopolitical" analysis are sound. However, much of the book is devoted to a tedious history of the three periods. Only the keen area specialist would want to read these chapters in which organizations, individuals, events and policies appear in considerable number, yet without really coming to life for this reader. Part of the problem is that the author may be a much better anthropologist than writer of historical narrative. The presentation fails to flow in these chapters. Some issues are left hanging, unfinished perhaps because the information was lacking. A certain "jerkiness" followed from a tendency to jump forward and backwards in time, even within the same thematic presentation. Nevertheless, there is much to be gained from this book, especially its convincing demonstration of the need to understand politics if one wishes to understand fisheries.

Peter R. Sinclair
St. John's, Newfoundland

Heide Gerstenberger (ed.). *Von Land zu Land: Aus der Geschichte Bremischer Seefahrt*. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1991. 192 pp., maps, photographs, figures. 19,80 DM, paper; ISBN 3-926958-60-X.

This is the fourteenth publication in the series "Contributions to the Social History of Bremen." As its title (*From Land to Land-Some Notes on the History of Bremen Seafaring*) suggests, the collection focuses on the history of Bremen shipping, though one essay concerns port labour in Hamburg.

Ulrich Welcke describes the many dangers from piracy or freebooting which threatened ships' crews on the high seas.

The increase of these threats is regarded as one reason for the tightening of disciplinary regulations aboard ship. Welcke examines business connections between freebooters and merchants, who occasionally made common cause for their own profit; he also discusses the problems of differentiating between robbery and trade in cases before the courts. This was all the more difficult as different sea laws were in force in the various trading areas. Welcke refers to the Hamburg *Schip-Recht* of 1270 which, after the Rolls of Oléron of the twelfth century, is regarded as the oldest maritime code of northern Europe and had a marked influence on the maritime laws of Visby and the Hanse. Welcke follows the further development of maritime law and illustrates with a few examples how everyday punishments were administered. Conflicts and disputes not only between the captain and his crew but also the relationship of crew and merchants are examined from maritime court files. These reveal that, according to merchants and shipmasters, disciplinary problems on board ship were increasing. Yet, despite the recognition that new laws were needed, their codification was continually postponed for reasons of additional expense, particularly for the authorities. Instead, reference was constantly made to the already existing laws and their observance.

A turning point in the development of Bremen maritime law was the ordinance issued in 1802, which dealt above all with the required regulations concerning the movement of goods. No statements are made on the sailorly and nautical duties of the shipmaster. The attached muster roll regulated the duties of the seamen. There was plenty about their obligations but in fact, contrary to Hamburg ordinances, no provision was made for seamen in the case of permanent disablement. An important innovation of this ordinance was the introduction of a *wasserschout* (ombudsman/mustering official), who was supposed not only to supervise the seafarers but also try

to arbitrate in the case of disputes between shipmasters and crews. Welcke emphasizes this as a most important innovation, for now the supervision of the ship's crew no longer remained purely a concern of the shipmaster. This was already one of the tasks of the *wasserschout* elsewhere, as in Hamburg. There, however, after 1766, the *wasserschout* was only responsible for the amicable settlement of possible disputes; if an agreement could not be reached, the commercial court was called upon.

Welcke concludes his essay with a detailed description of the disputes concerning the maritime ordinance of 1802. He characterizes it as a paradigm of political opposition in a preparliamentary governmental system. In these disputes the main issue was whether the interests particularly of the overseas merchants, now becoming increasingly assertive, would prevail. As a result of the objections and criticisms of the seamen, an attempt was made to revise the ordinance and thus take the protests of the sailors into account. The sailors did actually succeed in being granted a say in the phrasing of the maritime contracts of employment. But in spite of these concessions the reservations of the seamen about this new ordinance persisted for years.

In an essay based on an extract of a ship's journal from 1866, Heide Gerstenberger reports on the structural change of the social relationships on board. The author, using ship's articles issued in the previous century, tries to explain the development of the hierarchical structures. In ship's articles of 1852, the organization, already practised internally, of the hierarchy into captain, officers and the rest of the crew had by now been laid down by government regulations. But in this connection attention is also drawn to the difference between theory and practice. A muster roll for the ship *Ella* from the year 1852 is reproduced in the appendix to this essay.

The third contribution by Jochen Schönwald deals with the development of the

Sager Shipyard between 1814 and 1869, with particular attention to wooden sailing merchantmen built there and their fates. Further information is provided in the appendix by a description of ships which were built on this shipyard.

The last contribution by Uwe Kiupel describes, with Hamburg as an example, the development of port labour in this century, including mechanization and rationalization and the health risks resulting from these developments. This is particularly noticeable when comparing general cargo handling and containerization, which started in the 1960s. Here it can be seen that, despite the widespread use of modern techniques—like information and communication technologies—the man working in this sector continues to be exposed to health hazards, even though these may take a qualitatively different form.

Though specific to the experiences of Bremen and Hamburg shipping, these essays provide important insights into shipping and seafaring labour that would interest maritime historians specializing in the port histories of other countries as well.

Carsten Prange
Hamburg, Germany

Ian Buxton. *Metal Industries: Shipbreaking at Rosyth and Charles town*. Kendal, UK: World Ship Society, 1992. 104 pp., photographs, tables, ship index. £8 (plus £130 postage and packing), paper; ISBN 0-915617-69-X.

The history of a ship is incomplete without details of its final end. Naval and merchant casualties are well documented but worn out ships are usually listed as scrapped or not registered. Liners like *Leviathan* and *Mauritania*, make headlines, but the fate of hundreds of warships and merchant ships, particularly small ones, is difficult to trace. This book is the history of one of Britain's largest shipbreakers and a record of the ships broken up in their yards, everything from battleships to boom vessels, luxury

liners, paddlesteamers and sailing ships.

Metal Industries, founded as the Alloa Shipbreaking Company in 1922, was one of the few companies organized during the 1920s to survive the Great Depression. It became a major industrial group, not only as one of Britain's largest shipbreaking companies but as an oxygen manufacturer and distributor and as an electrical and mechanical firm during the next forty years. The company was formed by three men: Robert W. McClure, who had served with distinction with the Royal Engineers during World War I; Stephen Hardie, a chartered accountant; and Dr. Donald Pollock, Surgeon Captain, RNVF, who had valuable contacts at the Admiralty as a result of his war service. The company was registered in Glasgow on 15 December, 1922.

The depth of water at Alloa and difficulties with the Town Council over the use of the town quay caused the company to move to Charlestown, a small port near the Rosyth Dockyard. The yard was enlarged in 1925 when the company bought out the Rosyth Shipbreaking Company. Then, after the Admiralty placed the Rosyth Dockyard on a "care and maintenance" basis as part of defence cuts, the company obtained a lease, on a time-to-time basis, of one or more of the three graving docks. This made possible the breaking up of the scuttled German warships salvaged by Cox and Danks at Scapa Flow. A change of name to Metal Industries Ltd. was announced in November.

In 1930 scrap prices collapsed but rallied as the result of the London Naval Treaty and the consequent scrapping of warships. In July 1935 MI bought out Cox and his Scapa Flow operation. Thomas MacKenzie, his Chief Salvage Officer, was hired to continue the work until interrupted by World War II. MI then became responsible for the supply and scuttling of several of the blockships at Scapa. The major part of MI's war work was salvage along the Scottish coast. It was at this time that the British Iron and Steel Company (Salvage)

Ltd. (BISCO) was formed to organize scrap recovery from wrecks and other vessels for delivery to war industries. The actual metal recovery and demolition was subcontracted to regular shipbreakers, including MI. This system was continued after the war when surplus naval vessels were scrapped. The 1940s and 1950s saw MI expand into electrical and mechanical engineering subsidiaries. Shipbuilding continued until 1964. Takeovers and mergers eventually forced the company to relinquish its charter in 1987.

The second section of the book lists the vessels broken up at Rosyth and Charlestown between 1923 and 1963 by name and type. Dates are given for sale or handing over, arrival and start of demolition. The list shows an interesting error that exists in many reference books. The FLOWER class corvettes *Bittersweet*, *Clematis*, and *Mayflower* were purchased by BISCO in 1949. Two were allocated to Charlestown and one to C.W. Dorkin of Gateshead. BISCO notified MI(S) that *Bittersweet* and *Clematis* were being delivered and demolition contracts were signed. When the corvettes arrived at Charlestown, a faded nameboard was discovered bearing the name *Mayflower*, not *Clematis*. BISCO refused to alter the contracts. *Mayflower* was demolished at Charlestown as *Clematis*, and the real *Clematis* was demolished at Glasgow as *Mayflower*, an error that has caused confusion in reference books ever since.

The book is well illustrated with photographs of ships in various stages of demolition, particularly of the *Mauritania* and the German ships salvaged at Scapa. There are two aerial photographs of the yard, one being a German reconnaissance photo. The bibliography is limited to acknowledgement of the various organizations and persons who made available records or personal recollections of the company and its activities and footnotes in the text.

Arthur W. Mears
St. Stephen, New Brunswick

Johann Gerdes, Heiner Heseler, Martin Osterland, Bernhard Roth, Gabriele Werner. *Betriebsstilllegung und Arbeitsmarkt: Die Folgewirkungen der Schliessung der AG "Weser" in Bremen*. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1990. 255 pp., tables, figures, photographs, appendix, bibliography. 46 DM, paper; ISBN 3-926958-50-2.

Johann Gerdes and Heiner Heseler. *Rickmers: Das Ende einer Traditionswerft*. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1990. 59 pp., tables, figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography. 10 DM, paper; ISBN 3-926958-41-3.

In the past thirty years the number of workers involved in shipbuilding has declined sharply in many countries, causing hardships and dislocation for many thousands of skilled tradesmen, engineers, and others. These two books are case histories of what happened to employees when two shipyards in northwest Germany closed in the 1980s. They are based on studies by a research institute at the University of Bremen. The authors include social scientists, economists, and a professor of industrial sociology. Their focus is entirely on what happened to the professionals and tradespeople at the two shipyards. They examine the impact of plant closures on regional unemployment in general, and follow the subsequent job searches of the displaced shipyard workers.

The more substantial book, *Betriebsstilllegung und Arbeitsmarkt*, includes comparisons with plant closures at the same time in the USA and with shipyard failures in Sweden and the UK. It also looks at what happened to workers at other large industrial plants that were closed at the time elsewhere in Germany. These studies are written in a clinical manner. The authors use shipyard closures as examples of failures by large industrial plants. There is little speculation and just enough history to set the scene. The only opinions about whether the closures might have been avoided appear in

statements by individual workers. The findings are based on extensive surveys of the displaced workers. Questionnaires and interviews were used as well as data from employment agency records.

Both of the shipyards had been established when northwestern Germany became industrialized in the first half of the nineteenth century. When it closed at the end of 1983 AG "Weser" in Bremen had existed for 140 years. It was considered one of the most modern shipyards in Europe. Large amounts of capital had been invested by its owners, Krupps, to build supertankers efficiently. It had pruned its workforce from 5,000 to 2,200 between 1975 and 1983. Eventually, worldwide overcapacity in both supertanker tonnage and suitable building yards brought on a final crisis. Two thousand two hundred employees had to find new work. The Rickmers Shipyard in Bremerhaven closed in 1986 after a 152 year-history. When it went under it had a total workforce of 950. In its final years the yard had specialized in building container ships in series. The crisis which finished off the yard was brought on by changes to the laws governing investment write-offs in shipbuilding in Germany.

In both cases displaced employees were on average older than more typical unemployed workers. Over 80% of the AG "Weser" employees had been at the yard for more than ten years when it closed, and the average age had climbed from thirty-seven in 1975 to forty-three by 1983. Indeed, age was the most important factor in determining whether the search for new employment was to be successful. Former employees were checked three years after the yards had closed. Broadly speaking, professionals (engineers, etc.) had been able to find new positions quickly. Roughly two thirds of all employees had found new positions, about 17% had retired early, and about 14% were unemployed. It appears that flexibility on the part of the workers was a major factor in their successes in being re-employed~80% of "Weser" workers said they were ready to

change their employment; over half had found jobs in new fields (regional factors at play included the expansion of a Daimler-Benz plant outside Bremen which absorbed many younger workers from both yards).

Generally similar results were found in the US and Swedish cases, although in Sweden the transition when the Uddevalla yard in particular closed in 1985 was made much easier for the workers by social and employment legislation. Results were different in the UK. The shipyard workers who lost their jobs in large-scale lay-offs by Swan Hunter in Newcastle in 1978 remained unemployed much longer, and were less successful in eventually finding re-employment.

These studies include a wealth of findings and observations about the impact of industrial closures on the workers involved. For example, just roughly a quarter of the employees from both yards found better-paying jobs. They are contrasted with the quarter who maintained their incomes—the "survivors," and the half who were "losers" because their incomes declined. In the case of AG "Weser" there is also an examination of the impact of the closing of the shipyard on other industrial concerns. The books are written clearly in a jargon-free manner and there is ample use made of excellent graphics. These topical books should be of interest to those trying to assess the results of plant closures in other industrial countries.

Jan Drent
Victoria, British Columbia

Ken McCarron. *Meat at Woodside: The Birkenhead Livestock Trade 1878-1981*. Liverpool: Merseyside Port Folios, 1991. 78 pp., maps, figures, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. £2.95, paper; ISBN 0-9516129-2-1.

Merseyside Port Folios, a joint imprint of the Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside and Countyvise Ltd., publishes an occasional series of book-

lets on the history of Merseyside's docklands. In something like a hundred pages this volume in the series examines the traffic in cattle, sheep and pigs at Birkenhead. Mounting concern about diseases such as foot and mouth led to the passage of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878 which required imported livestock to be landed at the special Foreign Animals Wharves subsequently created at the port. The wharf at Woodside was closed only as late as 1981.

A great deal of information is packed into this little book. Ken McCarron summarises the historical development of the Birkenhead Docks and describes the factors which led to livestock imports. Britain's expanding population and higher real incomes created a demand for meat which domestic farmers could not satisfy, conditions particularly evident in the manufacturing towns of northwest England. At the same time, overseas suppliers of livestock in North and South America, as well as Ireland, were anxious to fill the gap, while technological changes in shipping brought about cheaper freight rates. The resulting development of the lairages at Woodside and Wallasey required considerable investment in plant—wharves, stores, offices, warehouses, animal pens and slaughter houses. Eventually, chilled rooms stored carcasses before their rail shipment throughout Britain. Imports seem to have reached a peak around the turn of the century and, although the two world wars temporarily boosted business, long-run decline soon occurred as improved refrigeration and transportation removed the need for livestock imports. McCarron chronicles the very serious issues of sanitation, working conditions and the mistreatment of animals. The reliability of refrigeration equipment, the disposal of unwanted by-products, like manure, and the escape of lively bullocks into the surrounding residential areas also created problems for wharf administrators. In addition, McCarron briefly explores the pro-

tectionist features of the livestock legislation.

Inevitably, in such a slim volume there are some gaps and, given its market, the booklet is more descriptive than analytical. It is, perhaps, surprising that there is no discussion of the shipping companies like Houlder Brothers which brought livestock to Britain. Nor has the opportunity been taken to provide a time series of livestock handled at Birkenhead. It is also a pity that no data is given about the economic performance of the Foreign Animal Wharves at Woodside and Wallasey. Nevertheless, at £2.95 this book is good value. It contains many interesting photographs and illustrations, there is a useful bibliography, and production standards are generally high. The text sheds light on a number of themes which go beyond merely local or antiquarian interest.

Robert G. Greenhill
Tonbridge, United Kingdom

Mike Clarke and Allison Hewitt. *Liverpool and Its Canals*. Liverpool: Merseyside Port Folios, 1992. 112 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. £3.95, paper; ISBN 0-9516129-3-X.

This little piece falls between not two but three stools: local history, walkabout guide, and serious history. None succeeds particularly well. As a tourist I would not be drawn to follow in the footsteps of the authors; I am not a Liverpoolian so I am not automatically interested in the topic; and as an historian I am neither stimulated nor edified by the contents. It is however a good pointer to those who wish to do these things separately (as apparently the authors are in fact doing).

It takes the history of the Liverpool canals and waterways from beginning to end, as they meandered through the task of providing a means of transportation, to being a source of water for locally based industry, to the present, where tourism and recreation have supplanted the industrial purpose of the network. All the activities connected

with the canals are covered: in that regard the book is satisfactory, although perhaps a degree of humour would have helped, as when the authors discuss the issue of night soil and its disposal! The authors make a good start in hinting at the inter-relationship between those who lived and worked cheek-by-jowl with the canal and the environmental problems imposed both on people and on operation. There are not too many waterways, for example, which on occasion were too hot or too cold for users. The potential for disaster was large—soap factories, the manufacture of gas from whale oil, tanneries, the manufacture of synthetic alkali—to mention just a few of the more malodorous ones. From all of this it is interesting to note that successful pollution charges were brought before the courts some 150 years and more ago. Verily there is nothing new under the sun.

On a broader scale we learn that Chandler's dictum concerning the defeat of canals by railways in remarkably quick time was uniquely American; Canada's survived to a far greater extent, and Liverpool's even more so. Far from being instant losers in the local transportation sweepstakes, canals in Liverpool survive to the present (with perhaps a few hiccougs) and without the subsidies paid to railways during periodic times of trouble. Herein lies inspiration for those Canadians trying to turn abandoned railway rights-of-way into recreational areas.

But there is one thing Canadians will not learn from this book. Even though the authors note how Liverpool developed "into the main English port for trade with the American colonies," (p. 40) we learn nothing about how these imports—our exports—of pot and pearl ash (for which there was a heavy demand in the canal-based industries), timber and grain were handled. This is a question that has long intrigued this reviewer; we know how we got the stuff down to the ships and into them, but how were they dealt with once they reached the other side, often at Liverpool? We look in

vain in this book for elucidation. One suspects that the canals had a role to play in the import business, but what was it?

As a local publication inexpensively produced the book has problems in quality. It comes out second-best in comparison with a similar Canadian publication, Normand Lafrenière's little book *Canal Building on the St. Lawrence River*, published by Parks Canada in 1983. The illustrations are indistinct, and the captions not always helpful (is good old Tommy Abrams driving the barge or the bridge at the bottom of page 62?), and the maps are singularly unhelpful to those unfamiliar with the territory in trying to discover precisely where the canals went.

However, where the work is successful is in fulfilling its goal as avowed in the foreword describing the "Merseyside Port Folios;" its bibliography and end notes are indeed useful for the "scholarly user" and in fact are a joy to see in this age of voluminous footnotes that take the place of bibliographies, as has happened in recent Canadian scholarly publications.

Kenneth S. Mackenzie
Ganges, British Columbia

Larry Turner (comp.). *Rideau Canal Bibliography, 1972-1992*. Smiths Falls, Ontario: Friends of the Rideau, 1992 [1 Jasper Avenue, Smiths Falls, Ontario, K7A 4B5]. 37 pp. \$10 (+ \$4 postage and handling), spiral-bound; ISBN 0-9696052-0-X.

As Canada's first significant canal, the Rideau Canal has long attracted an unusual degree of attention from students, scholars, and local historians. This booklet is a useful compilation of recent publications and research reports on the Rideau. I say "useful" because many of its entries are government reports in print and microfiche that often escape the attention of the public, though they were funded by taxpayers. The booklet also identifies a number of more obscure works published by small museums, histori-

cal societies, and the like; often known only to a small readership, these kinds of works will now receive a wider circulation as a result of *Rideau Canal Bibliography*.

The booklet is organized into a brief introduction, followed by three categories of entries. The first consists of Canadian Parks Service Historical Reports on the canal produced between 1972 and 1992; five subsections are devoted to the Preliminary Site Studies Series, the Manuscript Report Series, Microfiche Report Series, and other manuscript and microfiche report series with information significant to the Rideau Canal. A second section identifies materials produced by federal, provincial or public institutions other than the Canadian Parks Service. A third section provides an annotated bibliography of non-government books and select bibliographies, but it seems fairly obvious that the materials described in the other sections were the real inspiration for the bibliography. The booklet confines itself to material produced since 1972, in keeping with the intent of The Friends of the Rideau to observe in this way the twentieth anniversary of Canadian Parks Service administration and operation of the canal as well as the seventy-fifth anniversary of Canada's National Historic Sites system; these are the two government agencies which have played key roles in the preservation, restoration, and research into the Rideau Canal.

This approach is not without its drawbacks. By restricting the timeframe in this somewhat artificial way, the bibliography omits important works that have a direct bearing on the history of the Rideau Canal but which were published before 1972—works like Kenneth Bourne's *Britain and the Balance of Power in North America 1815-1908* (University of California Press, 1967) or J. MacKay Hitsman's *Safeguarding Canada 1763-1871* (University of Toronto Press, 1968). Such works have a great deal to say about the strategic and political considerations which went into the decision to build the Rideau Canal. I share Jim

Pritchard's concern, expressed in a review elsewhere in this issue, that we cannot "afford to ignore...a contextual approach to technology." As useful as this bibliography will be in identifying the many titles now available on the Rideau Canal, it would have been even more useful had it also identified works that would have provided the more specialized studies with such a framework.

Olaf U. Janzen
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Robert Shipley and Fred Addis. *Schooners*. St. Catharines, Ontario: Vanwell Publishing, 1991. 64 pp., photographs, further readings. \$13.95, hardboard; ISBN 0-920277-59-4.

Robert Shipley and Fred Addis. *Paddle Wheelers*. St. Catharines, Ontario: Vanwell Publishing, 1991. 64 pp., photographs, further readings. \$13.95, hardboard; ISBN 0-920277-61-6.

Robert Shipley and Fred Addis. *Wrecks and Disasters*. St. Catharines, Ontario: Vanwell Publishing, 1992. 64 pp., photographs, further readings. \$13.95, hardboard; ISBN 0-920277-77-2.

Robert Shipley and Fred Addis. *Propellers*. St. Catharines, Ontario: Vanwell Publishing, 1992. 64 pp., photographs, further readings. \$13.95, hardboard; ISBN 0-920277-75-6.

Shipley and Addis and their publisher are to be commended for bringing out these small, hardcover collections of illustrations of historic Great Lakes ships. All four books are part of a "Great Lakes Album" series and, as this might suggest, each volume is an "album" of over fifty pictures: photographs, engravings, paintings, even sheet music. The four covers offer the only opportunity for colour ranging from the delightful schooner *Maple Leaf* to the surreal fantasy that purports to show the "Wreck of the *Waubuno*."

The four volumes are all organized in a

generally similar fashion. In each, six or seven sections cover a range of topics. *Wrecks and Disasters* is more thematic; the others have several sections illustrating the development of specific technologies. Each section has a simple one page introduction, consisting of a few paragraphs covering some of the general facts on the subject. While marine enthusiasts are likely to pick up these inexpensive little volumes for the illustrations, the challenge for Shipley and Addis is to convey an appropriate amount of information to a less informed audience. They do not always succeed. Take, for example, the introduction to *Wrecks and Disasters* which concludes: "While the threat of disaster remains ever present, stricter regulations and better design have produced a much improved safety record." (p. 5) Not until later is the full explanation offered: "there are just many fewer ships in the lakes than there used to be." (p. 49) The impact of these increased regulations on the viability of the existing passenger fleet is tossed out in a picture caption on p. 35.

Moreover, the captions in these volumes sometimes pick up a story line, but on most occasions serve only to identify the vessel, its location, and one or two facts about its career or a specific incident. In general the pictures appear solely on their own merits. There is little evidence of serious research into the history of the vessels which appear, or indeed into the specific incidents shown. The propeller *St. Magnus* is depicted lying on her beam ends at dockside in Cleveland. Beyond this fact we are only told "it was later righted and returned to service." (*Wrecks and Disasters*, p. 48) When did it capsize? Why? Was anybody hurt? How was it righted? Did this happen again to the *St. Magnus*? Was the vessel altered to stop this happening again? Did facilities for resolving these problems exist in ports like Cleveland? Answers to one or two of these questions could have been provided without straining the size of the caption.

