

BOOK REVIEWS

Hershel Parker. *Herman Melville: A Biography. Vol. 1: 1819-1851*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. xx + 941 pp., b+w plates, genealogical tables, documentation, index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8018-5428-8.

Hershel Parker follows Herman Melville's course from his early life in Albany to his success as one of America's most popular writers of sea adventures at mid-century. This first volume ends in 1851, when Melville was thirty-two and his *magnum opus*, *Moby-Dick*, was about to reach print. At nearly nine hundred pages, this biography creates a complex, composite portrait of Melville, built from diverse and wide-ranging sources. One comes away from it feeling bulked up with a great knowledge of Melville and his family, their day to day activities, and the atmosphere of local and national events within which they struggled. If at certain points one would wish for more incisive commentary to bring Melville's writing into focus, Parker compensates with comprehensive and impeccable scholarship.

Parker is eminently qualified to do justice to his subject. He has written and edited many volumes by and about Melville. As editor of *The New Melville Log*, continuing Jay Leyda's life project that set out in the 1940s to compile documents relevant to Melville's life and writing, Parker writes what might best be described as a cultural biography, encompassing an incredible documentary record of American life during Melville's lifetime. Parker has a compelling tale to tell. He reveals the financial exigencies that shaped the destiny of the Melville family during the risk-filled days of national expansion in the 1820s. Melville's early life was tainted by that peculiar poverty made all the more painful given the remembrance of wealth. His family stemmed from Revolutionary War heroes and American aristocracy on both sides. By the time of Melville's birth in 1819, much of this glory had been squandered. Allan Melville, by Parker's estimate a loving father, was a merchant doubly-cursed by unrealistic, aristocratic ambitions and little business sense. When he died in 1832, he left a legacy

of financial woe. The struggle of Herman's mother, Maria Gansevoort Melville, to keep the family from disintegrating, shaped Melville's future. It cut off his formal education at age twelve, sent him into a series of menial jobs before he reached eighteen, and eventually forced him to sea. Parker's detailing of the family's finances explains why the son of patrician New Yorkers should have shipped on the whaler *A Cushnet* out of New Bedford in January 1841.

The bulk of this first volume concerns the period after the *A Cushnet* set sail. For a writer who made his reputation by the sea, Melville's sea experience was relatively short and unpleasant. Parker shows that those sailors who, like Melville, chose to "go ashore" before their four-year cruise was completed, outnumbered those who toughed it out. Melville jumped ship early, in August 1841 at the Marquesas Islands. Subsequently, he spent another two years whaling and wandering in the South Seas, until he enlisted on the USS *United States* at Honolulu, and served at the mainmast until being discharged in Boston in 1845. By Parker's reckoning, the *United States* was Melville's Yale and Harvard, leading him toward a literary career. On board, he immersed himself in the ship's extensive library, soaked up the atmosphere, rehearsed the tales that would later make him famous, and observed the lessons dictated by life under the Articles of War.

Earlier attempts to reveal Melville's years spent in the South Seas have been obscured by embroidered recollections of friends and relatives, muddied greatly by the fictionalizations of Melville's tales and books. Given Melville's penchant for hyperbole, Parker has returned to the documentary record to set straight previous exaggerations and confusions, using an array of documents from the whale fishery, exploration expeditions, the South Sea missions, and the ghost log of the first mate on the *United States*. Parker also adds important evidence of Melville's home life after 1845. The recent discovery of papers belonging to Herman's younger sister, Augusta, who squirreled away manuscript fragments, letters, and other documents of the Melville clan, are likely

the last big find in Melville scholarship. They make Parker's biography timely and necessary.