On another level the illustrations repre-

sent the growth of the institutional collections of photographs in the Great Lakes region, although a few personal credits appear. There is a balance between American and Canadian sources and illustrations. As usual, this is a sign of Canadian authorship and publication since, with few exceptions, American collections of photographs of the Great Lakes rarely have more than a token selection of Canadian vessels or Canadian institutions represented. The 1992 additions to the series add a welcome index of ships, companies and places to the slim back matter. All four volumes have a brief list of suggested further readings including a few of the traditional Great Lakes works by Greenwood, Metcalfe, Boyer and Bowen. They might consider adding the periodical literature devoted to the Great Lakes: almost fifty years of *Inland Seas*, over thirty of *Scanner* and seven volumes of *FreshWater*. While harder to find on many library shelves, they reflect the value of membership in the organizations that publish them.

Walter Lewis
Acton, Ontario

Henry N. Barkhausen. *The Riddle of the Naubinway Sands: A Report on the Millecoquins River Wreck*. Manitowoc, WI: Association for Great Lakes Maritime History, 1991. 23 pp., drawings. US \$4.50 (+ \$1.25 shipping), paper. Order from David T. Glick, P.O. Box 292, Matlacha, FL 33909 [Winter] or P.O. Box 25, Lakeside, OH 43440 [Summer].

In early 1990, the Millecoquins River's scouring of the west bank sands on its way to Lake Michigan exposed the bow of a ship, luckily on land owned by the Hiawatha Sportsman's Club. Henry Barkhausen has written an interesting account of the vessel's discovery, the subsequent archaeological activities, and the search for its identity.

Experts on Great Lakes wooden ships hope that the wreck may be a link between

the merchant vessels, of the pre-1812 era, and the centre board schooners of the 1830-1840 period. There were suggestions, based on some records, that the vessel was the *Forester* which went ashore in the area in 1846. The excavation proved the vessel was not the *Forester*.

Neither the Michigan Bureau of History, University, nor museums in the area had any funds available for an archaeological examination of the wreck. In July 1990, there were surprising developments. Two members of the Association were looking at the wreck when F. Cantelas, a graduate student in Maritime history at East Carolina University, drove up. He was interested in excavating the wreck as a subject for his Master's thesis. Negotiations began, financing was arranged and finally, in September 1991, the excavation by the East Carolina team under Professor Gordon Watts began. The purpose of the investigation was to "document architectural and constructional detail to allow a thorough physical analysis and evaluation of the vessel" and to compare it with known lake ships.

The booklet describes the methods used to excavate the wreck, and the environmental protection measures taken. The plans were for one student team to work the vessel's bow section and another, the stern. The latter's excavation revealed a cabin where eight berths may have been. A single berth was found in the bow. Time did not allow the crew to excavate the midship section which, had it been possible, would have disclosed if the hull was equipped with a centre board.

Professor Watts washed off the starboard face of the stern post and found the roman numeral VII, which determined the vessel's underwater profile. As a result, Mr. C. McCutcheon completed the fine sketches of the inboard and outboard profiles. Before leaving, the teams covered up the wreck with sand hoping, at some time, to return to finish the work. In the meantime, the archival research to establish the vessel's

identity continues.

Henry Barkhausen's account of the Naubinway Sands Riddle held my interest and I look forward to the next instalment.

Dan. G. Harris
Nepean, Ontario

David D. Swayze. *Shipwreck! A Comprehensive Directory of Over 3,700 Shipwrecks on the Great Lakes*. Boyne City, MI: Harbor House Publishers, 1992. 260 pp., bibliography, index. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-937360-12-0.

No matter how many books on the subject are published, there is an almost insatiable fascination with shipwrecks. The interest probably stems from the dramatic image of life-threatening struggle against the sea that the term "shipwreck" conjures up. For whatever reason, there is a continuous flood of shipwreck books, each with its own special angle to pursue. David Swayze's book is new only in that it claims to be "the most complete and accurate body of data yet assembled on the subject of Great Lakes shipwrecks." (p.13) While his goal was a noble one and his efforts were prodigious, sadly, his knowledge of basic historical methodology, particularly the availability of accurate primary sources, and his inexperience with the historical context of the Great Lakes have caused his goal to remain unfulfilled.

Swayze's book seeks to provide short descriptions of all known Great Lakes shipwrecks. The alphabetically arranged entries on approximately 3,700 Great Lakes shipwrecks (defined by Swayze as "only significant losses of commercial vessels...those which involve loss of life or total loss of the vessel" p. 6) include vessel length, gross tonnage, year and location built, sketch silhouette (if possible), and a brief description of the date and circumstances of loss. Swayze's book is jammed with information but, unlike excellent works such as Charles and Jeri Feltner's *Shipwrecks of the Straits of*

Mackinac (1991), it also includes errors of fact, over-generalizations, and omissions of valuable primary and secondary sources that would have greatly enhanced Swayze's efforts. Especially unfortunate is his devotion to newspapers as his most important historical resource. Had he used these in conjunction with readily available vessel enrolment data, Life Saving Service records, and publicly accessible data bases, he might have produced a book that was indeed "comprehensive."

For all of its faults, *Shipwreck!* can be useful for those getting started in Great Lakes history. History buffs will find the written descriptions of individual wrecks tantalizing but must turn to other sources (few of which are included in the book's bibliography) to gain a better understanding of Great Lakes maritime history in general, or of the specific incidents described. Professional historians and serious amateurs will likely pass this book by, but might be encouraged to purchase a second edition if the defects of the first are rectified.

Jay C. Martin
Bowling Green, Ohio

Morten Hahn-Pedersen. *Danish North Sea Lightships*. Esbjerg: Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseet Saltvandsakvariet, 1991 [order from: Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseet, DK-6710 Esbjerg V, Denmark]. 64 pp., figures, maps, photographs. DK 75, paper; ISBN 87-87453-54-1.

Since the introduction of the first lightship at The Nore in the Thames estuary in 1731, floating beacons have marked dangers to shipping in areas where it was difficult or impossible to establish fixed structures. Although the lightship is a relatively recent development in marine navigation, it has until lately played a crucial role alongside its ancient counterpart, the lighthouse, in the evolution of safe navigation for domestic and international trade.

In *Danish North Sea Lightships* Morten

Hahn-Pedersen begins the task of compiling a detailed account of the lightship service in Denmark from its beginning in 1829 to the removal of the last staffed ship from station *Mon SE* in 1988. Although this is not a comprehensive account, the author includes a wide variety of information about all aspects of the Danish Lightship Service and the men who worked aboard the vessels, as well as some general data about lightships around the world.

In Denmark it was crucial that shipping routes be marked as sea trade grew throughout the nineteenth century. The author concentrates on the establishment and growth of the western Jutland port of Esbjerg, and the lightships which marked shipping lanes to the port. One of these was *Motorized Lightship #1* which served at more than a dozen locations in Denmark from 1914 to 1988. In 1990 it was opened as a museum in Esbjerg.

Hahn-Pedersen provides insight into all facets of the lightship with a detailed look at *Motorized Lightship #1*—its construction, technical specifications, light and foghorn technology, alterations over the years, and the ship's positionings during its lifetime. Statistical analysis of lightship crews (their home ports, age, positions aboard the lightship and years of service), maintenance costs of lighthouses versus lightships and periods of lightship service off Esbjerg reveal to some degree the importance of the lightship fleet in Denmark in the late 1920s and the backgrounds of the men who served aboard them. The author also details life aboard Danish lightships, including the specifics of watch hours, meals served during a typical week of duty and a crew member's account of his first tempestuous week on station "Horns Rev."

Hahn-Pedersen's work is well researched, but as an introduction to a larger study of Danish lightships and their crews, it is somewhat burdened with statistical analysis. Perhaps some of this detail, such as the correlation between the number of seamen

from Fano employed in the lightship service and the state of the shipping fleet in Fano, would be more appropriate for inclusion in a later volume of research. This work is important though in increasing the amount of detailed literature about lightships, which have been studied less than lighthouses. The text is well complemented with photographs, maps and six profiles and overviews of the original and present day fitting out of *Motorized Lightship #1*. *Danish North Sea Lightships* represents a significant addition to the growing literature on the world's floating beacons. Let us hope that the larger and more comprehensive work mentioned in the preface will be forthcoming.

Chris Mills
Ketch Harbour, Nova Scotia

T. Lindsay Baker. *Lighthouses of Texas*. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1991. xv + 128 pp., colour plates, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-89096-481-5.

This handsomely produced, thoroughly researched book documents the planning, building and operation of the Texas light stations from 1840 to 1988. Its coffee table size does justice to the vibrant water colour paintings of each lighthouse. An overview is given in the introductory chapter. Each of the following chapters then provides a detailed history, colour plate and a photograph of the ten light stations and two lightships which survive either in whole or in part today. The author traces the development of lights from kerosene, coal with steam and electricity to fog signals and radio beacons. He describes the different types of light stations and the reasons for the choice of design in each case.

Baker loses no opportunity to put each light station in the context of events of historic importance. In fact, it was the need to build lighthouses which had promoted the annexation of Texas by the United States in

1845. By 1861, the United States government had built twelve light stations on the Texas coast. Ironically, the lights were then extinguished when Texas seceded from the union and civil war began. The state government believed that the lights were of more advantage to the Union naval blockade than they were to their own confederate ships. The lighthouses were repeatedly affected by war. The outbreak of World War I delayed the construction of the Galveston Jetty light station and, in 1938, the Heald Bank lightship was mounted with a three-inch gun and stationed at the harbour entrance of Norfolk, Virginia.

The book also investigates the duties of the lighthouse keepers, which, aside from tending the light included repairing roofs, painting boats, cutting grass, monthly reporting and, in one case, collecting birds' eggs. Baker successfully uses excerpts from keepers' logs to convey the drama of hurricanes, the frustration caused by bureaucratic incompetence, and sometimes the humour of a human situation. The Heald Bank lightship was, to the dismay of mariners, regularly removed from its station by the Lighthouse Service in the autumn when thick, foggy weather was expected. In another case, a much-needed lens for a light was sent to a world's fair for public display, rather than to the light station. Interviews with people who were associated with the lights relate hardships and danger from malaria, yellow fever and isolation. Hardships of another kind were endured by the young daughters of a keeper who would not allow suitors to call at their remote Sabine Pass location.

Baker's extensive use of primary sources including the official records of the U.S. Lighthouse Service, keepers' logs and his interviews with the people who were associated with the lights, provide historical accuracy and a sense of drama. The book also supplies interesting information for those who are planning a visit to Texas, since some of the lighthouses have been restored

and are open to the public. Although the book ends rather abruptly, it is suitable for both the casual reader and the lighthouse enthusiast. Baker has either modestly underestimated the international appeal of his book, or overestimated the world level of knowledge of Texas geography. He neglected to include a map! *Lighthouses of Texas* is a pleasure to read and a delight for the art lover as well as the marine historian.

Suzanne Spohn
Lions Bay, British Columbia

Chris Mills. *Vanishing Lights: A Lightkeeper's Fascination with a Disappearing Way of Life*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1992. 167 pp., photographs, map, sources. \$10.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-487-0.

In *Vanishing Lights*, Chris Mills combines general notes on lighthouses with selected lighthouse histories and his experiences as a keeper on the last manned light stations in the Maritime Provinces. He recalls his early fascination with lighthouses, attributed to living on the coast, and to extended vacations on Seal and other Islands with his bird-watcher parents. Mills first attempted to find employment as a lightkeeper at sixteen years of age. However, it was not until 1989, when he was twenty-four, that he finally attained this goal.

Chapter one is an introduction of sorts, containing information on the author's background, comment on "de-manning" and summaries of the contents of chapters three through six. In chapter two, entitled "A Maritime Tradition," the author mentions the 1731 Louisbourg Light and touches upon the history of the second and third lighthouses in Eastern Canada, Sambro and Cape Roseway. He then veers to the subject of fire as a major cause of lighthouse destruction before rambling off into general notes on navigational aids, automation and traditional lighthouse-keeping. Also contained in this chapter are some notes on the

technical evolution of light sources. Fog warnings and signals are mentioned but briefly, more detailed descriptions having been relegated to the end notes.

In the bulk of the book, the chapters on Cross Island, Seal Island, Gannet Rock and Machias Seal Island, the author's somewhat dreary experience as what was, in reality, little more than a custodian/watchman, is relieved by tales of former keepers, snippets of island history and comment on the flora and fauna. The book is generously illustrated with fifty-eight photographs, some historical, but the majority taken by the author. Most are relevant and interesting, but it is difficult to understand the inclusion of two virtually identical photographs of the stranded hulk of the MV *Fermont*, or that of a rotting deer head at the base of Cross Island Light.

A brief glossary of lighthouse terminology might have added to the reader's enjoyment of Mills' book, but, on the whole, apart from a rather disjointed style and a somewhat erratic course in the second chapter, he is to be commended for his contribution to the recorded history of navigation in the Maritime Provinces.

Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia

Joseph O'Flynn. *Nautical Dictionary*. Boyne City, MI: Harbor House, 1992. 108 pp. US \$9.95 (+ \$2.50 postage and handling), paper; ISBN 0-937360-16-3.

W.H. Smyth. *The Sailor's Word-Book of 1867: An Alphabetical Digest of Nautical Terms*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1991; reprint of 1867 edition, vi + 744 pp. £40, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-594-2.

These two dictionaries can hardly be compared since, from a purchaser's point of view, they are not really alternatives. One is a useful modern dictionary of practical use to yachtsmen and yachtswomen, the other is

a definitive work originally published at the zenith of the wooden sailing ship era.

Joseph O'Flynn is a yacht broker who saw a need among his customers for a nautical dictionary, so he compiled this slim volume of 3,800 words. All the terms relating to the hulls, sails, engineering and maintenance of pleasure boats can be found here, though many words pertaining to larger vessels and to earlier times can also be found. Although modern in all respects, the book is curiously but entertainingly illustrated with miniatures of nineteenth century woodcuts. Several similar dictionaries have been published—I have two of them on my shelf—but what happens to them all is a mystery, perhaps not enough copies are printed. A quick survey of stores selling nautical books, new and used, found no nautical dictionaries in stock, so perhaps this one is needed.

Admiral W.H. Smyth's *Sailor's Word-Book* is a happy re-issue at a time when a number of books about seventeenth and early eighteenth century seafaring are being published. There seems to be more interest than ever in how sailing evolutions were carried out and what things were called. William Henry Smyth (1788-1865) went to sea during the Napoleonic wars. He spent much of his naval career as a surveyor and was a Fellow and President of the Royal Geographic Society and a considerable scholar. As the editor's preface says, "in addition to naval terms he has introduced others relating to fortifications, to ancient and modern arms and armour; to objects of natural history occurring at sea, in travel, etc." He was also a lover of words, especially, as he says, "of the real sea-terms that are pregnant with meaning," and a proponent of "the pithy conciseness of nautical language." Like Dr. Johnson, he adds his own salty flavour to selected definitions.

What makes this book particularly valuable is its date of publication. Smyth compiled it between 1858 and 1865; it was published shortly after his death. Thus it

contains the authentic vocabulary of the first half of the nineteenth century, the peak of the development of the wooden ship with hempen rigging: the last of the ships of the line and frigates, and the heyday of the coastal traders, packet ships and clippers. At the same time the terminology of the early steam engines and iron construction is included. Thus we learn about "*Compartment Bulkheads*. Some iron ships have adopted the admirable Chinese plan of dividing the hold athwartships into (water-tight) compartments," (thus giving credit where credit was due. Natural history was of great interest to the author. Not only does he describe marine creatures encountered world-wide but gives the local names for all species of commercial fish. He must have questioned fishermen all around the coast of the British Isles. Ancient nautical and military terms and the origin of words dating back to Anglo-Saxon times also intrigued him. Most of the words are concisely and practically defined, but here and there are examples of the admiral's occasional persiflage. My favourite is "*Ditty-Bag... ñiom dittis* or Manchester stuff of which it was once made. It is in use among seamen for holding their small necessaries. The ditty-bag of old, when a seaman prided himself on his rig,...was a treasured article, probably worked in exquisite device by his lady-love." (!) Another fancy of the author is to illustrate definitions with quotations from Shakespeare and other poets.

The *Sailor's Word-Book* is both educational and entertaining. It is an insight into a world, long past but not forgotten. The language of the ships and their crews, familiar to us in paintings and early photographs, survives for those who are interested in the sea, not least the legions of amateur sailors who, as our Merchant Marine disappears, are becoming North America's chief connection with the sea.

Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

William P. Stephens. *Traditions and Memories of American Yachting: The 50th Anniversary Edition*. Brooklin, ME: WoodenBoat Publications Inc., 1989. xi + 467 pp., extensively illustrated with plans and photographs, index. US \$49.95, hardcover; ISBN 0-937822-20-5.

In the late 1930s, Charles F. Chapman, editor of the influential American yachting magazine *Motor Boating*, asked William P. Stephens to write a series of articles about yachting history. Few people were more qualified for the job. By that point, Stephens had been variously a canoe and boatbuilder, a founding member of the New York Canoe Club, canoeing and yachting editor of *Forest and Stream*, one of the organizers of the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers and editor of *Lloyd's Register of American Yachts* for some twenty years.

The series eventually numbered more than eighty parts and appeared in progressively more complete versions beginning in 1940. This new edition is a significant improvement on the earlier ones. It has been completely re-set in new type, unlike earlier volumes which were photographically reproduced from the magazine columns. New illustrations have been added, and new and better prints found for some photographs. The text has been lightly and sympathetically edited, and repetitions resulting from the original serial format have been removed.

This is a central text for any student of yachting and boating history. Stephens wrote from first-hand knowledge about a time of tremendous technical development in the sport. Beginning with schooner *America*, whose victory over a fleet of British yachts gave rise to competition for the eponymous cup, Stephens unfolds the progress of yachting from large schooners, through the sandbagger era of over-canvassed racing machines, to theories of design and measurement, to the development of rigs and *the America's Cup*. He devotes considerable attention to parts of the sport which held a

particular attraction for him, such as sailing canoes and the great sloop vs. cutter controversy, which pitted proponents of deep, narrow British yachts against those who favoured wider, shallower American craft.

There is much of interest here for historians of Canadian yachting. There are *Atalanta* and *Countess of Dufferin's* unsuccessful challenges for the *America's Cup*. There is the Royal Canadian Yacht Club's Aemilus Jarvis and the crew of the victorious *Canada*. There is a photograph of G.L. Watson's great cutter *Madge*, which ended her days on Lake Ontario derelict in a swamp outside Rochester, New York. And there is the story of the iron cutter *Rivet*, one of the earliest yachts in Toronto, built in Glasgow in the 1850s and surviving until 1912, before being finally broken up in Toronto.

The book is worth purchasing for the plans alone. Amply illustrated, it contains draughting of the first order, including the work of such masters as Stephens' fellow yachting journalist C.P. Kunhardt and the English artist and designer Albert Strange. The book is extensively indexed, and all of the numerous illustrations are credited. WoodenBoat Publications is to be congratulated for finally doing justice to Stephens' monumental work.

John Summers
Oakville, Ontario

Jerry Cardwell. *Sailing Big on a Small Sailboat*. Dobbs Ferry, NY: Sheridan House, 1993. 165 pp., figures, photographs, appendices, index. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-924486-34-1. Distributed in Canada by Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, NS.

As a small sailboat sailor, I approached this small book hoping to learn some new tricks to increase the comfort and safety of sailing my boat. In this, I was very disappointed.

Cardwell set an ambitious task for himself in such a small book. He wants to show

us how to sail big in small sailboats. By small he means boats between twenty-two and twenty-six feet L O A , with eight foot or less beam, weighing less than 2,500 pounds, and priced under US \$15,000. The category includes several boats which are easily towed by mid-sized cars, trucks or vans. Sailing with comfort and safety in boats of this size has several advantages. Initial purchase price is reasonable, maintenance costs are low and a variety of areas can be sailed without the cost of shipping the boat to new locations.

Cardwell begins with detailed descriptions of the Hunter 23, Catalina 22 and MacGregor 26—all good examples of small sailboats. The standard and optional equipment for each is listed, followed by over \$7,000-worth of equipment that Cardwell thinks is necessary for sailing big. I cannot disagree with any of the items on this list. He also offers a few suggestions on what to look for when one goes shopping for a boat in this class, berth size, footroom in the cockpit, size of the table, etc.

The chapters on "Topsides" and "Belowdecks" should be the meat of the book and it is here that Cardwell lets us down. He mentions all of the appropriate items such as control lines led to cockpit, sheetstoppers, window curtains and below deck storage. However, we are not shown any methods for improvement in these areas. Anybody who has sailed in a small boat knows these would be valuable improvements; what is needed is some suggestions as to how this can be accomplished without running the cost up too much more. Nothing is mentioned about getting the big stick up and down with limited help. This is a major concern if you plan to trailer your small boat during the season. One of the biggest belowdecks problems in small boats is storage room. Though Cardwell is surprised at the ingenious methods used by others to make more storage space, he refuses to share any of this information with us.

The remaining chapters are devoted to considerations best left to books on sailing

in general: "Sails and Motors;" "The Challenges;" "The Necessities;" and "The Amenities." While the first two are innocuous enough, I feel compelled to comment on the last two. "The Necessities" seem appropriate but is not complete. The compass and the grab rails mentioned in the "Amenities" should be included here as should a second adequately sized anchor. In addition, a couple of fenders would help eliminate damage caused by the bumps Cardwell seems so concerned about. The "Amenities" include such things as a television! The impression left by this book is that Cardwell has tried to do too many things in a very small book and has done none of them well.

Roy Hostetter
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Don Ferguson. *The Jeffrey Boat*. Manotick, ON: Manotick Classic Boat Club, 1992. 73 pp., photographs. Paper; ISBN 0-9696288-0-3.

To wooden boat enthusiasts, be they power or sail, the vintage years were the two decades between the wars and the dozen years which followed. Nowhere was this more evident than in Southern Ontario as the Muskoka builders such as Ditchburn, Greavette and Minett-Shields gained prominence (and customers) throughout North America together with their counterparts in the St. Lawrence Valley, notably Gilbert of Brockville. Less well known was Myles Jeffrey of Athens whose low profile was largely of his own doing as he usually chose to work alone building one, maybe two, occasionally three boats each winter and preferring to go fishing in the summer.

Myles Jeffrey did not set up his own shop until 1932 at age 48. He had learned his trade thoroughly with several established builders in his native St. Lawrence Valley, but also spent a number of years with Chris Craft in Michigan. The years of the "Jeffrey Boat" extended to 1958 and total construe-

tion is believed to have been fifty boats. The majority survive, to-day much sought-after.

Almost all were of "runabout" or "utility" configuration, differing little in design from others of the time. Inevitably some performed admirably and achieved notable racing successes while others behaved less happily. Certain details set the Jeffrey boat apart, notably a "rumble seat" arrangement in many, and always, a dash compartment running the full length of the foredeck for storing boathooks and paddles. Material choices were sometimes unusual. Jeffrey frequently used butternut for decking, planking and even framing. His earlier boats were all iron fastened (later he turned to plated steel), the rationale being that by rusting in place they tended to hold fast. Today's restorers would agree!

The first twenty pages profile the man, his times, his shop and his boats. The book is then committed, a page at a time, to profiles of almost all of those fifty boats and closes with some personal accounts and anecdotes. It all makes for good browsing with a strong dash of nostalgia.

George H. Cuthbertson
Keswick, Ontario

Thomas C. Gillmer. *Pride of Baltimore: The Story of the Baltimore Clippers, 1800-1990*. Camden, ME: International Marine, 1992. xiii + 226 pp., drawings, tables, photographs, appendices, index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87742-309-1.

This book, by an experienced naval architect, tells the story of the Baltimore clipper from its development on Maryland's Eastern Shore during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries through its demise, owing principally to changing economic conditions in the years following the War of 1812, to the rebirth of this fascinating ship type during the 1970s on the shores of Baltimore's revived waterfront with the building of the replica schooners *Pride of*

Baltimore and, following the tragic loss of that vessel, the *Pride of Baltimore II*. Accordingly, the book falls neatly into two almost equal halves for the purposes of review.

The first or historical half of the book begins with a survey of the origins of the Baltimore clipper in the sharp-built vessels of Europe and the North American colonies of Great Britain, proceeds to a description of the configuration, design and building of Baltimore clippers and of the clippers' contribution to the U.S. naval effort during the War of 1812, and concludes with a discussion of the clippers' involvement in the Caribbean and slave trades during the 1820s and the early 1830s. This section of the book is complemented by several useful appendices that set out, for example, a glossary and a list of ships that sailed from the Chesapeake Bay immediately prior to the War of 1812. Although Gillmer recounts the story of the Baltimore clipper in a lively and engaging fashion, this section of the book is, in the end, somewhat unsatisfactory, owing mainly to the author's handling of his historical material.

In addition to simply narrating the story of the Baltimore clipper, Gillmer is also determined to prove both that the activities of the privateers who sailed in the clippers made an important, though, in Gillmer's view, unjustifiably ignored contribution to bringing the War of 1812 "to an honorable end" and that the launching of the *Ann McKim* in Baltimore during 1832 marked the true beginning of the Clipper Ship Era. In both instances, the author argues his case with more vigour than rigour and, as a consequence, fails to present a convincing argument in support of his point of view.

For example, Gillmer asserts that the role of the *Ann McKim* in the development of the clipper ship has been "falsely minimized" by unnamed historians (pp. 101-102), owing primarily to the fact that the yards in which the great clipper ships were built were located in New York and New England. So sweeping a statement seriously misrepres-

sents the work of historians such as Howard Chapelle and blithely ignores the complex evolution of the design of the clipper ship. It is certainly regrettable and perhaps surprising that Gillmer, given his evident desire to make a case for the *Ann McKim* and given that he recognizes the contentious nature of his claims, is content merely to reject the work of Chapelle and others out of hand with a few acerbic remarks, without assessing that work critically and at some length or without providing even a bibliography so that the interested and possibly sympathetic reader could do so for himself and then come to his own conclusion.

The second half of the book presents Gillmer's personal account of the building of the *Pride of Baltimore*, the investigation into the loss of that vessel and the building of a newer, larger sistership, *Pride of Baltimore II*. This will be of particular value to those readers with a practical interest in the building of replica sailing ships.

Gillmer's book had its origins in his passionate interest in the history of the Baltimore clipper and in his own involvement in the building of two replica dippers. The book is written with style and verve, but, as a historical study of this particular ship type, the book is unlikely to replace Chapelle's *The Baltimore Clipper*.

G. Edward Reed
Ottawa, Ontario

Don Lynch. *Titanic: An Illustrated History*. New York and Toronto: Viking/Madison Press Limited, 1992. 227 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$65, cloth; ISBN 0-670-84669-4. Canadian distributor, Penguin Canada, Toronto, Ontario.

Heavily laden with symbolic potential, the spectre of the *Titanic* resurfaces periodically to fascinate antiquarians, historians and legions of the curious. In our own day discovery of the wreck and, one suspects, an Anglo-American obsession with decline have

combined to rekindle interest in that metaphorical prelude to a disaster-prone century. Thus, some eighty years after that memorable night, *Titanic: An Illustrated History* seeks to bring the tragedy-cum-morality play strikingly to life while stripping away long-encrusted layers of mythology. Undertaken on a scale fully commensurate with its once so stately subject, this glossy volume should be prized by the well-versed *Titanic* lorist and the first-time reader alike.

Introduced by Robert D. Ballard, discoverer of the wreck, the text is authored by Donald Lynch of the Titanic Historical Society. Comprehensive in sweep, it leaves few elements of a complex story uncharted. Against a background of heated competition for the luxury liner trade, the origins of the vessel are traced to the ambitions of White Star's British directors and the blossoming maritime empire of their financial backer, American J.P. Morgan. Technical details of design and construction are considered, but not laboured. Instead, emphasis is given to the personal experiences and perceptions of those aboard the ill-starred leviathan. Vivid immediacy is the author's strong suit as he reacquaints us with well-known officers and well-heeled habitués of the *Café Parisien*. But Lynch also combs the lower decks more thoroughly than most and thereby adds depth and freshness to a total impression. After five full chapters on the disaster, the author passes to perennial questions along with new ones arising from inspection of the shattered but still imposing hulk itself. Placing the whole affair in a broader perspective, he concludes by charting the evolution of *Titanic* lore in books, plays, films and memorabilia spawned by successive generations. Appended is a series of biographical sketches and a short but useful bibliography. Throughout, the text is well paced, occasionally dramatic and readily accessible to all.

It is the visual lavishness of this volume, however, that distinguishes it from all other general treatments of the subject. Indeed,

this is unquestionably the best single pictorial record of the *Titanic* ever. Here, the undoubted highlight is the collection of evocative, carefully researched paintings by Ken Marschall. Superbly reproduced, they convey tone and texture in a way that words alone never could. Adding to the effect, specially commissioned illustrations serve to clarify several technical points and photographs in profusion reinforce the sense of vivid reality. The layout and editing, moreover, are deftly done so that images mesh neatly with the text and frequent page turning is unnecessary. As befits a good illustrated history, words and pictures merge into a harmonious whole.

By its very nature, of course, a general work will not completely satisfy everyone. Of necessity, several highly controversial issues are dealt with rather briefly. Foremost among these is the perpetually debated question of the *Californian*. Lynch inclines towards those who would rehabilitate the reputation of her captain, Stanley Lord. In so doing, however, he tends to leave a large body of contrary argument and evidence unassessed. Indeed, those familiar with the literature may find Lynch somewhat bland in comparison with Walter Lord when it comes to apportioning blame for the incident as a whole. It may, in fact, be not at all pedantic to suggest that at least a few key footnotes might have been supplied. Where, in some instances, much hangs on precise words uttered casually or in haste; where so many spoke with one eye on their reputations and another on insurance claims, it would be helpful to know whether or not evidence is corroborated and when it was adduced. The author is clearly aware of such problems, but readers will occasionally like to weigh things for themselves. Even so this book, just as it stands, should find a wide audience and long endure as the best all-round introduction to an ever-compelling story.

James G. Greenlee
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Gordon Turner. *Empress of Britain: Canadian Pacific's Greatest Ship*. Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1992. 216 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, bibliography, index. \$35, cloth; ISBN 1-55046-052-8.

To say that a history of Canadian Pacific's second *Empress of Britain* has been long overdue would be an understatement. A myriad of books have been issued relating to every facet and nuance of the lives of the Queens, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and their chief rival the *Normandie*. However, until now, little has been written about "Canada's Challenger," a vessel more popular amongst the ten-thousand-man workforce of the Clyde than either of Cunard's big two. Now, Gordon Turner has corrected that oversight.

Turner relates the story of the *Empress of Britain* in a straightforward "cradle to grave" format providing every detail and statistic that a reader could want—and then some—along with enough interesting anecdotes and stories to bring the liner back to life for the few brief hours it takes to read this book. After reading *Empress of Britain: Canadian Pacific's Greatest Ship*, George Bernard Shaw's *A Village Wooing* takes on a new meaning as a play entirely written on board the *Empress* during a world cruise.

After taking the *Empress of Britain* from the builder's yard to her maiden voyage, Turner is able to depart from the conventional history of any other liner of her day, because the *Empress of Britain* was purpose-built to serve also as a cruise ship. Turner has written two chapters for each year of service; one for her transatlantic crossings and one for her world cruises. The *Empress* was ahead of her time as a cruise ship, and given the Great Depression and the instability of a world rushing to embrace what became World War II, she clearly chose the wrong time to come into existence.

Turner's book is profusely illustrated with photographs which showcase the *Empress* both inside and out, from her inception to her demise. If there is one

complaint in this quarter, it is the absence of a colour section which could have made use of the many stunning artist renditions of the *Britain's* interiors produced for her pre-maiden and maiden voyage booklets, as well as the many posters turned out to promote her; of these, the most famous has been reproduced on the cover. This exclusion prevents me from calling this the definitive work on the *Empress*.

As to content, Gordon Turner has concentrated almost exclusively on the *Empress of Britain*, so that her relationship with the rest of Canadian Pacific's fleet becomes virtually ignored. We are not made aware that the arrival of the *Empress of Britain* spelt the end for the *Empresses of Scotland* and *France* in the service of the company. Nor do we learn of that little-known scheduling problem which made it impossible for a traveller to sail on the *Empress of Britain*, catch the train across Canada, and take CP's Pacific flagship, the *Empress of Japan*, to the Orient.

Save for these minor criticisms, this is a particularly fine book, and Gordon Turner has done an exemplary job, according the *Empress of Britain* her place not just in world maritime history, but more importantly Canada's history. In an era where the superliners were ambassadors for their countries and the cultures that produced them, the *Empress of Britain* served that role for Canada on a world stage, not just a transatlantic one.

John Davies
New Westminster, British Columbia

Dave Ramwell and Tim Madge. *A Ship Too Far The Mystery of the Derbyshire*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992. xiii + 162 pp., figures, photographs, appendix, notes, glossary, index. £14.99, cloth; ISBN 0-340-56997-2.

On 10 September, 1980, two hundred miles from Japan, with a load of iron ore and

crew of forty-four, MV *Derbyshire* was lost without trace. The Formal Inquiry completed in 1989 concluded that the *Derbyshire* was overcome by the natural forces of Typhoon Orchid. *A Ship Too Far* is a controversial account which disputes this finding and criticises industry practices and government policy alike.

A Ship Too Far describes how the fragile balance between bulk carrier survivability and severe seas was not maintained. It places this tragedy in context with a competitive market place where bulk carrier maintenance standards are sacrificed by some owners in favour of flags of convenience (FOCs), resulting in the lowest cost; not necessarily the safest ships. It discusses the decline of the British shipbuilding industry due to FOCs, containerisation, and government policy. The system in which classification societies set standards, issue licenses and certify ships on behalf of owners who also provide their compensation is questioned. The technical arguments portrayed are plausible and the human tragedy real. MV *Derbyshire* is held up to symbolise these broader issues.

The primary scientific source used extensively in *A Ship Too Far* is a paper by Bishop, Price and Temarel published by the Royal Institution of Naval Architects (RINA) in 1991 entitled "A Theory on the Loss of the MV *Derbyshire*." Advanced dynamic theories of hydroelasticity are utilised. A report by then British Ship Research Association using a conventional approach derived a similar conclusion. A Salvage Association surveyor, Mr. Ridyard, whose son was lost with the *Derbyshire*, has dredged up considerable information related to *Derbyshire's* five sister ships. The authors use this along with inquiry transactions and material from discussions with relatives to complete the picture.

The failure theory is presented with a tone of conclusiveness not found at the inquiry, in essence a design change in the area of frame 65 left the local structure

discontinuous and particularly vulnerable to fatigue cracks. Field stresses, reported in the RINA paper (by time dependent simulations which account for fluctuations in loads and resulting hull responses) were high in relation to material strength of the ship subject to typhoon type wave loading. Stresses, magnified by local discontinuous geometry, were singled out as causing rapid crack propagation (brittle fracture) across the weather deck just forward of the bridge (some question exists amongst fracture mechanics experts whether brittle fracture could have occurred). The ship was thought to have then split in two, sinking almost instantaneously.

A Ship Too Far is an intriguing account of what may have occurred. It suggests that *Derbyshire's* weakness may be common to bulk carriers and that improved design and maintenance practices are in order. The authors suggest government intervention; licensing and certification by Britain, America and Europe is advanced as an important first step.

Is this the definitive statement on the MV *Derbyshire* disaster? This reader believes not. Yet there is reason for concern which cannot be treated lightly. The RINA paper is highly recommended as supplementary reading for those particularly interested in the technical arguments.

K B. Holt
Belleville, Ontario

Lars U. Scholl. *Der Marinemaler Hans Peter Jürgens*. Herford, Germany: Koehlers Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991. 163 pp. photographs, colour and black & white plates. 58 DM, cloth; ISBN 3-7822-0523-5.

Hans Peter Jürgens is held to be Germany's most important living marine painter. He is also well known abroad. His works were shown twice in New York, in the White Hall Club in 1982-83 and in the South Street Seaport Museum in 1985. Jürgens combines

a comprehensive knowledge of maritime history with an artistic and refined draughtsmanship. Previously, he has published two volumes illustrated by a thematic selection of his ship paintings: *Aile Meere haben Ufer: Die Abenteuer der Entdeckungen (All Seas Have Shores: The Adventure of Discoveries)* (Munich 1974) and *Abenteuer Walfong (Adventure of Whaling)* (Herford 1977). It therefore seems natural that in this latest volume, Jürgens supplies each of the reproductions with his own text on the vessels portrayed as well as particulars of the incident delineated. Thematically the illustrations are divided into four chapters: "Sailing ships;" "On the road and in the harbours;" "Steamers and fishing boats;" and "Whalers, research vessels and others."

In each of these chapters, several motifs have their background in the artist's own story. Born in Cuxhaven in 1924, Jürgens spent his growing years in that seaport on the North Sea. Like his father, now a captain, Hans Peter got his chance of beginning his education at sea from the Laeisz Shipping Company, in 1939 he signed onto the four-masted barque *Priwall* on a voyage which turned out to be the last passage around Cape Horn by a sailing ship before World War II. As the war broke out, *Priwall* found herself in hostile waters, and she was placed under embargo in the port of Valparaiso. The crew, including Jürgens, succeeded in running the blockade on board the German vessel *Erlangen*, only to be caught in the South Atlantic by a British cruiser. Jürgens became a prisoner of war first in Sierra Leone, then in Scotland, and finally in Canada. He did not return to Germany until 1946, on the Cunard liner *Mauritania*. After a break of seven years, he took up his maritime education again and, after passing his final examination in 1957, served as captain for the Hansa Shipping Company in Bremen. For almost thirty years beginning in 1960, Jürgens served as a pilot in Kiel the Baltic seaport.

In his paintings, Jürgens has specialized

in watercolours, the surfaces of which consist of very thin layers of translucent colouring. Many of his works feature the fine threads of foam and a dust of atomized drops on the surface of the sea. Most of his ship paintings are of specific vessels, accurately drawn as ship portraits, but in each composition, ship, sea and sky are combined with equal mastery. During three decades, his way of portraying ships has not altered thematically, except that a still more delicate handling of his brush can be recognized. Most of the present works date from the last decade. Jurgens stresses that he does not feel himself influenced by the German marine painters from the *grande epoche* before 1918. He also dissociates himself from the propagandistic note in the German painters' works, to the extent that he unwillingly admits that a number of his own paintings were ordered by shipping companies and organizations. Instead, he considers the British marine painters such as Nicholas Pocock, William Turner, Richard Parkes **Bonington** and John Ward as his models. Jurgens' fine paintings will therefore seem **familiar** to all Anglo-American art lovers.

Hanne Poulsen
Espergerde, Denmark

J. Wilson Myers, Eleanor Emlen Myers and Gerald Cadogan. *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992. xix + 318 pp., maps, photographs, figures, glossary, index. US \$85, cloth; ISBN 0-520-07382-7.

This atlas aims to introduce in one single volume a comprehensive documentation of archaeological sites in the island of Crete, from the Bronze Age till Late Roman, although there are also references to later periods, for a comparative study, based on balloon photography.

The volume is divided into two parts. The first introductory part contains a series of brief essays written by specialists, includ-

ing the editors. Each essay ends with a relevant bibliography. The opening essay discusses methodically the complimentary function of ground plans and aerial archaeology, emphasizing the advantage of balloon photographs over those made by airplanes, in recording and interpretation of excavations. After briefing the history of balloon photography, its method and equipment are detailed. The second essay is devoted to the geomorphology of Crete, showing the direct correlation between the geological setting, the characteristics of soils, the ground water and the distribution of archaeological sites in the island, during the prehistoric period only. However, in light of the Minoan maritime activity, it would have been proper to discuss more thoroughly the configuration of the Cretan shoreline and the Bronze Age harbours, with reference to the alteration in land-sea relations during the past five millennia. The next short chapter, discussing Cretan vegetation shaped by climate, geology and soils, gives a perspective on the environment of the sites treated in the atlas. Still, there is no indication of wine, oil or olives as Cretan products of the Minoan maritime export trade. The writer of the last essay sketches a vast historical survey of Crete since prehistoric times to the present, focusing on the characteristics of the distribution areas of habitation, their culture and monuments. Again, the maritime aspect is very marginal or completely missing. Referring to later periods, the predominant role played by Crete in the Venetian maritime empire (1205-1669) cannot be ignored. Although the Venetian sites are, unfortunately, outside the scope of the book, it should have been mentioned that the main northern ports—Heraklion, Chania and Rethimno—gained their major urban land and marine layout during the Venetian period. These cities should have been indicated in Figure 1.1 as "modern cities with archaeological sites."

The second and major part of the volume is the atlas itself, containing forty-four

archaeological sites, alphabetically organized. The entry to each location's wonderful aerial photographs side by side with drawn plans demonstrates their complimentary functions—one of the editors' well-achieved goals. The entries also contain brief tabular text, ground-level pictures of monuments and views, technical and bibliographical information. It is unfortunate that the Roman port of Chersonisos, surveyed in 1955, is missing. On the other hand, the different marine aspects of Bronze Age harbours like Mallia, Pseira and Classic and Roman Olous, ignored in the introductory part, are well treated in the atlas.

As a whole, the editors have launched an impressive atlas to be appreciated by scholars and laymen alike.

Ruthi Gertwagen
Qiriat Motzkin, Israel

T.H. Lloyd. *England and the German Hanse 1157-1611: A Study of Their Trade and Commercial Diplomacy*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. ix + 411 pp., tables, appendices, bibliography, index. £45, US \$79.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-40442-8.

This is the first study of relations between England and the Hanseatic League during the entire period of their commercial and diplomatic contacts. The Hanse was a curious hybrid, not a territorial state but certainly a political power. As a community of commercial interest, it existed solely to promote the trade of its members, initially individual merchants but later, the citizen bodies of the German and Baltic trading towns, above all Lubeck. Trade was also the primary concern of the English in relations with the Hanse, and there was constant bargaining over the status each granted to the other's merchants.

Lloyd describes how the Hanse emerged amidst the precocious economic development of the Baltic region in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries; under Edward I, patron of alien merchants, it won legal and fiscal privileges in England. By the fifteenth century, Hanse freedom from tonnage and poundage gave it a considerable advantage over native merchants, who regarded it with rising hostility, especially in London. There, its trade was increasingly concentrated in its headquarters, the Steelyard, as Hanse merchants withdrew from outports such as Boston which had earlier played a large part in Anglo-Baltic trade. They were predominantly exporters of English cloth, their imports of furs, metalware, German wines, wax and yarn being insufficient to balance the trade. Friction reached a peak with the seizure in May 1449 off the Isle of Wight of the salt fleet sailing back from Bourgneuf. Nearly half the ships were Hanse, and this naked piracy, condoned by the Crown, deeply embittered relations. Worse was to come. War in 1468-74 was followed by a period of diplomatic stability and commercial growth, but all over the commercial world there were ominous signs that the League's days were numbered, such as the closure of the Novgorod *Kontor* (staple) in 1494, and in England, the rise of the Merchant Adventurers and the attack on Hanse privileges by Wolsey. The cardinal fell but the Hanse survived and flourished; its cloth exports from London in 1547-8 were the highest ever recorded. Yet just when a low profile might have ensured a long period of calm under the conservative government of Elizabeth, the Hanse chose after 1578 to attempt to keep the Merchant Adventurers out of Germany, a battle it could not win. The Eastland Company was founded in 1579, and in 1598 the Lord Mayor of London took possession of the Steelyard, giving the few merchants remaining there several days' grace to remove their possessions.

Lloyd charts centuries of complex negotiations with meticulous detail revising several generally-held assumptions. Each chapter consists of a chronological outline of the phases of diplomacy, followed by an

analysis of the trade structure over the same period, derived from extensive work on the customs accounts in the Public Record Office in London. He also makes good use of printed German materials unfamiliar to most English readers. However, as he comments, what needs explaining is not why the Hanse finally succumbed but why it lasted so long. Frequently the book becomes bogged down by its sheer mass of information and the endless accounts of embassies patching up disputes over piracies or other stoppages to commerce. There is relatively little on the Hanse merchants' commercial expertise, their feel for the continental markets in which they sold such quantities of English cloth, and their financial skills; we have no sense of entering the Steelyard. Lloyd makes a solid and scholarly contribution to economic history, but readers will still need Philippe Dollinger's general survey, *The German Hansa* (London 1964) while Johannes Schildhauer's splendidly illustrated *The Hansa: History and Culture* (Leipzig 1988) conveys the wealth and vitality of the League at its height, a dimension sadly lacking here.

Pauline Croft
London, England

Frederic Chapin Lane. *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992; reprint of 1934 edition, ix + 285 pp., figures, tables, appendices, index. US \$15.95, paper; ISBN 0-8018-4514-9.

Fred C. Lane is well known as the quintessential historian of the Venetian maritime past and the ships and shipbuilders of Venice. Thus, the re-publication of this work in an affordable paperback format will be welcomed by students of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Venetian history. Moreover it has all the hallmarks of a work originally published in 1934: it is virtually error-free and a quality publication.

Yet the book bears the distinct scars of a re-worked PhD thesis (which it is!). It is a highly detailed and complete description of the two shipbuilding processes of Venice, that carried out in the state-owned Arsenal and the commercial process carried out in private yards. Masters found employment in both areas, and had the right of return to the Arsenal if they found no employment in private yards. After eight years of indentured service with a Master, a nod from him was sufficient assurance that an apprentice had learned his craft.

This is less a book for the casual reader than it is for the specialist. The research that was done for this work was obviously painstaking and thorough in the extreme. Indeed, when one thinks of the hours that must have been spent in the musty and damp libraries of Venice collating, sorting, and often translating the necessary documents that could be found, one can hardly blame Lane for being highly protective of his original work. For instance, in addition to the extensive text, the book contains seven additional appendices and ten tables. These data show the construction measurements of Venetian ships, from which it is possible to calculate the sizes of the various types. A useful table of Venetian weights, measures and monetary equivalents is also provided. Information on the number and types of ships built by the Venetian masters is given as well as details of construction costs, rough times of sailing on various voyages, and types of cargo carried. In short, the book provides such a useful mass of information within its covers that it cannot help but be of great value to anyone who is studying this period of Venetian history.

Apart from the quantifiable data, Lane is full of fascinating nuggets of information which he scatters liberally throughout the book. He quickly disabuses one of ideas taken for granted, such as the fact that an Admiral was not the senior rank in the Venetian fleet, but rather the senior navigating officer, and when in the employ of the

Arsenal, was paid less than the Chief Book-keeper! One is also surprised to learn that oars were not the main propulsive power of the galleys, but were only used for manoeuvre in confined waters, or in an emergency. Sail was their main power.

It is this rich vein of information that makes this book well worth its purchase; indeed, it is cheap at the price.