Parker nicely encapsulates the mixture of intrigue, titillation and moral indignation that made Melville's first book, *Typee*, an instant sensation in London and New York during 1846. Surprisingly, it made Melville America's first media sex symbol, an "American Crusoe." Parker also shows that the combination of realistic detail and romantic speculation that characterized Melville's later work was present from the beginning. The account of *Typee* reveals Melville's transformation of the three week stay with the Marquesas natives into four months in Paradise among the Cannibals. Yet Melville's desire to explore philosophical and high literary topics destined him to write books that, as he put it, "were made to fail." When the satiric, mythic and philosophical *Mardi* (1848) was received with confusion and silence by critics expecting more sea adventures, Melville returned to the tried and true, dashing off *Redburn* and *White Jacket* in an amazing flurry of writing during the summer of 1849. However, sometime in 1850 his plan to write about life on a whaling ship took a nose dive back into the depths.

Parker skillfully weaves in and out of the Augusta papers to reconstruct Melville's daily routine as he wrote *Moby-Dick*. The description of life in Melville's farmhouse in the Berkshires, the influence of his reading, of his literary friends such as Evert Duyckinck, and of Nathaniel Hawthorne's presence in the area, all contribute to an understanding of Melville during this most important period. Parker's aim to show Melville immersed in family life, surrounded by mother, four sisters, wife and child, counters earlier depictions of the tormented loner. This domestic setting for *Moby-Dick's* composition gives the biography some much needed humour, as well. It is strange to think that the direction of the novel might have depended upon Melville giving up the reins of Charlie, the family horse, so that his mother and sisters could transport themselves to town.

Parker's approach does have its pitfalls. For all the evidence and careful documentation, he cannot seem to reveal the intricacies of Melville's mind engaged in producing one of the great books. Fifty years ago, Charles Olson's *Call Me Ishmael* presented a mixture of biography and textual sleuthing to attribute Melville's rediscovery

of Shakespeare to the splendours contained in *Moby-Dick*. Parker can offer no such startling hypothesis. The surface details are all here, but Parker can only hint at the inner workings of Melville's mind. He offers little insight into the phenomena of *Moby-Dick's* creation.

The psychological portrait Parker presents proves partly unsatisfactory because the story is incomplete. By ending this volume in 1851, on that "happiest day" when Melville presented Hawthorne with a copy of *Moby-Dick*, Parker leaves the downward spiral unexplored. The commercial failure of *Moby-Dick*, increasing debts, accusations of madness, estrangement from his wife, early loss of his sons to tuberculosis and suicide, and the final years of obscurity and silence all lay ahead. To a writer so attuned to the darkness, to plumbing the depths, Parker has added much light. His second volume, which he indicates is ready for publication, will need to tell a much darker, more disturbing tale.

Marc Thackray
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Heinrich Paasch. *Paasch's Illustrated Marine Dictionary*. "Conway Classics"; London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997. x + 206 + CIV pp., illustrations, English index. £15, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-70027. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book will appeal primarily to readers interested in detailed information on the various components used in the construction of nineteenth-century ships of both wood and iron. The book comprises a list of terms that cover hull parts, engines, anchors, and related equipment, masts and spars, rigging, sail, tackle, blocks, ropes, knots, bends and splices. The terms are presented in English, French and German, arranged in columns. Over eighty illustrations interspersed throughout the pages show different steamers and sailing ship rigs, parts of both wooden and iron ships, machinery and equipment, sails, rigging and tackle. The book concludes with tables of equivalents in Imperial and Metric for measurements of length as well as details of weight for such items as iron plate, angle iron, flat- and square-rolled iron, copper, brass and lead components, both manila and wire rigging, and steel

hawsers. A trilingual index follows.

Heinrich Paasch was well qualified to write this type of book. He was at sea at age ten; five years later he joined the German navy, and subsequently served in the Danish navy as well. He broadened his experience by serving in German, Dutch and American merchant ships, rose to command vessels, and finally settled in Antwerp where he supervised the construction and repair of ships, acting as a surveyor for Lloyd's register. Recognizing the need for this type of book, he financed its publication himself.