Jim Lawless
Ottawa, Ontario

Xavier Pastor. *The Anatomy of the Ship: The Ships of Christopher Columbus—Santa Maria, Nina and Pinta*. London: Conway Maritime Press and Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1992. 118 pp., photographs, figures, maps, tables, bibliography. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-585-3. Distributed in Canada for NIP by Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

This latest addition to Conway's acclaimed "Anatomy" series does not measure up to some of the other titles in the series. The problem is not with the quality of the presentation, for this is a handsome volume with well-executed line drawings and photographs which meet the high standards set for the series. Rather, the problem is with the content of the subject matter.

The book purports to provide a definitive and up to date description of each of Columbus' ships from his first voyage to America. Unhappily, the author's focus is narrow and he ignores much current research bearing on the subject. Serious ship researchers will find precious little new information in this book.

Ten pages are devoted to text. This is in keeping with the goal of the series, which provides detailed descriptions of ship types using principally illustrative material. After a short history of Columbus' first voyage, Pastor focuses on the four main Spanish reproduction projects: the Fernandez-Duro *Santa Maria* replica (1892); the Guillen

Santa Maria replica (1927); the Martinez-Hidalgo *Santa Maria* replica (1964); and more recently, the reproductions of the *Santa Maria, Nina* and *Pinta* for the Columbus quincentenary. These last replicas are all based heavily on Martinez-Hidalgo's earlier work. Although only briefly described, the major features of each reconstruction is covered. As the author considers the Martinez-Hidalgo reproductions to be the most accurate, the most extensive descriptions are reserved for these. In fact, Martinez-Hidalgo's work also forms the basis for the bulk of the drawings. The lack of figure references in the text was somewhat irritating.

The rest of the book is composed of a wealth of illustrative material in two sections. The first section consists of photographs and illustrations depicting the Fernandez-Duro and Guillen reproductions, iconographic material, the Matarô model as well as models of the Martinez-Hidalgo *Nina* and *Pinta*. The second section is confined solely to a great number of plans and drawings. These include lines, sections, elevations, profiles and deck plans plus details of fittings, rigging, masts and yards, sails, armaments, flags and ship's boats. The emphasis here is on the Martinez-Hidalgo *Santa Maria*, although the Fernandez-Duro and Guillen replicas as well as Martinez-Hidalgo's *Nina* and *Pinta* are treated to a lesser degree. As stated above, the drawings are finely executed, but their accuracy has to be questioned.

As an example, Pastor relies almost solely on the Matarô model, a fifteenth-century votive model for the internal structure of the *Santa Maria*. This results in first futtocks that start at the centreline of the vessel and run up to above the main deck. At midships, this would require futtocks approximately seven metres long, an unrealistic length. One can envisage the difficulty in obtaining suitably curved timbers of the correct length from which to make the futtocks. Also, the excavations of a number of

sixteenth-century Spanish vessels, some dating to only shortly after Columbus' voyages, have not demonstrated this method of frame construction. In every case, the first futtocks have been attached near the outboard end of the floor timbers and do not meet over the keel. Similar arguments can be mounted for other internal features of the reproduction. For example, the inclusion of hold pillars and the lack of ceiling planking is not supported by the most relevant archaeological evidence.

These examples, among the many others that could be cited, point out a major failing of the book, that is, the selection of a rather narrow range of historical sources while completely ignoring pertinent archaeological information and other research. This is evidenced by the disappointingly short bibliography. While it is true there is precious little information on how fifteenth-century vessels were constructed, there is important research bearing on the subject. For example, the late John Sarsfield has demonstrated the ethnographic survival of pre-sixteenth century Mediterranean shipbuilding techniques in Brazil which are particularly germane to the topic. In fact, a reproduction of a caravel based on his work recently outperformed all the competition in the "1992 Columbus regatta."

A sounder approach, I feel, would have been to study the wealth of new information, both archival and archaeological, on sixteenth-century Spanish vessels and to extrapolate the important elements for the reconstructions. This information, and particularly the extant vessel remains, are close enough in time to the Columbus era to be considered seriously as valid sources of research knowledge. The reliance on a single model of doubtful accuracy for important internal structural elements is academically unsound.

One wonders whether this book was published to capitalize on the Columbus quincentenary. People seriously interested in the ships of Columbus will be disappointed for this is not a new study. At best, it suc-

ceeds as an illustrated historical summary of the various Spanish efforts to replicate Columbus' ships. It may also hold some interest for modelmakers who might want to duplicate these reconstructions. I believe that both the author and the publisher have missed a fine opportunity to further the research of these important vessels by failing to incorporate the latest information. A more in-depth and current study of these ships is still required.

R. James Ringer
Ottawa, Ontario

John Frye (trans, and ed.). *Seafaring in the Sixteenth Century: The Letter of Eugenio de Salazar, 1573*. San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991. iii + 69 pp. US \$14.95, paper; ISBN 0-7734-9880-X.

The purpose of this slim volume is to reproduce in facsimile an 1866 Spanish publication, with original English translation on facing pages. A bilingual prologue is provided by José-Maria Martfnez-Hidalgo, former director of the Maritime Museum of Barcelona. The text is a letter from one university-trained lawyer to another, recounting a distasteful, but uneventful, voyage from Tenerife to Santo Domingo in July 1573. No information is provided on the location of the original letter, and very little is said concerning the 1866 publication. The voyage was upon a Spanish merchantman, the *Nuestra Senora de los Remedios*; Salazar (1530-1602) provides no information on the nature of the vessel the number of crewmen, or the other passengers, and no effort has been made to trace the ship in surviving sixteenth-century records. No comparative information on early-modern European seafaring, published or unpublished, is provided.

Salazar makes it clear this was his first deep-sea voyage. The value of the narrative account is that the writer, as a wide-eyed novice, provides information otherwise taken

for granted and seldom recorded. The principal limitation is that, as a novice, Salazar obviously possesses little understanding of what he observes. For example, in commenting extensively upon the language of the sea (considered a principal merit of the tract), he confesses, "I understood no more than the babbling of the roaring crowd." (p. 39) This being the case, how useful or authoritative are his observations? What is required is careful editorial scholarship informing the reader of the meaning and significance of Salazar's information. None whatsoever is forthcoming. What Salazar does understand he deprecates. The fare at meals for the crew included "biscuit, as white and clean as piles of dung." (p. 41) An understanding of shipboard provisions related to food consumed by similar socio-economic groups within this society would be valuable; Salazar's observation that "all that is eaten is corrupt and fetid" is so value laden as to be valueless (notably, he provides no information on morbidity or mortality apart from the extensive seasickness suffered by himself and other passengers). He concludes that the ship's complement is "a noisy crowd": "the citizens of this city [the ship] have no more amity, faith, or charity when at sea than the sea snails" (p. 35). Is this an astute observation on the absence of shipboard camaraderie—a topic of serious scholarly interest—or merely uninformed class snobbery? One does not expect Salazar to transcend his own cultural context. One does expect informed editorial guidance on the pressing issues of typicality and reliability. Salazar is at his best where his own knowledge is relevant, as in his account of a religious ceremony on the Sabbath. Unfortunately, he generally prefers carefully crafted humanist puns and a knowing tone of superior suffering, characteristic of a genre of travel literature in this period, to dispassionate observation.

This account deserves to be readily available in an English edition. The precise contribution to our understanding of Euro-

pean seafaring in this period, in southern or northern waters, is at present undetermined and must await further study.

J.D. Alsop
Hamilton, Ontario

Peter Earle. *The Last Fight of the Revenge*. London: Collins & Brown, 1992. 192 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. £18, cloth; ISBN 1-85585-106-7.

Peter Earle, the accomplished narrator of *The Wreck of the Almiranta* and of *The Sack of Panama*, makes considerable use of documents in the *Archivo General de Simancas* in this careful and gripping description of how Sir Richard Grenville and the *Revenge* met their fate.

A squadron of some twenty-two English naval and privateering vessels was cruising in the Azores in August 1591, hoping to catch the rich plate fleet from the Spanish Caribbean. However, the Spanish navy had recovered from the disaster of 1588, and Don Alonso de Bazan's fleet of fifty-three ships had been sent to escort the plate fleet from the Azores. The English squadron was surprised, out-manoeuvred, and out-numbered, but all save the superbly-equipped 42-gun *Revenge* managed to escape the trap.

Earle's retelling of this tale sinks a fleet of myths. We now know that the arrogant, privileged, and brutal Grenville had never been to sea except as a passenger before his forty-second birthday, but became a celebrated seadog by dying after his first genuine sea battle seven years later. Grenville was simply attempting to rejoin his squadron, commanded by Lord Thomas Howard, when he challenged the encircling Spanish fleet. Contrary to legend, only five Spanish ships were directly involved in the action, and two English ships tried in vain to help the doomed *Revenge*. Overhauled and rammed by the larger and faster *San Felipe*, the *Revenge* had only half an hour of free play with her splendid bronze guns before

she was lashed to the attacking *San Bemabe* from stem to stern. While the English continued to damage other attacking vessels with impressive heavy guns, the fight became a small arms duel for control of the deck of the *Revenge*. When the badly-wounded Grenville proposed blowing up the ship, along with the three Spanish ships lashed to it, he still had seventy of his original ninety barrels of powder. However, few of the surviving hundred of the 260 sailors were willing to commit suicide after fighting so hard for their lives. They surrendered, were well-treated, and were promptly repatriated. Grenville and the *Revenge* both died of their wounds and were buried at sea. Ingenious Spanish salvage workers recovered the last of the bronze cannons from under the wreck some thirty-four years later. For decades thereafter they defended the castle of San Phelipe in Terceira, becoming scrap centuries before scuba divers began pursuing the legend that the guns were still off-shore.

Stirring myths about the last fight of the *Revenge*, initially generated by Sir Walter Raleigh to salvage something from the English defeat and by embarrassed Spanish naval officers trying to explain the damage suffered in so small a victory, have lived too long. Earle's excellent little volume demonstrates that recovering the incomplete and provisional truth can be much more interesting than either repeating or forgetting a chauvinist legend.

Ian K Steele
London, Ontario

G.J.A. Raven and N.A.M. Rodger (eds.). *Navies and Armies: The Anglo-Dutch Relationship in War and Peace, 1688-1988*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1990. x + 118 pp., index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85976-292-0.

This book is a welcome addition to the shelves both of those who see sea-power as an outcome of national aspiration and pol-

icy, and of those who delight in the relationship of sailors, and indeed soldiers, to one another. However, it is one thing to attempt to describe, in a short space, the politico-military relationship between the English and the Dutch, it is quite another to carry it off. This book does it—triumphantly. A good deal of the reason for this was accomplished by the very selection of the speakers invited to the conference to commemorate 1688 at Den Helder. Good people make for a good conference, and with good editors the result can be a good book. This is a good book because, addressing military-naval relationships across nearly four centuries, the various authors have managed to write, all of them, chapters that speak to the theme, trenchantly address aspects of importance, and yet aim at future publication.

The last two chapters, by nature general and dealing with the military-naval responses of the two protestant societies to their continental and world-wide situations, are models of pointed intelligence. Eric Grove is especially balanced notwithstanding his enthusiasm for Haig & Co.; indeed there is hardly a foot put wrong. It is interesting to see Rodger, who deals with his topic in the broadest possible way, end by strongly pointing out that it was the naval partnership that did most to bind the two countries together through an interaction that went beyond the *Zuider Zee* on the one hand and the *Goodwins* on the other. Van Heslinga, writing primarily of the pre-1700 period, had perhaps the hardest part of the story to tell which he did in almost completely economic terms, mentioning the name Michael Ruyter not once! Zwitzer, in his detailed work on the relationship of British and Netherlands armies 1688-1795 has hard words for the lack of symmetry between the professed and real aims of his countrymen. Looking at the East Indies, de Moor was struck by the fact that Dutch policy was determined by the inexorable fact of British Imperial growth, and the consequent heavy-handed behaviour. When Professor Teitler came to deal with

the modern era (post-1936) he kept an even-handed approach. At a time when the British were under pressure from the Americans and at the same time attempting to distance themselves from Dutch Colonial practice, sharp opinions were sparked everywhere, not least in Amsterdam and London. In this magnificent chapter Teitler lets the reader see the contending difficulties and yet he never allows them to assume such proportions in his narrative that they block consideration of what was, after all at base a history of comradeship.

I hope that this book is widely read, and, even more, that it is used both in civilian universities and military-naval schools. An absolute gem of a book!

Donald M. Schurman
Sydenham, Ontario

Robert J. Gardiner and Brian Lavery (eds.). *Conway's History of the Ship: The Line of Battle: The Sailing Warship 1650-1840*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1992. 208 pp., illustrations, bibliography, glossary, index. £28, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-561-6.

Robert J. Gardiner and David K. Brown (eds.). *Conway's History of the Ship: The Eclipse of the Big Gun: The Warship 1906-45*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1992. 223 pp., illustrations, bibliography, glossary, index. £28, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-566-7.

There have been many and varied "histories" of ships, some useful but most notable only for the numbers of errors on every page. Now Conway, the leading publisher in the field, has launched a new series, of which these are the first volumes of twelve to appear. On their evidence, this will be by far the best work of its kind. The editors' declared intent is to provide a first point of reference for specialists in one period or ship type who wish to cross into others. To this end, they have aimed for a detailed, authoritative and up-to-date account, avoid-

ing old myths but not attempting to present new research. In all of this they have succeeded admirably.

The core of both books is a set of individually-authored chapters. Each describes the development of a single category of ships, be it aircraft carriers or oared warships, during the period covered by the volume. The chapters are as varied as their authors, many of whom here present digests of their own recent monographs on the same topics. Some, like Norman Friedman's treatment of carriers, are excellent. Others degenerate into little more than incomplete listings of classes (something that reprints of *Jane's* do better for 1906-45), in some cases marred by unfortunate reduction from longer texts or else by a too literal attention to the dates covered by the volume (thus, destroyer development cannot be understood from an account that begins in 1906). This arrangement has obvious virtues but it can leave the reader unsure of the relationships between different ship types. For example, by 1945, were navies primarily composed of major units or of flotillas of escorts?

The chapters range widely, extending far beyond the topics of each book's main title to encompass mercantile conversions, landing craft, fire ships and other poorly-known types, in addition to the obvious capital ships and cruisers. *Eclipse of the Big Gun*, however, lacks net layers, harbour auxiliaries (which *Line of Battle* has), midget submarines and others. It includes some "human torpedoes" but lacks the German variant. *Line* covers everything down to the gunboats that were so popular after 1800 but excludes ship's boats, even though they were often used on independent service at the time. All relevant varieties are included, though the emphasis is necessarily on those on which research has been done; largely the RN and USN in *Eclipse*, the RN and the French in *Line*. Canada barely rates a mention.

Following these core chapters, there are others on more general topics. These are

particularly well developed in *Line*, where they cover ship design, gunnery, seamanship, tactics and other topics. *Eclipse* explores weapons, electronics and camouflage but has nothing on naval aviation, leaving a very strange view of the progress of carrier warfare. Each book has an excellent annotated bibliography spanning primary sources and research papers as well as books. These are rare delights in a field where photographs are generally preferred to footnotes and, once those from all twelve volumes are available, would merit separate publication. There is also a glossary, though that in *Eclipse* tends to give trite definitions of terms explained at greater length in the text. These would have been better replaced with index entries.

Both books are as error-free as current knowledge permits. Most of the myths have been purged, though *Eclipse* persists in the belief that specialized landing craft were a twentieth-century development whereas *Line* describes their eighteenth-century form. The principal deficiency of these books, however, and particularly of *Eclipse*, is that they concentrate on the "what" and "when" of nautical technology with too little of the "why," the technical, strategic and economic forces that shape ships. Still less do they address the men on board, the battles they fought or their impacts on human affairs. It is as though some of the authors had written their chapters after examining a very comprehensive collection of models but without ever seeing a real ship. *Eclipse* does not even comment on whether the development decisions made were proven right or wrong by experience. In these respects, *Line* is relatively better balanced. Within its restricted focus, it is the best single-volume treatment of its topic available.

Readers might note that both volumes are also available by subscription in a limited edition for £21 per volume.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia

Blaise OUIVIER; David H. Roberts (ed. & trans.). *18th Century Shipbuilding: Remarks on the Navies of the English & the Dutch [1737]*. Rotherfield, England: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1992. viii + 384 pp., illustrations, drawings, glossary, appendices, lists of ships, bibliography, index. £45 (+ £5 shipping, £7.50 abroad), US \$100, cloth; ISBN 0-948864-11-7.

In 1737 Blaise OUIVIER, Chief Constructor of the French navy's largest dockyard at Brest, was ordered by the Minister of the Marine to go on a secret mission to England and the Netherlands to inquire into the techniques employed to build warships. Ollivier's mission lasted nearly five months, during which he visited major dockyards in both countries, evaluated English and Dutch shipbuilding practices, compared them with those employed in France, and considered whether they should be adopted. Ollivier's findings were reported in a 360-page manuscript which is here translated and reproduced together with the original French text. OUIVIER illustrated his report with thirteen sheets of drawings which are also reproduced.

Blaise OUIVIER's report is probably the most important document on naval construction written during the age of sail. Unlike other works that are prescriptive and highly theoretical, this report is intensely practical, unpretentious and uniquely comparative. Above all it is as clear a description as ever existed of contemporary practice. OUIVIER identified and discussed the significance of differences between English, Dutch and French shipbuilding practices; at the same time, he also noted variations between individual shipwrights and between dockyards within each country. No other document has ever been found that comes close to the detailed analysis which is presented here.

The English translation is of the combined text as contained in two French versions; one can still be found in the naval

archives at Brest, while the other is in the private possession of the distinguished naval architect and historian, Jean Boudriot. David H. Roberts is already well known for his translation of Boudriot's magnificent four-volume work, *The Ship of Seventy-Four Guns* (Jean Boudriot Publications, 1986-1989; the original French edition appeared 1973-1977). Once again the two men have closely collaborated to produce Ollivier's *Remarks* and they have done an excellent job.

Blaise Ollivier was the foremost among several little known but highly innovative French master shipwrights active during the quarter century before 1744. During this period, when the French navy's funds were sharply reduced and warship construction slowed to a near lifeless pace, they introduced some of the most significant changes in naval shipbuilding in the entire eighteenth century. The first of the famous French seventy-fours had been laid down in 1719 but *Le Terrible*, the first to mount twenty-eight 36-pounders on her main gun deck (designed by Ollivier's uncle) only appeared at Toulon in 1739. The first sixty-four redesigned (also by one of his uncles) with twenty-six 24-pounders had appeared at Rochefort four years previous, and in 1741 the first modern single-deck frigate to mount twenty-six guns of the same calibre, *La Medée*, designed by Ollivier himself, came off the ways at Brest. Finally, three years later the first eighty-gun ship to mount cannons of a single calibre on each of two continuous gun decks was launched at Toulon. All of these developments add to the significance of Ollivier's report of his secret mission, for they reflect the fruitful eclecticism and openness that characterised French naval construction during this period. Readers may also find it of considerable interest that during these same years, which in England are identified with the 1719 Establishment, shipwrights were not as rigid as some have claimed. The keen-eyed Ollivier saw and marked many practices, indicating

shipwrights there continually altered and innovated more than previously thought. Even though these craftsmen were not engineers applying the lessons of science—whatever that might mean—neither were they tinkerers; they understood that in the real world of here and now, there are no perfect ships. There are only better ones. Best is the enemy of better.

This is a fully annotated complete translation of a highly technical document, and the editor-translator has expended great effort to make it yield all the information it contains and to aid the reader's comprehension. The translation includes Ollivier's marginalia, which was added at a later date to one French copy. It is also accompanied by part of a glossary of shipbuilding terms written by Ollivier in 1736. The only disappointment is the lengthy introduction which, though quite informative, is chopped up into thirteen poorly connected sections. It includes a factual account of Ollivier's life, cut short by death at age forty-five, but it fails to place Ollivier and French shipbuilding in any real social or political context and ignores completely the interaction between culture and technology. Ships are not simply material objects to be studied for their details of construction. They are human constructs, social artifacts, and while they reflect a given level of technical knowledge, they also embody a socioeconomic context, which unfortunately, the editor ignores. Societies shape their technological innovators as well as their innovations; historians can no longer afford to ignore such a contextual approach to technology.

Having said this, Ollivier's *Remarks on the Navies of the English and the Dutch* is a major and very welcome addition to a growing collection of original sources being made available to an increasing audience of appreciative readers.

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario

William Henry Flayhart ILL *Counterpoint to Trafalgar: The Anglo-Russian Invasion of Naples, 1805-1806*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992. xiii + 198 pp., tables, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87249-824-7.

By 1805 a third coalition, of Austria, Britain and Russia, had been formed to resist Napoleon's ambition and a British expedition to the Mediterranean planned, to check French expansion and keep Sicily out of French hands. From the first things went wrong. Despatches informing Admiral Nelson of the expedition miscarried. He first learned of its existence, sheltering at Lisbon, while at Gibraltar, preparing to pursue the French fleet which had escaped from Toulon. Flayhart convincingly describes the anxieties of this period and the steps taken by the British to limit its dangers. Only on reaching Gibraltar did the British commander, Sir James Craig, a capable, experienced soldier, learn that his force would be part of a joint Anglo-Russian expedition, commanded by the Russian general, Lacy. Of Irish Jacobite descent, Lacy was brave but elderly. His plans, formed by subordinates, envisaged an attack on the French army in Calabria rather than the protection of Sicily. Though Lacy himself was co-operative, his staff was hostile to the British. The commander of the Neapolitan army, a French emigre favourite of the queen, despised by his own staff, was jealous of Lacy. Moreover, the covert diplomacy by which the Neapolitan monarchy sought to preserve itself was dishonourable and contradictory, Plans for an Anglo-Russian invasion to protect the kingdom of Naples from the French army continued, despite that army's evacuation of the country. Lacy did not inform Craig of this fact and the British commander could get no accurate idea of his allies' troop numbers. The unnecessary invasion took place two weeks after the battle of Trafalgar, which had been precipitated by Napoleon's orders to Admiral Villeneuve to break the British

blockade of Cadiz, enter the Mediterranean and destroy the expedition while it was still at sea. The expedition itself had no such glorious success. Dogged by shortages and sickness and threatened from the north by an advancing French army, it evacuated Naples two months later, amidst Neapolitan recriminations and quarrelling between Craig and the British ambassador. Yet despite confusion and mismanagement, the original aim of the British expedition was achieved and Sicily secured, as British troops confronted the French across the Straits of Messina in January 1806, though its most unexpected by-product was the destruction of the Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar.

This is the first detailed study of this episode and an original contribution to the history of the period, interesting to the general reader and the specialist. It illustrates major themes in warfare: the need for clear objectives, exact information and planning, sufficient resources, reliable communications and cooperation between allies. On these counts the joint expedition failed. The author conveys the professionalism of British naval and military commanders and the significance of those less spectacular but important aspects of sea power, of which the protection of the British transports, while at Gibraltar, from predatory Spanish gunboats is an instructive example, drawn from the Graham Eden Hamond Papers in the University of Virginia Library, which Flayhart uses here to good effect. He has used a wide range of primary sources, both official and private papers in British national archives, though he has not consulted other foreign collections. There are some proof reading errors, notably the date of Trafalgar (p. 116) and maps are not always clear, but he succeeds admirably in presenting an episode which blended elements of farce and drama in achieving a successful conclusion.

Patricia K. Crimmin
Egham, Surrey

James Tertius de Kay. *The Battle of Stonington: Torpedoes, Submarines, and Rockets in the War of 1812*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1990. 224 pp., illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. Cdn \$33.95, US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN: 0-87021-279-6. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

Notwithstanding his title, the author takes us back to the American Revolution in order to set the stage for the events at Stonington, east of Mystic on the Connecticut shore, in mid-August, 1814. Until now, this battle has been a minor footnote in American history, over-shadowed by Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn's attack on Washington later that month and by Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane's assault on Baltimore a few weeks later. Both events pushed the action at Stonington into the background. De Kay's book is therefore useful for directing attention to this battle. De Kay also examines several new weapons, such as American submarine vessels, torpedoes, and British rockets and bombs, which played significant roles during this period and would revolutionize the art of war.

In de Kay's words, "In rummaging around through the old naval records, ships' logs, and newspaper reports in search of answers, it became evident that the root causes of the battle were surprisingly complex and involved some totally unanticipated elements." (p3) One of the major contributing factors was the burning of Newark, now Niagara-on-the-Lake, which occurred eight months earlier. In December 1813, that village was held by American forces under General McClure who decided to burn it rather than have it fall undamaged into the hands of advancing British forces. It was, de Kay says, a "totally unnecessary brutality [which] escalated the level of violence in the war" (p. 79) and contributed to the attack on Stonington in August 1814.

As de Kay develops his story, we meet a fascinating cast of characters, including

Thomas M. Hardy of Nelson and Trafalgar fame; it was he who led the attack on Stonington. We meet Jeremiah Holmes, an American merchant captain, who led the defence of Stonington, as well as Stephen Decatur and Robert Fulton. Fulton was involved in the updated design and construction of a submarine in cooperation with a certain Elijah Mix. However, the original design may have come from David Bushnell, whose submarine *Turtle* was used during the Revolution. Bushnell was still alive and active in 1813, a year prior to the battle. Thus, through solid research, de Kay gives us some interesting background to the development of submarines as well as torpedoes.

For those who are interested in reading this well researched and most interesting book, it is difficult to write too much more without spoiling some of the highlights. Suffice to say that on the fourth day of the battle, having utterly failed to achieve their goal, the British pulled up anchor and sailed away. De Kay has explained the build-up to this in a very engaging style which makes for very enjoyable and informative reading.

Bob Cook
Whycomagh, Nova Scotia

Ken McCarron. *Fort Perch Rock and the Defence of the Mersey*. Liverpool: Merseyside Port Folios, 1991. iv + 78 pp., maps, figures, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. £2.95, paper; ISBN 0-9516129-1-3.

Located at the entrance of the Mersey River leading to Liverpool, Fort Perch Rock was one of the many fortifications built by the British following the Napoleonic wars. Like most of the others, it had a brief history: built in the 1820s, it was already essentially redundant by the 1850s, though it continued to be maintained on a very limited scale until the end of World War II. The purpose of this little book is to argue the case for its preservation and restoration as "the last substantially extensive" Merseyside defensive

battery and lighthouse (p. 62) and an important example of nineteenth century British coastal defence planning.

Despite its title, this little book does not provide a history of Fort Perch Rock and the defence of the Mersey, nor does it even attempt its stated objective of assessing the fort's importance "on a national scale." (p. iii) While it does provide a useful brief narrative of the fort's construction, with detailed information about costs and changes made over the years, the importance of Liverpool and the fort's strategic significance are skimmed over very superficially. There is no treatment of World War I and, more surprisingly, McCarron offers only three paragraphs on World War II, although acknowledging that "the Battle of the Atlantic was fought from Liverpool and bombs rained down on the area." (p. 57)

In fact, Fort Perch Rock was a curiosity from the outset because it was built below the high-water mark and a lighthouse was placed directly in front of it. This meant that in the event of a naval attack, its gunners would have to level the lighthouse, which blocked their line of fire. In addition, whenever the guns were fired, they shattered windows in New Brighton, the community across the channel and unless they hit their target their shells were likely to land there as well causing serious danger. Fortunately, the guns were seldom fired over the years, even for practice. It would appear, as a newspaper commented in the 1890s, that the fort was more important as a tourist attraction than as a military installation.

The author badly missed having a competent editor, as his book is riddled with grammatical errors and tortured syntax. There are good illustrations and diagrams but only one rather poor map. Regrettably, it will likely take a more serious effort than this to persuade many that Fort Perch Rock is of much significance.

Brian Douglas Tennyson
Sydney, Nova Scotia

John S. Guest. *The Euphrates Expedition*. London & New York: Kegan Paul, 1992. xiv + 182 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, bibliography, index. £45, cloth; ISBN 0-7103-0429-3.

In 1835 a 62-man British expedition and the parts and stores of two iron-hulled steamers were deposited on the shores of what is now Lebanon. It took animal and human power 329 days to move these materials to an assembly yard on the upper Euphrates. On the descent of the river one vessel, the *Tigris*, sank in a freak storm in which twenty drowned and the expedition's leader, Captain Francis Chesney, barely survived. The other vessel the *Euphrates*, grounding frequently, took ninety-one days to reach Basara near the river's mouth in June 1836. This 105-foot paddle wheeler, designed by Lairds of Birkenhead and powered by side-lever engines and a low-pressure boiler, drew three feet of water. It made several surveying voyages on the Tigris and its tributary the Karun as well as the Euphrates during 1836-1842 before it was towed to Bombay where it was scrapped in 1847.

The expedition was financed by the British government, ostensibly as a quest for knowledge to facilitate communication between Europe and South Asia. Its main purpose was to show the flag in the Ottoman empire to thwart real or imagined Russian influence in this strategically sensitive region. The government accepted Chesney's bad advice that the reconnaissance should begin on the upper rather than the lower Euphrates. Subsequently it abandoned the project because of the difficulty of navigating the rivers with the current technology, the viability of the alternate Overland Route through Alexandria and Suez, and the easing of the Russian threat.

John Guest argues that historians have dismissed the expedition as an "irrelevant sideshow" (p. xiii). Yet Daniel Headrick in his ground-breaking work, *The Tools of Empire* (1981), and Sarah Searight, in *Steal-*

ming East (1991) have established its place in the expansion of Europe and the transfer of its technology. Guest's very detailed work neatly fleshes out these themes.

Having visited the rivers, dipped into antiquity and thoroughly examined the accounts of the expedition's participants, Guest provides a compelling saga of their trials and travails. On occasion he follows uncritically the travellers' impressions of the behaviour of the peoples they encounter. So for a late twentieth century audience the work is rather Euro-centric. His archival forays, especially in the records of the India Office, provide an authoritative analysis of the motives of the policy makers. Moreover, he identifies and gives the movements of virtually every steam vessel operating in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea in the 1830s and early 1840s. But perhaps he is at his best probing the background, careers and behaviour of the men and one woman (Pauline Heifer who, along with her husband, were passengers) aboard the *Euphrates* on its first descent. In addition, the performance of the vessels, often on a day-by-day basis, is meticulously described. A useful insight into nineteenth century middle class Britons' drive for status and a search for identity through the application of technology in remote environments, even tools quite unsuited to the extraordinary tasks undertaken, is the result.

Robert Kubicek
Vancouver, British Columbia

Andrew D. Lambert. *The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy Against Russia, 1853-56*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1990. xxi + 369 pp., maps, tables, chapter notes, bibliography, index. US \$59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7190-2978-3.

Despite its title, this volume in the publisher's series on "War, Armed Forces, and Society" argues that an examination of British grand strategy from 1853 to 1856

reveals a conflict which ought to be conceived in much broader strategic terms than has been allowed by the label the "Crimean War." The author, a senior lecturer at Sandhurst, claims that the term "has no historical reality" and that it is the creation of "misguided and derivative scholarship." (p. xvi) According to Lambert, failure to consider the grand strategy and other geographical theatres of the war has created and sustained a popular myth of the limited nature of the war and has led to misunderstanding of the peace. Readers may agree with his point of view. Even so, it would be a monumental task to overcome the notion of a "Crimean War" in British historical writing and quite unthinkable for the French to abandon "la Guerre de Crimée" or the Russians the "Krymskaia voina." Though Lambert uses the label himself, the value of this book does not rest upon the name of the conflict. Indeed, it obscures the fact that this work is an important and needed addition to the history of the war on two counts.

First, it is a well-researched review of the confusing tangle of the high politics and naval strategy of the period. Lambert focuses chiefly on the correspondence of the First Lords of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham and Sir Charles Wood and the little used papers of the naval commanders, Admirals Dundas and Lyons. He makes excellent use of Admiralty, Foreign Office, private papers, and memoirs. Though his sources and perspective are navalist, Lambert adds to the understanding of the Crimean War era by examining new and under-utilized materials.

Second, he provides a fine description of the strategy and operations in the Baltic region which, until recently, has been a forgotten theatre of the "Crimean War." Indeed, Lambert's work complements the recent volume by Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard, *The British Assault on Finland, 1854-1855: A Forgotten Naval War* (1988). He is at his best recounting the strategic concerns and operations that led to the cap-

ture of Bomarsund in 1854 and the attack on Sweaborg in 1855. He demonstrates that the formation of a British grand strategic plan, in accord with British maritime and naval interests in the Baltic, was frustrated by Britain's naval unpreparedness and by the greater commitment made by the French to the land operations in the Black Sea region.

Lambert is most controversial when he reaches the strategic plan of 1856 for an attack against Kronstadt, arguing that it "has never been given proper weight in explaining the Russian decision for peace, although it was the immediate military threat, far more than the campaigns in the Crimea, Asia Minor or even Galicia." (p. 299) It is difficult to make a judgement about the probability of success of a campaign that did not take place or to assess accurately the impact that the threat of an assault had on Russian decision-making. He also may be premature in his rehabilitation of Palmerston as a wartime leader for adopting the 1856 plan. Nonetheless, Lambert has some well-taken points, which will have to await an examination of Russian sources for a more definitive answer. He has a wonderful finish for his book, an account of the "Great Armament" at the close of the war and the spectacular naval review off Spithead in 1856. They are skilfully presented to demonstrate the concurrence of grand strategy and diplomacy in influencing the peace, reinforcing British naval superiority, and supporting maritime interests.

Richard H. Warner
Fredericksburg, Virginia

John Edward Weems. *The Fate of the Maine*. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1958, 1992. xi + 207 pp., illustrations, bibliography, appendix, index. US \$12.95, paper; ISBN 0-89096-501-3.

This is a reprint of a work first published in 1958. Its author challenges the view that the sinking of USS *Maine* was sufficient cause

for the Spanish American War. Weems cites Captain Charles Sigsbee, the commanding officer of the *Maine*, who rejected the incident as a justification for an imperialistic war. However, Sigsbee did believe that the men of the *Maine* acted heroically during the fateful night of 15 February, 1898. As Weems dutifully reminds us, the war was useful in the eyes of such as Theodore Roosevelt and William Randolph Hearst.

In his first five chapters, Weems attempts to take us into the life aboard the ill-fated vessel as the crew moved to meet their destiny in Havana harbour. In four chapters we are presented with the destruction of the vessel and the work of the courts of inquiry, both American and Spanish, which looked into circumstances surrounding the explosion aboard the *Maine*. Three more chapters place the sinking of the *Maine* in the context of the Spanish American War. Throughout, Weems uses personal recollections to present events in an anecdotal manner. This has the effect of making the whole tragedy appear to be the outcome of everyday incidents and decisions without any dramatic overtones.

Readers might well be struck by the lack of open hostility between the men of the two navies. This seems to have been the case despite the fact that some of the American personnel were sure that the sinking was the result of Spanish action. Certainly, the Spanish warships sent aid to the *Maine* after the explosion occurred. Sympathy was expressed to Captain Sigsbee for the loss of his ship by a Spanish officer. In addition, Weems points out that neither before nor after the explosion were American citizens in Havana in any danger from the actions of the Spanish residents of the city despite the strong feelings of support for the Spanish colonial government in their contest with the Cuban patriots. The Americans were identified as supporters of the latter.

So, the sinking of the *Maine* was an important trigger for the war between the United States and Spain. The question

posed but not answered either at the time or in Weems' book was whether it should have been. Undoubtedly, little is to be gained by dwelling upon this moral question. The "incident," after all, is one of many illustrations of how the ostensible causes of events can be manufactured and presented. The *Maine* was commissioned in 1895 as a unit in the refurbishing of the United States navy. This was the era dominated by the thought of Alfred Thayer Mahan on the importance of a battle fleet for an aspiring imperial power. There were those in the American administration of the time who were prepared to accept Mahan's line of thought. War against a declining Spain was a test of those imperial aspirations. As Weems presents the part played by the crew of the *Maine*, one can see the age old way in which great events impinge upon the lives of individuals. This is an interesting read.

Gerry Panting
St. John's, Newfoundland

Henry Woodhouse. *Woodhouse's Textbook of Naval Aeronautics*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1991. xxiii + 281 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, diagrams, index. Cdn \$58.95, US \$42.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-931-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

This book is another of the classic titles on naval and naval aviation subjects recently reprinted by the Naval Institute Press. The original publication of this book in June 1917, shortly after the entry by the United States into World War I, caused a mild sensation and unsuccessful efforts were made by US authorities to have it withdrawn from circulation.

The furore was generated primarily by the inclusion of many hitherto unpublished photographs depicting the use of aircraft by the Allies on naval operations in the Aegean, the English Channel and Africa. If nothing else, the remarkable collection of

photographs confirm that Henry Woodhouse was well connected and his immunity to the blandishments of the intelligence community reflects the position of authority he had reached in the American aviation world of 1917-1918.

In reprinting this book, the quality of which, especially the photographs, is excellent, the Naval Institute Press has included an introduction written by naval historian Clark G. Reynolds. His research reveals that Woodhouse was essentially an "operator" who had used his highly developed interpersonal skills to ingratiate himself into the early American aeronautical élite. By 1917, this Italian immigrant who had changed his name and served time for first-degree manslaughter was the publisher of the prestigious Aero Club of America's periodical *Flying* and the ruling power of the organization. From late 1915 onwards he had associated himself with organizations preparing for America's entry into the war and in early 1917, evidently in anticipation of the event, he prepared his *Textbook* as a means of educating both lay and naval readers on the developments that had taken place in naval aviation to that point. It was a great commercial success. However, as Reynolds' introduction recounts, Woodhouse's self-serving ways were ultimately exposed and he lost his influence in the early 1920s although he made appearances in print as late as 1942.

Woodhouse's Textbook of Naval Aeronautics is a fascinating book in several respects. By no means is it a textbook in the conventional sense, although the sizeable volume of material in it cannot but have helped raise the consciousness of its wide readership about the potential of naval aviation. This was likely its greatest contribution. It did this by presenting with varying degrees of competence and depth a diverse body of material ranging from "Aerial Strategy and Tactics" to "Submarine Hunting By Aircraft," "Aeronautics Related To Naval Architecture" and comprehensive coverage

of the organization, regulation and staffing of American regular and naval militia aviation. Looked at dispassionately, the book is a jumble of scarcely connected chapters amidst which are found several on specialized topics such as over-water navigation authored by experts such as Elmer Sperry. Otherwise, the chapters contain much material which was doubtlessly quickly available to the author through his other publishing activities and connections or through a regular perusal of the *Illustrated London News* and the leading European periodicals and newspapers.

From a vantage point seventy-five years later, all of this material serves the same purpose for contemporary readers as it did for those of 1917. It is a window on naval aviation as presented to a broad public and depicts to a large extent the kind of images most Americans would have had of this new form of warfare. As such, and despite its manifest shortcomings as a "textbook," the book is an unusual reflection of its time. It is on this ground that it can best be recommended.

The Naval Institute Press has done an excellent job of reproduction, with one possible minor exception, and has graced the dustjacket with an evocative painting of Ely's first flight from the USS *Birmingham* in 1910. The exception is a lack of consistency between text and the numbering of photographs and diagrams in the chapter on navigation instruments. Not having access to an original edition, this reviewer was unable to confirm whether the mistake was made in the original or the reprint. If the error was in the original, it no doubt reflects the haste with which the book was produced in 1917.

Woodhouse's Textbook of Naval Aeronautics, either in this or its original version, belongs in any library concerned with naval aviation in the United States or aviation during World War I.

Christopher Terry
Ottawa, Ontario

Denis Whitaker and Shelagh Whitaker. *Dieppe, Tragedy To Triumph*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992. xx + 372 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index. \$26.95, cloth; ISBN 0-07-551385-4.

1992 is an appropriate year for a carefully researched and detailed history of the "raid" on Dieppe, for it was fifty years ago, on 19 August, 1942 that a largely Canadian force landed on its beaches, suffered a major reversal and left most of its numbers either killed within a mile of the beach or prisoners in the hands of the triumphant Germans. Most historians, like Ronald Atkin (*Dieppe 1942*; Macmillan, 1980) or Brian Villa (*Unauthorized Action*; Oxford, 1990), stress the term disaster. In hindsight, the term seems justified. Of the approximately 5,000 Canadians of the 2nd Division, 3,367 became casualties—killed, wounded or prisoners. Two British Commando groups survived much better, but support troops suffered equally. The RAF lost sixty-nine aircrew supporting the operation, the Navy, manning the too-fragile landing craft, another 344. And almost none of the *stated* objectives of the raid were attained. *Almost* none.

General Whitaker, who was there as a junior Captain of the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry and was the senior survivor of his regiment to return to England, makes a very strong point that it was *not* an unmitigated disaster. It did achieve two immediate political but secret aims: the neophyte American planners backed off on their insistence on a full continental invasion in 1942, and the Russians, sorely beleaguered in their battles for Moscow and Stalingrad, accepted that the Allies were indeed doing something to harass the Germans and keep significant numbers of troops in the west. And Dieppe allowed planning for the North African invasion, obviously an easier but still a major task, to move forward. Any invasion of continental Europe could not proceed without considerably more thought and better planning. It would have been a disaster. Whita-

ker feels that alone was worth the attempt, in the grand strategy of the war. The problem was, no one was told that these were in fact the aims, established under immense foreign policy pressures. No one, after the event, could convince the general public that the sorry losses had achieved anything.

Whitaker argues convincingly that afterwards all the senior levels of the Army, the Navy and the two major governments pusillanimously "ran for the hills." (p. 273) He is particularly scathing of their desertion of Major General Hamilton Roberts, the Canadians' field commander, who was refused proper air and sea support, intelligence, and staff appreciations, yet was told to get on with the raid, for "commitments had been made at a high level." (p. 288) He is highly and justifiably critical of this desertion by Canada's General MacNaughton, General Montgomery, Admiral Mountbatten, who was responsible for raid planning, and Churchill's lies and changes of evidence. In reading his careful analyses (with thirty-six pages of notes reflecting ten years of research), one is horrified by the ineptitude of the senior planners, who ignored readily available intelligence of German strengths and the refusal of bomber and Naval gunfire support while insisting that the operation *must* go forward, and by abysmal navigation errors that landed troops on the wrong section of beaches. He firmly dispels claims that the Germans knew of the raid in advance and Brian Villa's contention that it was not even authorised. These proofs come from the Whitakers' considerable abilities for analysis of military documents, their thorough searching for documentation in an operation that was ordered to have no documentation for security reasons (it had already been cancelled due to weather, then re-mounted).

The style may not suit all historians, for it tends to be anecdotal and with inserted commentaries. But, to the civilian reader with an interest, but not necessarily an abiding passion for military studies, it is very

clearly presented and comprehended. And one has the feeling of immediacy, of seeing all but allowed to say nothing, that, like a good murder mystery, which in effect it was, generates excitement yet outrage in its readers. It is probably the best history of that raid we will see.

Fraser M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Gerry R. Rubin. *Durban 1942: A British Troopship Revolt*. London and Rio Grande, OH: The Hambledon Press, 1992. xii + 148 pp., notes, index. £25, US \$40, cloth; ISBN 1-85285-080-9.

The mutiny covered by this book is unusual; though it originated in a ship and because of the condition of the ship, the mutineers were not sailors. Rather, they were airmen and soldiers who were being transported from Great Britain to Singapore on the troopship *City of Canterbury*.

The voyage to Durban had already generated much discord, occasioned by overcrowding, poor food and inadequate drinking water. Initially the passengers had to contend with sea-sickness and even the Captain was critical of the cooking facilities, given the number of passengers—the ship carried 1,480 troops, far more than the numbers stipulated in the Ministry of War Transport papers. Exacerbating the situation was the filth and verminous condition of the ship. The mutineers later complained that the ship was dirty, bug-infested, lousy, unseaworthy and lacking in life-saving apparatus—excellent ground to give rise to mutiny and apparently equally excellent ground to excuse such mutiny afterwards. In contrast to these conditions, the few days spent in Durban were "idyllic." Consequently, as the *City of Canterbury* was about to proceed to sea, close to two hundred men left the ship for the jetty in order to avoid sailing.

There was the usual tergiversation about whether or not the action was mutiny. In my

view it clearly was and it led to Field General Courts Martial on conviction whereby the guilty men were liable to suffer death or lesser punishment. Only lesser punishments were awarded. My impression is that, like all mutinies, this one was caused by those in authority neglecting the needs of their subordinates. It was accompanied by useless efforts to classify the action as something other than mutiny, an easy solution for all levels involved.

Despite much interesting detail, the inescapable conclusion is that mutiny is mutiny no matter who commits it and no matter where it is committed.

L.C. Audette
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G.J. Williams. -nT-MS. *Wellington: One Ship's War*. Hanley Swan, Worcestershire, England: Self Publishing Association in conjunction with G.J. Williams, 1992. 223 pp., photographs. £14.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85421-166-8. Distributed by Images (Booksellers & Distributors) Limited, Hanley Swan, Worcestershire.

This is a sailor's book. It is an account of a young man's coming of age on the lower deck in HMS *Wellington* during the early years of World War II. In late 1939 the author and fifteen members of his new entry class were drafted to *Wellington*, a Grimsby class sloop at that time refitting in Cardiff. Once aboard, the young ODs left the gas and gaiters of the Training Division behind and entered the world of the small-ship sailor in a navy at war.

With the sailor's laconic sense of humour, Williams recalls a variety of events which reflect vividly life on the messdecks at that period. Running through it all is the evidence of how these inexperienced young men were moulded into a trained and efficient ship's company. It was largely the efforts of their more senior messmates, the "Stripeys," that turned these youngsters into

proper seamen. They gained their sea legs, learned to be lookouts and helmsmen, took their turns as "cook of the mess" and on shore patrol and developed a healthy caution about various aspects of life in foreign parts, all under their guidance. Once, when in the midst of the dangerous and inhospitable North Atlantic one young eighteen-year-old mourned the loss of his Civvy Street Saturday nights, an old Stripey was heard to mutter, "When you lot get old, you'll be proud of this." (page 34) He was right, though none realized it at the time.

Still, they weren't old yet, and a run ashore was an important event in their lives. The book abounds with accounts of girls won in one port and those lost in another, of dates made one day and broken the next because the ship had sailed. There were love affairs consummated and others postponed, and there is a pathetic story of the kindness shown by two of *Wellington's* young seamen to a crippled girl they met in the railway station at Southport. Only later did they learn that they had brought an afternoon's delight into what was to be a short young life.

There is action a-plenty in these pages, too, for *Wellington* fought both U-boat and aircraft along the North Atlantic convoy routes, and in the Dunkirk evacuation she used her 4.7s against enemy batteries ashore. There is the excitement of "going foreign." At Gibraltar they bought all the silks, scents and stockings they could afford. There was Freetown with its bathing beaches and Algiers where, in their innocence, they confused an "exhibition" with a "circus." They went into Ponta Delgada in the Azores for repairs only to find themselves in company with a U-boat doing the same thing, but neither ship gave leave. At Bathurst they went swimming over the side with a marksman in the crow's nest and the motor boat carrying out an anti-shark patrol. Some of Williams' most descriptive writing, however, is to be found in his account of *Wellington's* ordeal by tempest. For more

than a week she fought wind and sea, her convoy dispersed, until she finally made her way into Londonderry for repairs.

This smell of oil fuel, steam and salt water is the real strength of Williams' book. Naval historians will not find dates and places, courses and speeds, ships in company or analyses of tactics; purists might insist on more careful editing. Yet on balance, even these omissions add authenticity to the account. Much of it might have been extracted from letters home, painfully written at sea on a mess table by an off-watch seaman, and much of it was probably considered best left untold at the time. Still, both the old sailor and the social historian will be glad that Griff Williams has done just what he did.