Readers familiar with Paasch's works should be alert to the fact that this is the first edition of *From Keel to Truck!* Why Conway chose to change the title is not explained. Under its original title, a second edition was published in 1894, a third in 1901, and a fourth in 1924. By virtue of its trilingual approach, the amount of information was effectively limited to a third of what could have been included in a unilingual version. While the terms themselves are shown, together with the equivalent in the other languages, most lack a description. Some terms are self evident, but many will force less knowledgeable readers to consult a dictionary or other reference. It was for this reason that Paasch was approached by some British masters and shipowners, following the publication of this first edition, to prepare an English-only edition, thereby creating enough space to allow the terms to be described briefly and clearly where necessary. The result was the *Illustrated Marine Encyclopedia* (1890; reprinted in 1977 by Angus Books), which increased the text by a hundred pages and provided further illustrations which better illustrated the parts of wooden ships, illustrations which would be widely reproduced by authors right up to the present day. The third edition reverted to the trilingual approach, though the extra illustrations were carried forward. This next edition was more than double the size of the original edition.

This latest reprinting is sufficiently faithful to the original that it does not include the illustrations added in the later editions. Nevertheless, it certainly deserves a place in any ship library which lacks a Paasch publication.

Eric D. Lawson
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H. Abrahamson, P. Lindquist, Y. Lindström, L. Stenholm, B. Swahn. *Aktuellt 1997 Marin Museum*. Karlskrona: Marin Museum, 1997. 192 pp., illustrations, plans. [No price given], hardbound; ISBN 1103 5595.

In June 1997, the Naval Museum's fine new facilities at Karlskrona were officially opened by the King of Sweden. Curiously, no mention is made of this event in the museum's 1997 year-book, though it contains a wealth of information about the past years' other activities.

The museum's director, P.L. Lindquist, and president of the Friends of the Naval Museum H. Hedman explain in the foreword that the new buildings took form following visits to Chatham and Rochefort (France) dockyards. Two articles include a history of the museum since its founding in 1752 and descriptions of the new buildings. The architect, B. Malmström, also painted the picture of the new museum on the cover.

A variety of articles follow, including one on the possible origins of the Spanish guns (one dating from 1514) found in the *Great Crowns* wreck off the island of Öland. There is an activity report on the Karlskrona boat squadron. This consists of eleven lateen-rigged ships' boats, built between 1830 and 1882 and now owned by the museum; they are maintained in Chapman's old boathouse, and are sailed on Wednesdays and Sundays. Four retired naval vessels are also kept alongside the museum. The ship-rigged training ship *Jarramas*, built of steel in 1900, retired in 1946 upon commissioning of the schooners *Gladan* and *Falken*. The steam turbine mine-sweeper, *Bremön*, was one of a series of fourteen built during World War II. Their purposes also included neutrality patrols and escort work. *Bremön* was retired from active service in 1966, and then served as a training vessel for engine room personnel until the end of steam in the Royal Swedish Navy. Two torpedo boats are part of the collection as well; both have been refitted and are in running order. *T38*, displacement 40 tons, is one of a series of steel torpedo boats built by Kockums in 1950. Three 1500 hp Isotta engines gave the vessel at full load a maximum speed of fifty knots. Although most of this class of twenty-five had a service life of about twenty years, *T38*, for some reason, was laid up in Karlskrona in 1956. *Spica*, 210 tons and armed

with one 57mm gun and six torpedoes, was the first in a series of twelve torpedo boats propelled by three 4250 hp Bristol Proteus gas turbines built in 1966. *Spica* was in service for over twenty-two years. HM the King served as a midshipman in this ship in 1967. As well, the collection includes the hulls of the Navy's first submarine *Hajen (Shark)*, built in 1900 and now preserved ashore, and that of a customs cruiser.