C.B. Koester
Kingston, Ontario

Louis Le Bailly. *The Man Around the Engine: Life Below the Waterline*. Emsworth, Hampshire: Kenneth Mason, 1990. 186 pp., photographs, maps, index £14.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85937-354-1.

Louis Le Bailly is a naval officer whose initial ambition was not to be realised. On completing his early training as a cadet at Dartmouth Naval College and a year's sea service on the battle cruiser *Hood* it was discovered that his eye-sight did not meet the exacting standard required by the executive branch of the Navy. At age twenty he was faced with a number of options: go up to Oxford, transfer to the army, or stay in the navy as a paymaster or engineer. It was Captain Binney of *Hood* who left the young midshipman in no doubt about the indispensable part played by engineers. So an engineer he became and his subsequent career was a distinguished one.

The Admiral's account of his service between 1929 and his retirement in 1975 will give pleasure to his surviving contemporaries and his anecdotes will amuse those who

knew them. Interwoven with these reminiscences are serious points about the condition of the world's most powerful navy as it headed towards war. These comments range from design faults that created boiler cleaning problems to enhancements that immobilised a quarter of *Hood's* main armament. Several years of war experience failed to convince the engineering gurus of Bath that the *Engineering Manual* was in need of revision. Whereas US Navy vessels using chemical water treatment could steam for some two thousand hours before boilers needed cleaning, *Duke of York's* boilers were required to be cleaned every 750 hours. Chemical treatment was specifically forbidden. Despite the potential danger to career prospects, a "nelsonian eye" ensured that elements of the two Pacific fleets could operate effectively in unison.

This is an attractive and well-written volume embracing a graphic description of active war service and a glimpse of the social and diplomatic life of a naval attaché. Yet the reader is left with a sense of missed opportunities. There is a tantalising, brief reference to the bombing of the German warship *Deutschland* at Palma during the Spanish Civil War, and the fact that *Hood* helped to treat some of the wounded. This and other instances lead one to wish that the author had allowed himself to stray in greater detail from the main narrative from time to time. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the original lengthier manuscript was divided into two. The sequel, issued by another publisher and entitled *From Fisher to the Falklands*, deals with the way in which the Royal Navy rediscovered its strategic role. Through his contributions to specialist journals Admiral Le Bailly played a valuable part in the debate that in time made it possible for the Royal Navy to sustain an amphibious operation in the Falkland Islands, eight thousand miles from base.

Norman Hurst
Coulson, Surrey

M J. Whitley. *German Destroyers of World War II*. 2nd ed.; Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1992. 223 pp., figures, maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. Cdn \$47.50, US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-302-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

The *Kriegsmarine's* destroyer arm had a tough time during World War II. Just nine months into the struggle they lost over a quarter of their strength in the two battles of Narvik and then suffered steady attrition in engagements with Allied air and surface forces throughout the remainder of the war. Victories, some quite startling, were achieved but defeat always seemed to follow closely in their wake. British naval historian M J. Whitley first unveiled this interesting tale in 1983 with his book *Destroyer!* and has now followed up with a completely revised second edition.

Whitley traces the difficulties faced by German destroyers back to the design process. Because the Versailles treaty limited Germany to only a few small torpedo boats, no destroyer design experience was accumulated from 1918 to 1933. Left well behind potential enemies in destroyer strength, the *Kriegsmarine* was forced to build ships quickly, and designs were therefore laid down without proper evaluation or sea trials. Thus a new high pressure steam plant proved unable to withstand the rigours of operational service. Likewise, a formidable armament of either 5-inch or 5.9-inch guns looked good on paper but their extra weight caused stability problems and extremely poor seakeeping qualities. Whitley's technical writing is interesting and informed but an apparent lack of documentation occasionally leads to speculative explanation. This is not a problem in itself but should be explained in a note on sources.

Most of the book is operational history and this is also done well. Whitley's scope is broad, covering less known operations such as the successful minelaying campaign off

the English coast and the war in the Baltic as well as famous battles such as Narvik and the various actions in the English Channel (one nitpick is that the heroic sorties of the 5th Torpedo Boat Flotilla against the huge Allied invasion fleet off Normandy are barely mentioned). Using primary research to good effect the author not only chronicles actions from both sides but provides illuminating staff commentary, including some interesting comments about the poor use of torpedoes by Canadian destroyers (but *Athabaskan* was sunk on the night of 28/29th not 27/28th April 1944). One weakness of the operational section is that personalities are mentioned only in passing. The determination and professionalism of veteran destroyermen such as Kohlauf, Hoffman and von Bechtolsheim deserves fuller treatment and would teach us more about the German destroyer service.

This second edition is larger than the first and thus shows the many charts and photographs to much better advantage (although maybe not up to scratch technically, the Germans certainly built handsome destroyers!). Detailed appendices also provide a wealth of information. Whitley's book is a splendid companion to his *Destroyers of World War I* and is a good buy for serious students of twentieth century warships.

Michael Whitby
Almonte, Ontario

Michael J. Melvin. *Minesweeper: The Role of the Motor Minesweeper in World War II*. Sansome Place, England: Square One Publications, 1992. vi + 226 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, tables, appendices. £14.95 (+ £3.50 postage and handling), cloth; ISBN 1-872017-57-6.

The Canadian Navy's renewal of interest in minesweeping, marked by the decision to build maritime coastal defence vessels and to reestablish mine warfare training after a gap of twenty-eight years, signals recognition

of the continuing significance of mine counter-measures as a vital element of naval operations and coastal defence. Michael Melvin's book is on that account timely, reminding us of the cost of unpreparedness in the early years of World War II. The book serves also as a tribute to the thousands of men, mostly of the RNVR, who, with minimal training, worked the rudimentary, cramped and comfortless sweepers in the dangerous task of clearing channels for merchant shipping and naval operations. *Minesweeper* spans the period from the early frustrating days of striving to cope with intensive enemy magnetic and acoustic mine-laying to the eventual provision of some 550 wooden vessels that kept vital sea lanes open and contributed in no small measure to ultimate victory.

The motor minesweepers (MMS) of which Melvin writes from personal experience were wooden vessels 105 feet long, displacing about 220 tons. The first of the hastily-designed class came off the slips in May, 1941. By 1942, a larger version, the 126-footer displacing 360 tons, was produced to offer greater endurance and better sea-keeping capability. Because of shortages in Britain of seasoned timber, non-magnetic fittings and suitable engines, orders were placed not only in the UK but also abroad. As a result, small shipyards in Canada built significant numbers both of 105-footers and 126-footers. Another class, British Yard Minesweepers (BYMS), comparable in size to the 126-footers but offering conveniences not found in the spartan MMSs, was produced in the United States for Lend-Lease.

Of particular Canadian interest is the information on MMS construction in Canada and operational experience in Canadian waters. Melvin includes a reference to the mining of the approaches to Halifax by U-119 in June 1943, when, fortuitously, a number of new MMSs and BYMSs, en route overseas with crews not yet "worked up," were called upon to assist Canadian sweepers in clearing the menacing field.

Melvin saw service in a typical wooden sweeper in the Normandy Invasion and later in the Mediterranean. His continuing interest in the sweepers led him into a prodigious amount of research as well as a project for the memorial preservation of MMS 191, the last surviving example of her class. Although not a professional stylist, he writes with knowledge, enthusiasm, clarity and conviction, lacing his text with anecdotes and humour. There is even an appendix of irreverent songs written by the sweepers as an antidote to the risks, discomfort and often boredom of their occupation. The formidable tabulations of flotilla compositions and vessel dispositions are of specialized rather than general reader interest. They in no way detract from the readability of the text while providing useful data for serious students. Illustrations and tables are, unfortunately, not numbered, a hindrance in relating them to the narrative. This reviewer felt, too, that foot-noted references would have been helpful. Despite its minor imperfections, *Minesweeper* is clearly a labour of love deserving a place on the naval bookshelf.

George Schuthe
Ottawa, Ontario

J. Gordon Vaeth. *Blimps & U-Boats: U.S. Navy Airships in the Battle of the Atlantic*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1992. xii + 205 pp., photographs, figures, maps, appendices, sources, index. Cdn \$4730, US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-876-3. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

J. Gordon Vaeth's *Blimps and U-Boats* describes the role of US Navy airships in anti-submarine warfare during World War II. Ten squadrons of blimps patrolled the western Atlantic from Nova Scotia south to Brazil; another squadron was stationed in North Africa from 1944. Vaeth is well qualified to tell their story, having served as air

intelligence officer for the Atlantic airship fleet, he drafted many of the papers that now form the archives of US Navy blimp operations.

The book traces the origins of US Navy interest in airships from World War I to the eclipse of the rigid airship by the non-rigid blimp in the aftermath of the *Hindenburg* disaster. At the outbreak of war in December 1941 the US Navy had four operational blimps at Lakehurst, New Jersey. The blimps were active during the German U-boat blitz in American waters but recorded no successes. Although they made many attacks on suspected U-boats Vaeth concludes, on the basis of careful study of German records, that they were rarely actually in contact with a submarine. The first, and only, action between a U-boat and an airship occurred in July 1943 off Florida when *K-74* surprised *U-134* on the surface. When the bomb releases jammed, a running gun fight ensued that resulted in the destruction of the blimp. Airships would have to wait until May 1945 before they could strike at the enemy again when two blimps assisted US Navy warships in the sinking of *U-853*.

Yet if blimps were ill-suited to anti-submarine warfare, they found a real niche in search and rescue operations where many of their drawbacks became attributes. Their slow speed, large size, long endurance, and ability to hover and operate at low altitude made them ideal for this purpose. Vaeth describes the vital services provided by blimps in rescuing the survivors of torpedoed merchant ships, German U-boats, and downed aircraft—both at sea and on land. In this role their use foreshadowed the employment of the helicopter in postwar years.

Crashes and accidents of the blimps themselves form a spectacular, if tragic, part of the story of airship operations. In the southern climates thunderstorms were an ever-present danger with vertical air currents that could lift a blimp to 10,000 feet or

plunge it into the sea in a matter of minutes. More often, human error was the cause of crashes.

Vaeth has made little attempt to evaluate the performance of airships as anti-submarine escorts. Nor does he address the criticism that they endangered convoys by giving away their positions to the enemy. It seems, however, that most U-boats preferred to submerge rather than risk detection by a blimp which may, or may not, have been in the company of merchant vessels and which could direct surface escorts to the U-boat. In this manner airships may have provided valuable service by discouraging enemy attack. German evidence is needed to settle this debate. Vaeth does not tackle the cosy relationship between Goodyear, the sole producer of blimps, and the US Navy. Some critics have argued that political influence may have determined the extent of the US Navy's commitment to airships.

The photographs are excellent and the appendices offer additional information ranging from technical details to an account of Pacific coast operations. Canadians may be disappointed that there is only scant reference to blimp operations at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, but *Blimps and U-Boats* will appeal to those interested in the US Navy's anti-submarine effort and lighter-than-air flight buffs.

Robert C. Fisher
Ottawa, Ontario

Eugene B. Fluckey. *Thunder Below! The USS Barb Revolutionizes Submarine Warfare in World War II*. Champagne, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xvi + 444 pp., maps, figures, photographs, appendices, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-252-01925-3.

Thunder Below is an account by Admiral Fluckey of the last five patrols of the US Submarine *Barb* in World War II. Fluckey, as a Lieutenant Commander and Commander was her Captain during this period. In

the Pacific the 220 or so US submarines were used to even greater effect than the German U-boats in the Atlantic. Their carefully planned design and construction served them well in their tactical and strategic employment. Aircraft carriers were their prime targets, next oil tankers and then merchant shipping. As a result of their efforts, the Japanese Overseas Empire was strangled. Only 231 out of 2,337 registered Japanese merchant ships remained afloat at the war's end. Cargoes had to be carried in small coasters and junks sailing in shallow coastal waters. The cost in US submarines was thirty-nine sunk by enemy action. *Thunder Below* relates US Submarine *Barb's* role in this saga.

A graduate of the Naval Academy of 1935, Fluckey served in battleships, destroyers and, after war with Japan broke out, in a submarine patrolling out of Panama. In March 1944, he sailed in *Barb* as prospective captain and on that patrol they sank a small merchantman and bombarded a Japanese island. This was his first combat experience and *Barb's* first success. In April he assumed his first command and just before he sailed on patrol he personally promised the Admiral Commanding the Submarine Force that he would sink five ships. The patrol took then to the Sea of Okhotsk, north of Japan and there he sank five merchant ships, just as promised, plus two trawlers.

So many first person accounts by recognized war heroes are of a modest nature. Admiral Fluckey is not modest in his account. He does not hesitate to state his lack of fear, his lack of self-doubts, his total faith in his leadership ability, his excellent judgement, his ship-handling skill his willingness to try new ideas, his personal understanding of his officers and men, his ability in handling senior officers and so on. Most surprising was the way he so quickly adapted to taking command in battle conditions without any previous combat experience. In many ways this account could be the script

for a star actor in a Hollywood war movie. However, there is every evidence that, in addition to possessing all the qualities described above, Admiral Fluckey commands all the respect deserving one who was awarded four Navy Crosses and a Congressional Medal of Honour, unequalled by any living American.

The preparation of this book occupied ten years of research in which the Admiral was assisted by officers and men who served with him in *Barb*. One of the men kept a diary at the time, which of course was against the rules. He made his diary available to his old captain. In addition to referring to USN archives, Fluckey was assisted by Japanese naval friends in examining relevant Japanese reports of the time. He even managed to visit a remote little port in northern China where he had attacked Japanese shipping. Conversations with officers and men are reconstructed from the past in a convincing manner, making more lively reading. Every attack, whether torpedo, gun or rocket, is related in detail. Appendix A, a list of all hands with home state, is impressive as a tribute to them.

In US submarines alcohol whisky, was allowed for issue after depth charge attacks. Fluckey decided that beer was preferred by *Barbs* and "spliced the main brace" with beer all around each time a torpedo, gun or rocket attack was made, a very popular move. It is not clear how this was legalized.

A truly terrible event developed with an attack on a convoy by five submarines including *Barb*. 2,100 British and Australian prisoners of war being transported from Singapore to Japan for slave labour were in the ships sunk. Days later US submarines found a pitiful few British and Australian survivors; *Barb* rescued fourteen after searching in a typhoon. They were thanked by Mr. Churchill.

Hair-raising attacks on shipping in shallow waters, blocked in by islands; landing men on a Japanese home island where among other activities they blew up a train,

experimenting with rockets fired against harbour installations, observations on torpedo reliability and even the ages of submarine commanders, US, UK and German, are only some of the other subjects discussed in this fascinating and attractive book.

L.B. Jenson
Queensland, Nova Scotia

Dan Bailey. *WWII Wrecks of the Kwajalein and Truk Lagoons*. 3rd rev. ed.; Redding, CA: North Valley Diver Publications, 1992. xiii + 208 pp., photographs (colour, b&w), maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$34.95, laminated hardbound; ISBN 0-911615-05-9.

Dan Bailey. *WWII Wrecks of Palau*. Redding, CA: North Valley Diver Publications, 1991. xiv + 232 pp., photographs (colour, b&w), maps, illustrations, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$38.95, laminated hardbound; ISBN 0-911615-04-0.

An increasing number of wreck divers are turning their attention from the recreational aspects of the sport to researching the history of the vessels they are privileged to explore. A number of books on the subject have appeared in recent years, well illustrated with underwater views and photographs of artifacts removed from the wrecks. Some of these are compelling and fascinating accounts of the history and condition of the sunken ships; others are merely illustrated catalogues of diver's plunder.

Dan Bailey began diving World War II ship and aircraft wrecks in Kwajalein Atoll lagoon in 1969. His lifelong interest in ships and the clear, warm waters of the lagoon were a magic combination, and he began diving not only at Kwajalein, but eventually at Truk, and then Palau. An incredible array of ships and aircraft Utter the ocean floor throughout the Pacific, including ships well-known if not famous as well as lesser known

destroyers, landing craft, and submarines. While many histories have been published about the great naval battles and campaigns of the Pacific, there has been precious little in print or in graphic form to document what happened to these ships, or how they look now in death, sleeping silently beneath the waves at times with their crews aboard.

WWII Wrecks of the Kwajalein and Truk Lagoons and *WWII Wrecks of Palau* are carefully researched, wonderfully illustrated works in large format that ably link historical narrative, largely gleaned from after-action reports and other official records, including in a number of cases contemporary photographs of the actual vessel under attack or sinking. Bailey makes good use of the historical record in graphic form in other ways, such as diagrams showing events such as *Enterprise* VT-6's SBD bombing and torpedo attack on shipping in Kwajalein anchorage on 1 February, 1942. Profile drawings of various ships and aircraft and a technical summary outlining the characteristics of the vessel or aircraft further enhance the books.

Both books offer a description of diving on each ship or plane, with a summary of what they look like today along with the numerous black and white and colour photographs. The approach is not archaeological; Bailey provides the historical context for each wreck or plane. While such material is not available for the Truk and Kwajalein wrecks, an archaeological survey of a number of wrecks in Palau was conducted by the US National Park Service's Submerged Cultural Resources Unit prior to Bailey's trip; that information was available and would have added to the book.

Intended primarily as background research for divers seeking to visit these sites as tourists, *WWII Wrecks of Kwajalein and Truk Lagoons* and *WWII Wrecks of Palau* are not field guides. Historians of the Pacific war will also be interested in the books. Errors are few and minor and do not mar the overall effect of these fascinating vol-

umes. The most disturbing fact about the books is the descriptions of artifacts collected and removed from the ships and planes by divers. As Bailey notes, however, the Kwajalein wrecks are now protected by law as part of the cultural patrimony of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the removal of artifacts is forbidden. The ultimate survival of these shipwrecks, either as tourism or cultural resources, depends on the enforcement of this rule.

James P. Delgado
Vancouver, British Columbia

Chuck Lawliss. *The Marine Book: A Portrait of America's Military Elite*. Rev. ed.; New York: Thames & Hudson, 1992. 208 pp., photographs, illustrations, appendix, bibliography. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-500-27665-X.

This new edition adds a chapter on the Marines in the invasion of Panama and in the Persian Gulf war to the original book of the same title that appeared in 1988. Aimed at a general rather than scholarly market, it provides a survey of the history and traditions of the Marines and also an account of life in the present day Corps.

The first four chapters are devoted to the exploits of the Marine Corps from its inception on 10 November 1775 to the end of the Vietnam war. Unfortunately, these chapters, in trying to cover too much material, read like a chronology. The reader is overwhelmed with dates, and names of engagements and personalities. Too much space has been devoted to minor events in their history. A preferable approach might have been to identify and assess the watersheds in the Corps' history.

There are numerous factual errors throughout the book. Lawliss, for example, asserts that Lieutenant Earl H. Ellis was responsible for creating War Plan Orange. (p.46) In fact, Ellis' plan—known as Oper-

ational Plan 712, "Advanced Base Force Operations in Micronesia"—drew much of its inspiration from the Navy's plan which was well advanced by 1921. What is important here is Ellis' notions about amphibious warfare and his predictions for the future—particularly in the Pacific. His ideas deserve more attention especially when one considers the impact they had on Marine Corps tactics during the Pacific war. A further note, Lieutenant Ellis took leave in 1921, not 1923, to study the Marshall and Carolines and died in 1923, and not in 1922, as the author contends.

Also disturbing is the number of typographical and grammatical errors found throughout the text. The reader is inundated with one-sentence paragraphs, misspelled words, and awkward sentence structure. These errors should have been caught before the book went to print.

Despite these criticisms this book is not without merit. It will be a good read for anyone who wants to know what it means to be a Marine. Lawliss provides a detailed account of a recruit's daily activities starting from the date of enlistment. A vivid picture emerges of the rigours of boot camp, more advanced training and education, ceremonial duties and the changing nature of the Corps itself including the entry of women. The strength of the book is these chapters not least because they feature abundant illustrations and photographs that complement the text most effectively.

Shawn Cafferky
Ottawa, Ontario

John B. Dwyer. *Seaborne Deception: The History of U.S. Navy Beach Jumpers*. Westport, CN: Praeger Publishers, 1992. xxii + 151 pp., maps, figures, photographs, glossary, select bibliography, index. US \$42.95, cloth; ISBN 0-275-93800-X.

"Beach Jumpers" are members of the US Navy's tactical cover and deception units

which mounted diversionary missions in support of US and Allied amphibious landings during World War II. Using a variety of tactics and devices—including radio and radar countermeasures, sound, camouflage, and pyrotechnics—their purpose was to deceive enemy forces as to the actual landing sites of Allied amphibious operations.

This small, highly secret organization was first developed in 1942 by two separate sources-organizational on the part of Rear Admiral H. K. Hewitt, Commander, Amphibious Force, Atlantic Fleet, and technical on the part of the National Defense Research Committee and the Naval Research Laboratory. The original idea, however, came from Lieutenant Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., actor turned naval reserve lieutenant, who was the driving force behind the creation of the first Beach Jumper unit. A personal friend of Mountbatten, Fairbanks had trained for amphibious warfare at various Combined Operations training centres in the United Kingdom and returned, full of enthusiasm for the ideas of maritime tactical deception as practised by the British. He sold the idea to Hewitt and the first American Beach Jumper unit was raised from volunteers in the spring of 1943.

John Dwyer traces the history of Fairbanks' unit which, employing a number of deception measures, was utilized during the major amphibious assaults on Sicily and Salerno and in minor operations among the Mediterranean islands. He then discusses the creation and use of similar units in the Pacific theatre and, later, during the Vietnam war. The operational activities of these highly-specialized units are discussed in great detail as are their various techniques.

Seaborne Deception is an interesting book on an important but neglected aspect of amphibious operations. This reviewer, however, has some reservations about the claims Dwyer makes about the effectiveness of the Beach Jumpers. He presents little evidence from the "other side of the hill" as to whether enemy forces were actually taken

in by the tactics employed by the Beach Jumpers, and a close scrutiny of the primary sources on which the book is based reveals that they are largely personal recollections or period operational plans and after-action reports. I would have liked to have seen German, Italian and Japanese documentation that would ultimately prove or disprove the success of the Beach Jumpers.

Nonetheless, this volume will serve as a highly welcome addition to the libraries of those interested in amphibious operations. I would like to thank the author especially for taking the trouble to provide a glossary of the acronyms and technical terms contained in his text, a very useful and time-saving device.

It is no fault of the author, but I must question the publisher's decision to ask such a high price for a book that is only 151 pages in length, hard cover or not.

Donald E. Graves
Ottawa, Ontario

Jeffery M. Dorwart. *Eberstadt and Forrestal. A National Security Partnership, 1909-1949*. College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1991. ix + 237 pp., bibliography, index. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-89096-469-6.

The key to this book lies in the Appendix: "Names from the Good Man List, 1929-1950." The list, including such people as Bernard Baruch, William Lippmann, Averell Harriman, Herbert Hoover, Henry R. Luce and Wendell Wilkie, represented Ferdinand Eberstadt's vision of corporate government—"competent men of good will desirous of getting along together in the national interest." George Forrestal Undersecretary of the US Navy and Secretary of Defense between 1940 and 1949, and Eberstadt, his *eminence grise*, implemented the vision. Eberstadt designed the Controlled Materials Plan, "which rationalised the nation's war resources" and at Forrestal's behest "prepared the blueprint for military unification

that became the National Security Act of 1947."

Jeffery Dorwart's thesis is that after Roosevelt's death in 1945 Forrestal lost his best Mahanian champion for a strong post-war US Navy, and had to manoeuvre so as to achieve his object under Harry Truman, an ex-army captain who particularly admired Generals Pershing and Marshall. The navy was quite unprepared to challenge the army's case for unification, so Forrestal brought Eberstadt into the Navy Department as a consultant, with a blank cheque to go directly to anybody in the service for information without going through the chain of command. The resultant "Navy Plan," drawn up with the aid of a professional team that included every social science discipline and the so-called hard sciences, as well as investment bankers, intelligence and aviation experts, persuaded Truman to compromise on certain issues in order to ensure Navy support for the National Security Act of 1947.

The central characters in the story began their partnership as undergraduates at Princeton when Woodrow Wilson, who regarded the university as preparation for service to the nation, was president. Eberstadt was the son of "a mean-tempered New York import-export merchant" (who had emigrated from Germany after attending university at Heidelberg) and a Venezuelan mother. Forrestal's parents were an Irish immigrant construction contractor (a Democratic party boss) and a Catholic school teacher. During World War I Forrestal served in the navy and Eberstadt in the army, and after the war the men developed a confidential client-lawyer relationship in which they worked out major business strategies, including the great Chrysler-Dodge merger.

Eberstadt became a Republican, campaigning for Dewey in 1940; Forrestal remained a Democrat and went to Washington as one of the presidential assistants to FDR. And when Forrestal asked Eberstadt

for assistance, "personal loyalty...outweighed politics." The partnership ended in tragedy. Forrestal, whose relationship with Truman had always been combative, refused to accept Eberstadt's advice to resign after Truman's reelection in 1948, and suffered a nervous breakdown. In May 1949 "he fell (or jumped) with a bathrobe cord about his neck to his death from an unguarded upper-story hospital window in Bethesda."

Canadians might well ask, in following this modern tragedy, if the American corporate culture has not infiltrated their own defence establishment, and whether that is wholly appropriate. On the other hand, this book leads one to suspect that in Canada the role of corporate elites in shaping defence policy, and the need to recruit good intellectual talent from all quarters to link policy with doctrine, has not always received the attention it should from our defence planners. For either or both reasons, I recommend this book. It is good political history, it reads well enough, and it offers useful points of reference for anyone in the national security business.

Alec Douglas
Ottawa, Ontario

Glenn C. Cowart. *Miracle in Korea: The Evacuation of X Corps from the Hungnam Beachhead*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992. xxxvii + 136 pp., maps, tables, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87249-829-8.

Following the massive Chinese intervention in the Korean War in November 1950, a large, overextended American force (X Corps) found itself cut off and surrounded in northeast Korea. The epic story of 1st Marine Division's fighting withdrawal in punishing weather conditions from the Chosin Reservoir to the coast at Hungnam and eventual evacuation by the US Navy is well known and documented. What may be over-

looked in this dramatic series of events is the part played by the US Army's inexperienced 3rd Infantry Division in keeping open a forty-three-mile escape route of layered perimeter defences leading to Hungnam through which the Marines could safely pass.

With this volume, Cowart attempts to rectify the situation. However, since he admits that "an unkind fate decreed that I live through most of this story," (p. xviii) his "history" can hardly be regarded as an objective one. Attempting to live up to the title of his work, Cowart portrays 3rd Division's actions in the manner of a minor "Dunkirk"~though he admits that the Chinese had virtually no artillery or motorized transport and no air support. Lacking any first-account narratives, the work is a dispassionate collection of dates, times, abbreviations, unit organizations and the sequence and dispositions of troop movements along the shrinking perimeter. This is a narrowly-focused and not very illuminating effort.

In a retrospective at the end of the book, Cowart indulges in wild speculation by claiming that were it not for 3rd Division, X Corps would have been destroyed or captured, which in turn might have prompted the United States to pull out of the war and "abandon South Korea to its fate." (p. 104)

Readers of *The Northern Mariner* would be disappointed with Cowart's treatment of the naval evacuation from Hungnam (though it adequately has been treated elsewhere). Without a single naval source cited in the bibliography, this is to be expected. The book is about the US retreat, not the naval withdrawal. Nevertheless, we do learn that with USS *Missouri* and the 8-inch cruisers *Rochester* and *St. Paul* on station to cover the two-week evacuation, 87,000 American troops, 93,000 Korean civilians and 17300 vehicles and thousands of tons of stores were embarked by 24 December, 1950. President Truman is said to have exclaimed that the successful extraction of the beleaguered force was the best Christmas

present he ever had! Many of the archival photos included in the book detail the maritime aspects of the evacuation.

What immediately strikes the reviewer is that despite its very short length (the word count per page is also extremely low) the book seems full of superfluous detail as well as of tables and charts which will only interest the specialist in US Army unit organization. The text is also acronym-laden, frequently out of context, and replete with Cold War phraseology. There are also numerous unflattering remarks concerning Koreans. Cowart should have limited his efforts to an article.

Serge Marc Durlinger
Verdun, Québec

John R.P. Lansdown. *With the Carriers in Korea, 1950-1953: The Fleet Air Arm Story*. Sansome Place, Worcester: Square One Publications, 1992. xii + 485 pp., photographs, appendices, figures, tables, index, f18.50, cloth; ISBN 1-872017-46-0.

The air conflict during the Korean War can be broadly grouped into three main categories. The first, that of US Air Force activities during that period, has been heavily covered, especially with regard to the MiG-15/F-86 Sabre contest. The second category, that of US Navy and Marine Corps air operations, has been less well covered, though it was chronicled in James Mitchener's novel, *The Bridges at Toko-Ri*. The third category, that of the Fleet Air Arm of the Royal Navy, is perhaps least familiar to North American readers. John Lansdown's book, *With the Carriers in Korea*, fills the need for an account. But, a word of caution: this is not easy reading.

Lansdown sets forth in chronological order a thorough recounting of F A A operations in North Korean waters from the first sorties flown off HMS *Triumph* in June 1950 to the last sorties flown off HMS *Unicom* in 1953. All British and Commonwealth car-

riers that served in Korea, including HMAS *Sydney*, have at least one chapter devoted to their air operations. Lansdown also includes other Commonwealth naval units that served in that war. It is all here: almost *every* F A A combat mission flown in Korea is related, many analyzed in depth. Lansdown frequently reprints many of the official communiqués sent or received by the RN carriers. Their aircraft are also dealt with, leaving the reader with the unequivocal conclusion that the F A A was fortunate in replacing the Seafire FR Mk. 47 with the Hawker Sea Fury FB Mk. 11 during this time. In fact, the relative inferiority of most F A A equipment (Sea Fury aside) when compared with USN aircraft is subtly but clearly shown. Curiously, the "high point" of F A A operations in Korea, that of Lieutenant Peter Carmichael's victory in a propeller-driven Sea Fury over a MiG-15 jet fighter receives only one paragraph consisting largely of a partial transcript of his combat report.

In all, this book is a most impressively detailed effort. But, therein lies its greatest weakness. Because the operations are dealt with carrier by carrier in chronological order, there is an uneven quality to the narrative that gives a somewhat disjointed impression to the reader. Additionally, the amount of detail is staggering, and can bog the reader down. It is questionable, for example, whether it was necessary, even in an appendix, to include schematic drawings of the catapult mechanism used on F A A aircraft carriers.

Lansdown's work fills a gap long-needed to be filled. The sobriquet "definitive" could be applied to this account of British and Commonwealth naval air warfare in Korea. Given the mass of detail within, as well as the sometimes disjointed narrative, this book is for students of carrier operations or students of the Korean War, not a more general readership.

Robert L. Shoop
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Charles W. Koburger, Jr. *The French Navy in Indochina: Riverine and Coastal Forces, 1945-54*. Westport, CN: Praeger Publishers, 1991. xxvi + 133 pp., maps, tables, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-275-93833-6.

Richard L. Schreadley. *From the Rivers to the Sea: The United States Navy in Vietnam*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1992. xxii + 418 pp., maps, drawings, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Cdn \$40.50, US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-772-0. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

Whether or not we chose to recognize it at the time, the Vietnam War of 1945-1954 was a real war. When a shaky peace was finally concluded in 1954, 45,000 Frenchmen had died trying to re-establish a French empire in Indochina. In a replay running from 1959 to 1973, something over 58,000 Americans paid the ultimate price for their leaders' confusion between nationalism and communism. The number of Vietnamese, service or civilian, who died in this conflict is measured in the millions. South Vietnam, the country that Americans had come to save, was the most heavily bombed place on earth.

The Marine Nationale from 1945 to 1954 and the US Navy throughout the war and after played major parts as might be expected in a country with an extended coast line and two major river estuaries. Koburger, a retired Captain USCG, has written a short but highly-concentrated book covering a general history of Indochina from World War II to the return of the French and the development of the "*dinassauts*" (the *divisions d'infanterie navale d'assaut*), the French response to Viet Minh insurgency in the deltas. A typical *dinassaut* consisted of twelve to eighteen specialized ships, mostly converted World War II landing craft, and a commando force of reinforced company size. These units were, in a sense, "projected" into the shore, into the rivers and

canals where their enemy was thought to be lurking.

Commander Schreadley, a retired naval officer and subsequently a newspaper editor, takes up where Koburger leaves off. He too, emphasizes the naval role of the riverine forces operated by the USN and the South Vietnamese navy, in respectful imitation of the French *dinassauts*. It is a sobering story of naval warfare where death lurks constantly, 365 days a year, around each bend of the river. The Americans, as is their style, developed purpose-built ships and craft for riverine warfare. Support services, virtual floating cities, provided the logistic backup. It is a fascinating, if futile, narrative and one which naval authorities should not neglect.

Aside from riverine warfare, Schreadley deals with the entire USN effort in Vietnam, the attempted blockade of the Vietnamese coast, the air warfare and its frustrating restrictions, the useless attempt to turn the war over to the very uninterested Vietnamese. Schreadley knows of what he speaks. He served in Vietnam and he was especially chosen to prepare a special history project for COMNAVFORV (Commander Naval Forces Vietnam) on the war up to 1969, a report that did not see the light of day. He commanded a DE in the Gulf of Tonkin and personally experienced the Tonkin Gulf "ghosts"-strange radar distortions that served President Johnson so well. Schreadley is especially enlightening on the political aspects of the naval war, the politics of Saigon and the politics of Washington. The confusion and muddle accompanying virtually every American decision made about the war is honestly set out. The cupidity of the South Vietnamese military leadership is possibly unparalleled in the history of warfare. CDR Schreadley is a loyal naval officer and he does believe that victory might have attended the US efforts if only civilians wouldn't try to run wars. But he has spent enough years as a newspaperman to tell an honest story as best he sees it. It is not a very glorious story.

Both books provide an excellent background to the naval war in and around Vietnam. Photographs in both books help identify the alphabet soup of specialized ships and river craft. To that end, absolute necessities are the lists of abbreviations and acronyms found in both books. Schreadley's list of acronyms covers six pages—everything from ACTOV (an "Accelerated Turnover to the Vietnamese"—of more than 1,300 ships and craft as it turned out) to YTB (a "Harbour Tug, Large").

Any reader wishing to understand the naval war in Vietnam, especially the river war in the Mekong and Red River Deltas, should read these books.

David Fry
Toronto, Ontario

John "Sandy" Woodward, with Patrick Robinson. *One Hundred Days: The Memoirs of the Falklands Battle Group Commander*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1992. xxiii + 360 pp., photographs, maps, index. Cdn \$33.95, US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-651-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

Rear Admiral John Woodward was the commander of the Royal Navy task force sent to the South Atlantic to recover the Falkland Islands from Argentina in 1982. He was also the senior British military commander in the theatre of operations, being senior to Major General Jeremy Moore. Woodward's strategic predicament in the Falklands campaign was similar to that of Admiral Jellicoe's seventy years earlier in World War I. Jellicoe was the only man on either side of the Great War who could have lost the war in an afternoon. Woodward could have lost the Falkland's campaign in ten minutes. Indeed, the time between the launch of an Exocet missile and its impact on either of the Royal Navy's two aircraft carriers would have been less than ten minutes. But neither of the carriers were hit

and the Royal Navy mounted the most remarkable amphibious operation since World War II.

These memoirs begin with the Exocet attack on HMS *Sheffield* and Woodward's reaction to this sobering event. This first chapter is overly dramatic and does not fit with the strict chronology of what follows. The next chapter reverts to Woodward's days as a midshipman in the immediate post-World War II Royal Navy. Though he spent most of his career as a submariner, there were two stints as a planner in Whitehall. Significantly in 1974 as Assistant Director (Warfare) in the Directorate of Plans he helped prepare a paper on the defence of the Falkland Islands in case of an Argentinean attack. The answer was that "defence" of the islands was impossible. As Woodward notes, no one bothered to ask the follow-up question: could the Falklands be retaken after a successful Argentinean invasion?

Woodward's second posting to Whitehall was as Director of Naval Plans. This time he faced more than a hypothetical paper war. For the senior service he helped fight and lose the battle of the 1981 Defence Review against Margaret Thatcher's new Defence Minister, the "cold-hearted" career banker John Nott. Under Nott's plan the Royal Navy would have been reduced to a glorified anti-submarine squadron for the eastern Atlantic with the Trident nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines thrown in as a sop to Thatcher's ideological visions as a Cold Warrior. As Woodward notes, the only non-Soviet admirals who would have approved were Jorge Anaya and his Argentinean colleagues.

In the summer of 1981 Woodward was promoted to Rear-Admiral and given command of the First Flotilla based at Portsmouth. This flotilla was made up of destroyers and frigates. The new admiral did not yet command an aircraft carrier. He found being a flag officer "Too much strutting about...and idle chatter." The only

exception to this flag waving was an exercise in November 1981 with the American carrier battle group built around the USS *Coral Sea* in the Indian Ocean. During this exercise Woodward's flagship the destroyer *Glamorgan* was able to attack the American aircraft carrier successfully with Exocet missiles. Apparently this "lesson" was not lost on Woodward.

Five months later Woodward found himself in command of a carrier task force on its way to liberate the Falkland Islands. The Royal Navy was sending a career submariner who had never commanded more than a handful of surface vessels and who had never spent more than a week on an aircraft carrier 10,000 miles from home to command its largest operation since World War II. In the end we know that despite some tight spots he did very well. Woodward comes across as an intelligent cautious commander. Beyond the incalculable risk of operating at the end of a supply line that stretched half way around the earth Woodward took few risks. For the most part he kept his carrier out of range of the Argentinean Navy's Exocet-armed Super Entendard aircraft. This led to problems in providing air cover with the short ranged Sea Harriers. However, Woodward made the right decision because the loss of either of his carriers would have meant the end of the operation. Woodward's side of the sinking of the *General Belgrano* is told in full. After his experience with the *Glamorgan* he had no compunctions about having the ancient cruiser sunk and frankly Woodward was furious that the Argentinean aircraft carrier the *Veinticinco de Mayo* got away. He did not want to take any more chances than he could help.

There are numerous references to the unpredictable behaviour of the two primary missile anti-aircraft missile systems which the Royal Navy had fitted to its more modern escorts. The long range Sea Dart launcher tended to become encrusted with salt which would abort the missile firing

sequence. The highly touted short range Sea Wolf which had been initially designed to handle Soviet missiles had problems handling aircraft which bobbed and weaved as they attacked their targets, causing the Sea Wolves computer to shut down. When operated close to shore the radars for both missile systems could not deal with the clutter caused by hills on the islands. The parsimonious British treasury is blamed for most of these defects. While such condemnations can be expected from front line commanders the Royal Navy itself should also take some of the responsibility for the performance of its equipment. Surely the radar clutter problems must have been known before hand or had the Royal Navy never exercised amphibious operations in the Norwegian fjords?

Woodward's attitudes towards men affected by stress is enlightening. He did not consider officers and men who could not handle the stress of combat as cowards but rather as victims in need of psychological assistance. If such a perspective is typical, then there has been a revolutionary change in the senior service. Nor does he condemn anti-war naval officers such as David Tinker whose campaign letters were published posthumously as *A Message from the Falklands*. Tinker was not a traitor but rather had "a valid point of view." Jacky Fisher and Sandy Woodward are farther apart than mere dreadnoughts and nuclear powered submarines.

Some things are left unsaid. There is no mention of SAS operations in Patagonia, nor are the officers directly responsible for the Port Pleasant debacle named. Why were the destroyers acting as radar pickets, including HMS Sheffield, allowed to transmit by satellite during periods of possible Exocet attack when it was known that the satellite transmission system interfered with the ships' radar detection equipment? Perhaps these questions cannot yet be discussed publicly.

As for the reasons why a career submariner was given command of a carrier task force to recapture the Falklands, these

can be found in Woodward's memoirs themselves. His ability and intelligence shines through on every page. Given that Woodward cannot completely lift the veil of secrecy surrounding the campaign his memoirs are an important addition to the literature on the Falklands War.

M. Stephen Salmon
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Michael A. Palmer. *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1883-1992*. New York: Free Press, 1992. viii + 328 pp., tables, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-02-923843-9.

Most Westerners would be surprised to learn that the Persian Gulf states have not by habit considered the United States an imperialist power, let alone the "Great Satan." Or that US policy towards the region has consistently been to avoid diplomatic and military entanglements, greater involvement generally being at the encouragement of the Iranians (in past guise as Persians). Whereas most Americans only discovered the Gulf during the 1973 Arab oil embargo, Washington could look back upon a century of good relations with shahs and sheiks. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the stability of the region had been recognized as critical to Western security for four decades.

In this survey spanning nearly two centuries, Michael Palmer expands and updates his earlier book, *On Course to Desert Storm* (reviewed in the January 1993 issue of *The Northern Mariner*), to give the Second Gulf War a valuable historical context. He ably resolves many seeming contradictions into a consistent theme of escalating American involvement, for reasons more complex than mere thirst for oil. As American commercial interests sought to exploit the local advantages presented by the alternate waxing and waning of Russian and

British power, regional states attempted to draw in America as a counter to the other powers. Despite ongoing resistance to military obligations, Palmer chronicles how the United States reluctantly but inexorably assumed the mantle of active guardianship, whose logical culmination was the recent war with Iraq. Even with such obvious setbacks as the "loss" of Iran in 1979 and the unleashing of Saddam in the summer of 1990, Palmer argues that "Americans have fared rather well...[and] U.S. policy in the gulf must be considered a success." (p. 245)

The author succeeds in arguing such a controversial thesis. He has produced a scholarly work which will appeal to the general reader, bringing together a variety of Middle Eastern themes, while keeping the Persian Gulf in the context of American global policy. By taking the long view he brings a fresh perspective to accepted truths. For example, he shows to be significant that Harry Truman's "line in the sand" to Joseph Stalin was in Iran in 1946, not later in Berlin. Looking at Desert Shield, he provides a credible answer to his question, "Through their actions, or inactions, did American policymakers give a 'green light' to Saddam?" That the Navy had but a supporting role in the liberation of Kuwait is misleading; naval influence is a recurring theme, most often as a means to maintain visible presence without the encumbrance of permanent bases desired by neither Americans nor Muslims.

Usually not hesitant to address issues squarely, Palmer occasionally pulls his punches. Desert Shield is viewed as the inevitable consequence of American policy, but the four day delay after the invasion before committing forces is passed over without explanation. Other commentators have argued convincingly the influential prompting by Prime Minister Thatcher at this juncture; having demonstrated how the United States supplanted the British in the gulf, this would have been an ironic twist worth exploring. Canadians will be disap-

pointed to see no mention of the many UN peacekeeping missions to the region, nor discussion of the Coalition which implemented the naval blockade of Iraq, examination of which issues could have added to the discussion at several points.

Still, these slights detract only marginally from a compelling history of American involvement in a volatile region. This should remain the most balanced and thorough account of the subject for some time.

Richard H. Gimblett
Ottawa, Ontario

Robert Stephens Staley II. *The Wave of the Future: The United Nations and Naval Peacekeeping*. London & Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992. 63 pp., table, notes. US \$6.95, paper; ISBN 1-55587-379-0.

Naval forces were considered of great importance in enforcement operations when the United Nations Military Staff Committee engaged in serious negotiation in 1947-48. Eric Grove, of the Montbatten Centre for International Studies, University of Southampton, suggests in his Foreword that, the world having moved back to the multipolar, fluid and unstable state that was envisaged in 1945, we need new thinking on the subject of maritime security. We are now, he says, in a position to put into effect the intentions of the UN's founding fathers. In the "aftermath of one of the most impressive examples of international naval action of all time," it is timely to address it.

The author thoroughly examines factors affecting the case for some sort of maritime resources under United Nations control. He argues that it is time for the United Nations once again to consider a UN Maritime Agency. One nation, or a coalition outside United Nations control, involved in any of these scenarios, might not serve the interests of the larger community of nations, whereas forces under UN control would. He also concludes that peacekeeping forces would

not be enough. United Nations maritime forces should be unequivocally armed naval forces, because if the United Nations decide they have to dictate non-violence, they may have to engage in violence to achieve it.

The best move, he says, would be towards "a powerful United Nations agency responsible for overseeing all United Nations maritime concerns....responsible for developing...agreements around which United Nations maritime forces could be constituted...based on... needs from grave and explosive international conflicts to longer-running environmental concerns...[called] the United Nations Maritime Agency."

Although he recognizes the nature of some of the difficulties in operating international naval forces, the author does not seem to grasp their magnitude. It is much more difficult to operate an international naval force, than it is to operate a multinational land force. Soldiers operate in geographical territories, so that each nation's contingent can be given a geographical area of responsibility, and close interaction is not required. Naval operations, however, are fluid and fast moving, so that each unit has to be capable of operating at an intimate level with every other, the whole as a proverbial "band of brothers." I am certain that it was forty years of NATO naval cooperation, including twenty-five years of the training given to navies by operating in the Standing Naval Force Atlantic, that made possible the extraordinarily successful naval cooperation in the Gulf War.

The Wave of the Future is a difficult and frustrating book. I see no chance that the author's recommendations could be implemented. However, it does give a disciplined framework and a rich menu of factors affecting the subject, and thus considerably advances the study of the subject of naval peacekeeping.

Dan Mainguy
Ottawa, Ontario

Joseph Gerard Brennan. *Foundations of Moral Obligation: The Stockdale Course*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1992. xxv + 269 pp., appendix, notes, bibliography, index. US \$10 (+ \$2.50 shipping & handling), paper.

Foundations of Moral Obligation: The Stockdale Course contains the transcribed and edited lectures for a popular course in moral philosophy taught by Joseph G. Brennan at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. Conceived by Vice Admiral James B. Stockdale in 1978, the course developed out of Stockdale's conviction that human intellect and will derive benefit from the study of philosophy. Stockdale engaged Brennan, professor emeritus of philosophy, Barnard College of Columbia University, to develop, with him, a graduate course for military officers.

Atypical of contemporary moral "issues" courses, this course is devoted to the ideas and the lives of great thinkers. The subject matter of each lecture, and hence each chapter, provides new opportunities for Brennan to demonstrate the breadth of his knowledge and recount the many stories which captured and held the attention of his military audience and likewise affect the reader. Spinning an intricate network of ideas originating in philosophy, literature, religion, and science, and connecting these ideas with lived experience, he overlooks no major figure in the history of philosophy.

Beginning with an examination of Stockdale's prisoner of war experience followed by a chapter on the suffering of Job, Brennan discusses love, then treats in the same eclectic manner aspects of the moral theories of Aristotle, Kant, John Stuart Mill and Sartre. The closing chapters consider Lenin, a Soviet philosopher disinterested in ethics, the effect of science on ethics, and the life and ideas of Wittgenstein, a philosopher intentionally silent on ethical matters. In these various contexts Brennan depicts the creative power of human intellect as well

as the freedom and fortitude of human will.