The museum has sponsored two full-scale replica projects since the 1995 completion of *Aluett* based on the 1200 AD Kalmar wreck. The first is the *Aurora*, a twenty-six-foot steam pinnacle of the type built in the old Stockholm naval yard in 1884. The original draughts were available, and the compound engine and boiler were found in the dockyard. The second project is the construction of the postal vessel *Hjörten (Deer)*, designed by the English shipwright Francis John Sheldon in 1690 for service between Southern Sweden and the continent; the vessels had a length of fifty feet and a beam of 13.5 feet. It is intended to sail the ship between Karlskrona and the continent in 1999. The yearbook contains an account of sailing *Aluett* in the wake of King Valdemar II's 1219 expedition to Tallin, Estonia.

Regrettably there are no summaries in English, but those who are able to read any of the three Scandinavian languages will enjoy this very interesting yearbook.

Dan G. Harris
Nepean, Ontario

Lincoln P. Paine. *Ships of the World: An Historical Encyclopedia*. Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997. xvi + 680 pp., photographs, illustrations, colour plates, maps, chronologies, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$65, cloth; ISBN 0-395-71556-3. Canadian distributor, Thomas Allen & Son, Markham, ON.

The notion of producing encyclopedias and dictionaries of ships is not a new one. Biographical listings of historic ships have been with us for some time and have gained such popularity and importance that many of them specialize and deal with limited subjects, such as the ships of a specific country, ships of a defined era, or museum ships and shipwrecks. The strength of this work is in its universality and in its currentness; the

book's dust jacket states that Paine's encyclopedia lists over a thousand historic ships. The first entry is the Cheops ship of Egypt dated 2500 BCE and the last entries are from 1995. One senses that the author was adding to his material even after the document was at the publishers.

The ships range from the very obvious and well known to obscure, almost unknown vessels and this obscurity is indicative of the author's thoroughness in compiling his list. Given that we all have our favourite ships, but understanding that producing an encyclopedia is not an arbitrary exercise, it would be difficult to find anyone that was dissatisfied with this work's contents or felt that an important vessel had been overlooked.

As is expected of an encyclopedia, a compendium is given for each ship listed. This includes the statistics for each vessel (dimensions, tonnage and so forth) as well as a concise history of the ship from conception to fate. These entries vary in length depending on the significance of the ship, and while they cannot provide a comprehensive study of a given ship, they are the perfect starting point for anyone wishing to do further research. Enhancing this role is a note at the end of each compendium, recommending further reading; these are reflected in the bibliography.

One might anticipate a certain dryness in reading an encyclopedia but this is not the case with Paine. When first given this book to review, I assumed that, as a reference work, a light browse over its salient features would suffice to form an opinion of the work. However, as ships are the pawns of maritime history and maritime and world history are inseparable, the author has presented us, albeit inadvertently, with a brief synopsis of world history. Consequently, when I began to look at the text I found it so infectious that my light browse escalated to the point where I have read almost all of it. Further, even before I began this review, I had two opportunities to employ this book for reference.

The book itself has been handsomely produced; representative photos and useful maps have been included and there is a fine selection of colour plates. A thoughtful inclusion is the chronologies, of which there are five — "Archaeological Sites," "Maritime and Related Technology," "Voyages of Discovery," "Naval History" (which is divided in turn into ten sections) and "Shipwrecks, Highjackings and Other Disasters." All

are particularly useful, for they can easily be examined at a glance.

Encyclopedias by their nature quickly become outdated and this is especially true today, in a world of instantaneous global communications and electronic information banking. Paine's work, however, will undoubtedly enjoy extended longevity not only for its present merit, but also because future editions can easily be updated.

As a general reference work it is unlikely that this volume will find its way into libraries of every student of maritime history. Let us therefore hope that public libraries will be astute enough to obtain a copy. This is a very ambitious work and while ambition is to be applauded at all times, it is to be given a standing ovation when it is as successful as this one is. Paine and his collaborators have produced an encyclopedia that epitomizes the definition of the word.

John McKay
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Horst Menzel. *Smakken Kuffen, Galioten. Drei fast vergessene Schiffstypen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts.* Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag for the Deutsches Schifffahrtsmuseum, 1997. 144 pp., illustrations and photographs (b+w, colour), suggested readings, index. DM 68, cloth; ISBN 3-8225-0413-0.

This is a very nicely published book on an interesting and important subject which has not had much published treatment in the past. The text is in German without English language summaries or captions but the book is well illustrated and the theme of the book is easy to follow.

The types of small merchant and fishing sailing vessels described — the smack, the kuff and the galiot — were particularly associated with the Netherlands and the German North Sea and the Baltic coasts. They persisted from the seventeenth century until well into the twentieth. Indeed in motorised steel versions they played a valuable role in the rebuilding of western European trade after World War I.

The book is divided into three sections — not chapters in the normal sense. Each deals comprehensively with the history of one of the three types. The first section concerns the smack, a term used internationally in Europe for sailing

fishing and small trading vessels. A brief description of some Danish and English vessels leads into a detailed and well-illustrated account of the history, construction and rigging of Netherlands vessels. The kuff follows and occupies the greater part of the book with over fifty pages of history and description, again comprehensively illustrated. This was a vessel type which developed in the eighteenth century and continued to evolve in the nineteenth. Kuffs sailed to the Iberian peninsula and the Mediterranean as well as extensively in the Baltic and the North Seas. Double ended, with little rise of floor, relatively deep and narrow (though small kuffs carried leeboards), they were in English language terms ketch or schooner rigged, usually with square topsails. There is one drawing of a brigantine-rigged German kuff. Again the type is associated particularly with the Netherlands, especially with the port of Groningen where it evolved in several forms. There are detailed descriptions of structure, comprehensive lines drawings, and numerous photographs of contemporary models.

This reviewer has a particular interest in the development of vessel structures in the medieval period. The illustrations and descriptions of the structures of underwater finds dating from the mid-nineteenth century, together with the drawings of the model of the kuff *Groningen*, dating from the same period show a system of hull planking closely similar to that believed to have been used in the medieval *hulc*. There is, perhaps, a survival here comprising evidence which could be followed up with advantage.

The final section deals with the galiot. Later a ketch-rigged vessel of seventy feet or so, in the eighteenth century the term was used for full-rigged ships designated by their hull form rather than their rig. In later galiots one can perhaps see the origin of the hull form of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century German/Danish/southern Swedish galeas, familiar as the inaccurately named "Baltic trader," still seen in European waters today as yachts, cruise and training vessels.

The book concludes with some detail of small vessels' rigging, again with excellent drawings.

Basil Greenhill
Saltash, Cornwall

Julian Mannering (ed.); Basil Greenhill (Consulting ed.). *The Chatham Directory of Inshore Craft: Traditional Working Vessels of the British Isles*. London: Chatham Publishing, 1997. 239 pp., illustrations, photographs, lines drawings, maps, sources, index. £35, US \$60, cloth; ISBN 1-86176-029-9. Distributed in the United States by Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, CT.

The Chatham Directory of Inshore Craft; Traditional Working Vessels of the British Isles fulfils its title and more, for it also includes craft that worked inland from the coast and some where employment took them well offshore. Written by several contributors, each expert in their field, this book is by far the most complete reference work on this subject so far published. The area covered includes all of Ireland, but not the Channel Islands, divided into regions starting with the northwest coast of Scotland and working clockwise around the country. At the beginning of each region there is a description of the environment as it effected the working boats and of other contributing factors, such as historical and commercial considerations. This is followed by a detailed description of each craft, as much as space allows, which includes its function, historical development, hull form, method of construction, manner of working and rig, the text enlivened with anecdotes and well illustrated with many plans drawings and photographs.

A directory is only a guide and therefore does not cover every aspect, but for those who wish to make a further study, the authors have included their sources for each craft in the text, a complete list is also produced before the index. Most of the sources referred to are already published works on one particular craft or class, although the late Eric McKee's *Working Boats of Britain their Shape and Purpose* is more comprehensive and, as it goes into much greater detail on the structure, shape and means of propulsion, forms the ideal companion to this book.

This book allows comparisons to be made of craft working in the same type of environment and employment but from different locations. In some cases they appear very similar in hull form and rig, such as the beach boats of Sidmouth and Beer and those further up Channel at Hastings, Eastbourne and Brighton. On the other hand if we look at the pilot vessels of the Bristol Channel,

there were two distinct types, both engaged, at least in the latter years, "seeking" ships often well to the west of Lundy Island. These were the well known gaff cutters and the Swansea schooners, similar in dimensions but having a totally different rig. The text points out that in this case, the cutter, because of the danger to her rig coming alongside in a seaway, transferred the pilot using a punt while the schooner, not having any standing rigging, shorter masts, and well equipped with fenders could get directly alongside. Furthermore, a close examination of the photographs can often reveal information not contained in the caption and it would appear in this instance that these schooners had heavy bitts on each side of the foremast just inboard of the rail and that the probable method would therefore be to sail in close under the vessels lee and get a working line aboard, which was then taken to the bitts, lower the canvas and, providing the ship still had way on, sheer in alongside with the rudder. There is a reason for every part and piece of equipment in a working craft and this book, due to its scope and purpose, does not have all the answers on questions relating to seamanship, or boat construction.

Stability, particularly in the smaller pulling and sailing boats and the need for load carrying or speed are often conflicting requirements. Each of these craft was a compromise based on the final criteria of "fitness for purpose" and the plans, drawings and historic photographs complement the text and illustrate how this was achieved.

The index, as one would expect in a reference work of this kind is extensive but confined for the most part to names of places, people and boats. There is no glossary of seaman's terminology, as it is assumed that the reader will have at least some knowledge of the subject. However, for anyone not familiar with the coastline, on some of the maps, due to the close spacing of place names it is difficult to make out the actual location; a smaller type face would still be legible and avoid confusion.

I am sure this book will be frequently taken down from the shelf, not just as a reference, but because it provides an absorbing and readable study for anyone interested in the historic working craft of the British Isles.

Peter Allington
Cotehele Quay, Cornwall

Kenneth Solway. *The Story of the Chestnut Canoe: 150 Years of Canadian Canoe Building*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1997. ix + 166 pp., illustrations, photographs, tables. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-221-2.

In *The Story of the Chestnut Canoe*, Kenneth Solway offers not only a history of the Fredericton company which built these vessels but also a brief history of their evolution, the histories of rival companies and biographic notes on most of the people who played a major part in the saga.

"The canoe is the defining icon of Canadian heritage and the Chestnut Canoe Company — incorporated in 1907 in Fredericton, N.B. — was the crowning achievement among the many great canoe companies of Canada." This quotation from the back cover, a somewhat pretentious foreword and some prefatorial fiction (the tale of how two teenage boys first came in contact with a canvas-covered canoe), gets Solway's history of Canadian canoe building off to a rather inauspicious start. As a result, it was a pleasant surprise to find that the rest of the book contains some really interesting material.

We find, for example, that the beautifully2 finished wooden plank canoes of the Peterborough area evolved from the native dugouts adopted by the settlers to meet their transportation needs. The more utilitarian canvas-covered canoes originated in Maine. There are, according to the author, hybrids, incorporating waterproof covering, like the birchbark canoe, with the carefully fitted wooden planking of the Peterborough. The use of canvas also permitted the vessels to be built from the inside out — ribs, planking, canvas, over reusable wooden forms, a major advantage over the outside-in method of birch2 bark construction.

Solway offers a number of unsatisfactory theories about the origin of this method of manufacture. However, had he looked into the matter a little further, he would have found reference to the moosehide-covered spring canoes used by the Maliseet. They were in use late into the nineteenth century and, but for the method of fitting and fastening their cedar strips, bear a strong resemblance to the later canvas-covered craft.

The story of the Chestnut Brothers