Although not among the philosophers highlighted in chapter headings, Socrates is the book's predominant philosophical presence. The two longest paragraphs in the Index are given to Socrates and Plato. Socrates may be Brennan's favourite mouth-piece, but he approaches moral philosophy in a very un-Socratic manner. While both locate moral questions in lived experience, Socrates, unlike Brennan, believed that there are answers. There *are* moral truths to be discovered. Hence, Socrates relentlessly employed his method of dialectic in the pursuit of moral truth. Brennan, however, denies that moral philosophy contains answers or demonstrable conclusions. This perspective makes intelligible the basically unstructured nature of each chapter and lack of thesis for the book taken as a whole. One searches in vain for critical analysis of alternative views, arguments supporting particular moral assessments, or the careful working out of the basis for moral obligations.

So why the course and a book entitled *Foundations of Moral Knowledge*?! Simply because in these "sermons," as they were ironically but perceptively called, one is invited to contemplate, in combination, humanity's greatest insights and the amazing strength of will of real human beings in terrible circumstances. In such awareness is the possibility to acquire the moral foundation which enables human flourishing in hard times. Moral knowledge may be impossible, moral goodness is not.

The reading list for the Stockdale Course in the appendix indicates that students moved beyond the book's superficial exposition of the ideas of philosophers. This is essential if one genuinely seeks understanding of either the foundations of moral obligation, or the individual moral theories of philosophers. While the book barely scrapes the surface of the myriad of ideas it introduces, like the course, it could provide a catalyst which prompts the closer look.

Although examples of military courage

are more frequent than is typical in surveys of moral philosophy, and the duties to obey orders and be silent in the face of orders are spared the challenges likely to be levelled elsewhere, there is nothing in either the book's moral questions or Brennan's methodology that would associate it with maritime studies generally, or the training of naval officers in particular. The Stockdale Course worked at the Naval War College, in part, because it bore the authority of the respected naval officer who implemented it, and in part, because by responding to the lectures as they responded to Joseph Brennan's wisdom and integrity, students gave to the lectures their power to provide a foundation of moral obligation.

Sandra Tomsons
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Philip P. Boucher. *Cannibal Encounters: European and Island Caribs, 1492-1763*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. xii + 217 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$32.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8018-4365-0.

Philip Boucher tries to overcome five hundred years of stereotyping of the Island Carib people as fierce man-eaters. He succeeds because he has a command of the literature, especially English and French, since 1492. That he has not explored the Spanish archives probably has not diminished his effort, since the Spaniards regarded the Windward and Leeward Islands, home of the Caribs, as way stations on the voyage to their main colonies. This did not prevent the Spaniards from continuing to echo Christopher Columbus' view that the Carib enemies of his Taino Arawak contacts were cannibals. English and French writers were happy to perpetuate this view, although the French were more willing to challenge it. Indeed that is a main theme of this work, because the author, well versed in studies of the French-Amerindian experience in North

America, wanted to see how the French experience with the Caribs fit into their relations with those on the mainland.

The French went to Brazil well before Cartier landed in the St. Lawrence region. They sought dyewood. It was their Brazilian contact with the Tupinambas, a people who ate human flesh for religious reasons rather than culinary ones, that made the French tend to be more sympathetic to the Island Caribs. Although the French, like the English, would wage war against the Caribs for control of the islands, they preferred to evangelize and trade.

The Caribs had been feared raiders before the Europeans arrived. In their dugout canoes they covered the whole of the Greater and Lesser Antilles, an experience which sailors can appreciate, but will have to imagine in this study. They remained feared raiders after the English, Dutch and French arrived in the early seventeenth century. At least they did until their wars, their exposure to European diseases, and their migration to the South American mainland had virtually eliminated them from the islands.

Boucher first introduces us to the fifteenth century polemics on the Caribs. He then moves to a detailed narrative recounting of the Anglo-French-Carib relationship spanning the years from Thomas Warner's 1623 colonization of St. Christopher (where he had to share that tiny island with French settlers) to the Treaty of Paris, 1763. By then, all but some three hundred Caribs remained, too few to rate mention in the final settlement.

The narrative discusses such figures as "Indian" Warner, Thomas Warner's son by a Carib, who becomes a romantic warrior on the Carib side. It looks at some of the interesting ways the Caribs waged war. One way was to burn hot peppers whose smoke drove English settlers away, but chemical warfare proved of little avail. The English kept pressing. And, if the European enemy was not enough, the Caribs weakened themselves from within, as the narrative reveals

the ironic growth of an Afro-Carib community, descendants of captured Africans, that was Carib in custom but which significantly outnumbered the Caribs by 1763. Boucher concludes with a fascinating assessment of how Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and others, relying on their prejudiced predecessors, may have led us all astray.

Cannibal Encounters is a relatively short study, but it is packed with insight on European attitudes toward an American people. It makes clear that once a stereotype is established it may never be erased. Boucher's commendable effort shows that the Caribs deserve better.

J.C.M. Ogelsby
London, Ontario

Rodrigue Lévesque (comp. & éd.). *History of Micronesia, A Collection of Source Documents, Vol. I: European Discovery 1521-1560*. Gatineau, Québec: Les Éditions Lévesque, 1992 [RR 3, Gatineau, Québec, Canada J8P 7G7]. 702 pp., maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$60, cloth; ISBN 0-920201-01-6.

It is sometimes from the desks of historians with no major links to established publishing houses, and hence no limitations imposed by the editors and designers of such houses, that the most remarkable publications appear. In the case of this weighty first volume of source documents on the history of Micronesia, Rodrigue Lévesque has demonstrated to a degree the pitfalls of personal publishing, but to a larger degree its extraordinary charm and startling possibilities in the desktop age.

Spanish vessels wandered through the island groups of Micronesia early in the sixteenth century. Having visited that same far-flung realm of islands to the north of Melanesia in the Pacific in 1981, Lévesque came away with a profound sympathy for the islanders, and a determination to produce a thorough historical record of their

past, so that, as Lévesque quoted the Hawaiian head of the Pacific Science Board, "the people of the islands can know, appreciate, and be proud of their past, and be better prepared to cope with problems of the future." What he has produced is an astonishingly diverse first volume of reference material on Micronesia that mixes primary and secondary as well as tertiary source excerpts with delightful illustrations culled from many locations. Throughout the volume, whether reading an excerpt from a letter, an official voyage account, or a list of ordnance, powder, and gunnery incidentals carried in Magellan's vessels (listed down to the last *arroba*, or eleven-kilogram unit), the reader benefits from Lévesque's own chatty footnotes, which create a feeling of being with him up in his attic, rummaging through a trunk of treasures while swigging coffee.

Lévesque has concentrated on providing the key documents, or portions thereof, which give actual accounts of discoveries and voyages in the islands. His research in Spain, Portugal and elsewhere was extraordinarily detailed, fired with the passion of an amateur in the best sense of the word. Whether reading the letter of 18 July, 1519 from Portuguese Factor Sebastien Alvarez to the King of Portugal the account of Magellan's and Espinosa's activities written by Antonio Brito, the Portuguese governor of the Moluccas at the time, or a detailed chart-supported reasoning on the possible fate of the lost galleon *San Lesmes*, the reader is constantly presented with conversational asides or illustrations which, to a more formal historian, would be inappropriate but which Lévesque has provided in order to add colour to the story. If there is fault to his approach, it may be his unquestioning quotation from secondary sources in the manner of a good undergraduate history paper, but even there his selection has a ring of value and appropriateness.

The key contents are seventy documentary excerpts from original sources ranging from the text of the Papal Bull of 4 May,

1493, establishing the Line of Demarcation for Portuguese and Spanish exploration and ownership of the world, to the letter sent from Viceroy Mendoza to the Council of the Indies concerning the Villalobos expedition of 1542-46. Supporting the documents are several hundred appealing illustrations and a host of secondary references such as a "List of Ships Through Micronesia for the Period 1521-65," while throughout are woven Lévesque's folksy but astonishingly detailed observations which add a naive charm to the whole. To the historian wondering where to turn for more detailed information after reading about Pacific exploration in the hushed halls of Beaglehole and others, Lévesque's first volume is a charming delight to browse through, and a useful and enlightening one. To the lay reader who believes that European reaction to the handsome islanders of the Pacific began with Wallis, Cook, Bougainville and the Polynesia of the 1700s, there may be some surprise in finding that astonished European seamen were stumbling upon beautiful atolls and their inhabitants thousands of miles to the north hundreds of years earlier.

Victor Suthren
Ottawa, Ontario

Miller Graf. *Arctic Journeys: A History of Exploration for the Northwest Passage*. Bern & New York: Peter Lang, 1992; American University Studies, Series LX, Vol. 121. viii + 377 pp., appendix, bibliography. US \$56.95, library binding; ISBN 0-8204-1745-9.

Miller Graf is a retired USAF officer who was stationed for part of his career at Sondrestrom Air Base in Greenland. As Squadron Commander there in 1968 Graf was instrumental in locating the "Greater Rockford," a Stinson monoplane which had crashed forty years earlier on an attempted flight from Rockford, Illinois to Stockholm. The plane was returned to Rockford for display in the local museum. Graf's approach

to the history of Arctic exploration is thus grounded in the reality of having lived and worked in the Arctic.

Why this effort to honour a failure? Well Graf sees the history of Arctic exploration, "one of the small streams of human experience," (p. 3) as a still unfolding story in the course of which each individual and expedition adds something to our knowledge of the Arctic. To view this history as a series of almost nothing but failures is to miss the point. Graf's appreciation of what men have achieved in the Arctic "is...a constant and enjoyable feature" of this "introduction to the fascinating history of the north." (p. vii)

The most striking virtues of *Arctic Journeys* are its comprehensiveness and fair-mindedness. It begins with Pytheas and ends with the projected (in 1991) attempt to sail to the pole. The contributions of all nations are given their due and dotty theories (if one may call them that) and controversies are treated in an admirably balanced fashion. The handling of the "Peary or Cook or nobody?" question is especially notable in this regard.

Graf employs a narrative and chronological approach, the most engaging way of presenting such a wealth of material to readers not familiar with the subject. Yet, given that the text occupies not much more than three hundred pages, one has no sense of a breathless rush through the centuries. Many of the people who appear are presented as individuals, not as mere names. Americans do not seem to get more ink than those of other nationalities and, if Graf stretches himself a bit when it comes to Adolphus Greeley, this is surely allowable to one who spent his boyhood in Greeley's home town of Newburyport.

Graf does not neglect to mention the changes in motive for Arctic exploration in theories of and knowledge about the Arctic, and in the technologies used for travelling and living in the Arctic. Some readers might prefer more from Graf on these topics, yet he perhaps felt that with so vast an area to

cover, something had to give. But, having said that I admire what Graf has set out to do and like the thorough and sane way he has done it, I must admit to some reservations about the book, particularly as the publishers, by presenting it as part of their "American History Series," seem to claim some kind of academic authority for it. If so, they might have done better by their author. The book has no maps, which is inexcusable. It also has no illustrations although, considering its price, this may be just as well. There is, to be fair, a handy chronology. There are too many typographical errors, the names drawn from several nations in particular presenting a challenge to which the printers failed to rise ("Stoker Stokersson" [sic], Stefansson's companion, is, however, a welcome addition to the gallery of Arctic characters [p.304]). Editing seems to have been incompetent or non-existent. Sentences can either flow awkwardly or be just plain ungrammatical. The transitions from one chapter to the next are frequently ungraceful, with the result that we can read three times in three successive paragraphs about the discovery of McClure's message in 1853 (pp. 140, 143) or receive the impression that Zachariah Gillam died twice (pp. 59, 64). Nor, viewing *Arctic Journeys* as an academic book, am I happy with its sources. It would be foolish to fault Graf for not having read everything, on the one hand, or for his choice of sources on the other. Yet in a book with academic pretensions, the sources for the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Passage should be E.E. Rich and Glyndwr Williams, not Thomas Costain and Farley Mowat.

Such pretensions and failings, however, can probably be laid at the door of the publishers. Miller Graf should be pleased at having proved that "this tale (is) worth the retelling" (p. viii)—and his ambition was no more (and no less) than that.

Anne Morton
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Nancy Fogelson. *Arctic Exploration & International Relations 1900-1932*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1992. xiv + 220 pp., maps, photos, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-912006-61-7.

The author's purpose was to describe the impact of the efforts of various explorers to open the Arctic, especially in the western hemisphere, on international relations in general and on American-Canadian relations in particular. While the book surveys the period from 1840 to 1990, its main emphasis is on examining the effects of arctic exploration from 1900 to 1932. In this period expeditions were mounted by Americans, Danes and Norwegians to challenge Canada's inchoate claims to sovereignty over the arctic islands, claims that were finally secured in 1930 with a Canada-Norway agreement.

Early expeditions into the Arctic sought to discover the fate of Franklin's 1845 expedition to find the Northwest Passage. After 1900 the goal of most expeditions was to get to the North Pole and back, and to map and explore the arctic islands claimed by Canada since 1882, when Great Britain transferred ownership of all islands in British North America except Bermuda.

The book can be divided in half: a marine period up to 1920-21 and an aviation period after 1921. The earlier period is better detailed and of greater interest from the points of view of maritime history and political science, but the later period is not lacking in details of interest.

There were many disputes, none of them major, in this period of expanding national interests as nations sponsored arctic expeditions with the intention of establishing an official presence on the islands of Canada's Arctic archipelago. Canada met the challenge by opening RCMP posts throughout the region and by issuing explorers' permits. Also, especially in the period from 1894 to 1921, Canada mounted some exploratory expeditions of its own. But then, in the 1920s, as aviation technology improved and

aircraft were able to fly non-stop across the Arctic, controversies over expansion into the north polar regions subsided, relations between the countries improved, and opportunities were developed to open up the north for defence and to exploit oil and minerals.

No expedition or clash of national interests has been examined in any depth in this smallish book. Fortunately, though, the political and economic implications (unresolved to this day) of the Alaskan Boundary Dispute, which was arbitrated by Great Britain and the USA against Canada's interests in 1903, have been noted, as has Canada's unofficial postulation of its "sector"~60° to 141° west longitude—in the so-called "sector principle" espoused in 1907 by Senator Paschal Poirier in the Canadian Senate.

Fogelson, who teaches American and European history in Cincinnati, Ohio, is clearly no jingoist. She has nicely balanced documentary source materials from American sources with those from the National Archives of Canada and works by Canadian historians such as Gordon Smith and R A J. (Bob) Phillips. The resulting work is one of a very few studies of modern arctic exploration that have sought to incorporate either the Arctic region or the achievements of arctic explorers into the general history of international relations. Both American and Canadian readers will find Fogelson's book well worthwhile.

Allen D. Taylor
Cantley, Quebec

Steve Short and Rosemary Neering. *In the Path of the Explorers: Tracing the Expeditions of Vancouver, Cook, Mackenzie, Fraser and Thompson*. Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1992. xii + 124 pp., map, colour photographs, bibliography, index. \$29.95, paper; ISBN 1-55110-018-5.

Rosemary Neering and Steve Short, of *Beautiful B.C.* magazine, have teamed up

together to create a delightful little coffee-table paperback that would make an ideal gift for any visitor to Canada's western province. It tells the story of the first English-speaking explorers of British Columbia—Cook, Vancouver, Mackenzie, Simon Fraser and Thompson, but ignores the Spaniards. Neering has done an excellent job with the script, and Short's photography ties in well with the text. The book is written for the general reader, and one should not therefore be too critical of the few errors Neering makes. On Cook she covers only his visit to Nootka, but poor old George Vancouver comes in for the usual panning in a chapter entitled "A Man Haughty and Proud." This is a poor summation of a naval officer who, though sick himself, showed every consideration for the welfare of his men and for the natives with whom he came in contact. But the writer reflects our traditional tendency to overlook the harsh realities of life at sea and the perfidious treatment meted out by Pitt and Chatham on Vancouver's return.

The authors handle the overland explorers well. Neering's treatment of Thompson is especially well written, bringing out the unique inner qualities of the man, while Short's beautiful photographs well illustrate the magnificent country through which the overland explorers passed. His picture of Rainbow Mountain, on Alexander Mackenzie's route, is particularly impressive. But one rather regrets that all the illustrations were taken in perfect weather conditions instead of the driving rain and swirling mist, storm and tempest, blistering heat and mosquito-ridden swamps that are all too often the explorers' lot. One cannot help but feel that the overlanders had it far more tough. Not for them the creature comforts, the camaraderie, the easy routine of ship-board life. Mackenzie, Fraser and Thompson were a different breed of cat, self-motivated, fired with an unquenchable pursuit of the unknown, impervious to hardship.

It is not usual in a review to compliment

the book designer, but Carolyn Deby has done an especially fine job of layout and typography, and her cover is an open invitation to all to dig deeper and look inside. All together, this is a delightful little book.

John Crosse
Vancouver, British Columbia

Robin Fisher. *Vancouver's Voyage: Charting the Northwest Coast, 1791-1795*. Vancouver & Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992. xi + 131 pp., maps, illustrations, colour plates, notes, bibliography, index. \$35, cloth; ISBN 1-55054-023-8.

This is a celebratory work to mark the occasion of the bicentenary of Captain George Vancouver's survey of the northwest coast of North America. Based almost wholly on historical materials in print, this work is a general survey of the subject. It relies heavily on Vancouver's own voyage prepared in a scholarly edition by W. Kaye Lamb for the Hakluyt Society in 1984. The expedition itself was a great success for hydrographical science, undertaken to one of the world's most complex coastlines. Vancouver's work, taken up by Belcher, Kellett, Richards, Pender and others, was a great credit to the Royal Navy, but in many respects, as recent scholarship has stated, the Spanish, who left an equally valuable legacy for nautical science, were not technically inferior in hydrographic research. The book is well illustrated, with views from the treasures of the Hydrographie Department, Ministry of Defence (Navy), Taunton, and with photographs of the coastline from the trusty camera of Gary Fiegehan, a distinguished photographer.

This reviewer has always felt sorry for George Vancouver: he went on a mission that he knew might be a fool's errand, and he knew it was to be a protracted voyage typical of this great and classic era of late-eighteenth century discovery. He did not like the grey-green forested landscape he saw all

around him and, like Capability Brown, would have preferred to see European manicuring of the wilderness and European industry and development making a new empire out of the wilderness. Vancouver possessed inadequate instructions, and he laboured largely in the dark in relation to his Spanish counterpart Bodega y Quadra in working out, as best they could, the complexities of the Nootka Convention. At least they had the sense, as gentlemen, to agree to disagree and leave it at that. Vancouver's health deteriorated in the third year of his expedition so that his concluding years were a sorry closing to so great an epic, although his case was taken up vehemently by his brother Charles, as B. Guild Gillespie's engaging and re-creative book on the triumphs and torments of the celebrated navigator *On Stormy Seas* (1992) relates so evocatively. The voyage was impossibly long, it seems, and by the time the ships reached Shannon, Ireland, en route to English port, Midshipman Barrie wrote wryly that Ireland was "a very wild place almost as bad as the Northwest Coast of America and I can't understand the Natives." He continued (in a letter that now resides in the Duke University Library) by observing that "The Irish look at us with astonishment when they hear we have been 5 years from a European port."

This book joins an already large shelf of works on navigation, trade and discovery dealing with the Northwest Coast and there is little of originality here either in concept or documentation. George Vancouver was a herald of British imperialism and colonial development. Yet Professor Fisher avoids dealing with the legacies of Vancouver's voyage, at least in any detail, although he does say that "the native people of the coast had, in the long run, little reason to celebrate Vancouver's coming." (p. 120) Perhaps the same could be said of James Cook, Bodega y Quadra and others. He implies that Vancouver was looking for "people to exploit," (p. 9) but Vancouver's instructions

do not say that. He did not seem "to have a short fuse" in his dealings with native people (p. 22) but was, rather, cautious and self-controlled. Vancouver, contrary to what Fisher says, (p. 29) was a circumspect, sympathetic and perceptive observer of native cultures on the coast, as Kaye Lamb and Erna Gunter concluded. Vancouver was fully aware of demographic factors, and the deleterious role of smallpox and outside cultures on the Indians. Vancouver's caution in dealing with the natives was understandable in view of what had happened to James Cook in Hawaii, and Vancouver was under orders to be careful and circumspect in his dealings with indigenous peoples; but it is incorrect to classify this as "fear." Vancouver worried that the Northwest Coast natives had become so heavily armed that this fact endangered the safety of ships and men. It was the behaviour of American fur traders rather than Europeans generally that Vancouver was most concerned about, and there is a necessary requirement here for historians to differentiate more specifically between and among "whites."

Barry Gough
Waterloo, Ontario

Barry Gough. *The Northwest Coast: British Navigation, Trade, and Discoveries to 1812*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992. xiv + 265 pp., maps, plates, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7748-0399-1.

Students of maritime and western Canadian history will greet this book warmly. Barry Gough is no stranger to either constituency because of his numerous contributions to our knowledge of European, Canadian and American activities on the Northwest Coast, particularly in the nineteenth century. This latest offering, which he says is the result of twenty-five years' work, casts a wider historical net back to Elizabethan times and, particularly in the later years of the eight-

centh century, puts all the area's international rivalries as well as British imperial visions into a true Pacific context. We are given clear explanations of the conflicting goals of the British, Spanish, French and Russians, not to mention the East India Company, American and Chinese merchants. Lest this sound unbearably complex, readers may rest assured of the author's talent for clear and lively prose which produces a brisk and interesting read.

The book opens with a discussion of Elizabethan interest in the Pacific, revolving around Drake's circumnavigation. His formal territorial claim to Nova Albion, tenuous though it was, gave subsequent British governments a pretext to assert their interests with something of a straight face. One might be forgiven for suspecting Drake's voyage was an isolated incident and not a harbinger of British Pacific expansion, because after these twenty-four opening pages we jump the seventeenth century entirely, before plunging into the eighteenth century.

This is the real meat of the book, and readers will be impressed with the thorough and readable descriptions of adventurous merchants, official explorers and statesman-like imperial visions. Gough gives a good account of the voyages of eminent explorers like Cook and Vancouver: their strategic and scientific objectives (such as the ever-elusive Northwest Passage), their ships and equipment, personalities, habits of command and fellow crew members, not to mention the actual voyages with analysis of the significance of each discovery. There is also a very clear description of the growth of commercial links across the Pacific following Cook's 1778 voyage with its revelation of how lucrative the Chinese market was for sea otter pelts. Numerous groups and individuals, of whom John Meares is just the best known, raised financial backing and set out to make their fortunes until the area seemed to be swarming with traders. This of course aroused Spanish fears that their extensive

claims would be brushed aside if not enforced by occupation. The resulting arrest and detention at Nootka Sound of British ships belonging to Meares' group spurred London into responding with a high hand in 1790. A huge fleet was mobilized under the command of Admiral Howe, and while the Spanish responded in kind they eventually backed down when it became apparent that their normal French ally, convulsed by the early stages of the Revolution, would offer no help.

Criticisms of the book are quite minor. Maps are a major disappointment: there are two, neither noted in the table of contents. That of the Pacific coast covers two pages, of which two-thirds are blank ocean; they lack a scale and lines of latitude (which is particularly annoying as the text refers frequently to latitude), and many names in the text do not appear on the maps. When venturing to the European side of things the author sometimes introduces confusion, as when he seems to place Wellington's army in Spain in the late 1790s (p. 167) and dates the *Pax Britannica* from 1763 (p. 25). On p. 141 there are several erroneous statements about British naval practices and building methods. The bibliography is reasonably complete also, but in one of those ironic twists it must be noted that this reviewer's article on "The Naval Aspects of the Nootka Sound Crisis" is referred to several times in the relevant chapter but does not make it to the bibliography!

Those quite minor problems aside, there is no hesitation in recommending this book most enthusiastically. It is the assured work of a scholar who has mastered his subject after years of study, and a brief review cannot begin to do it justice.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario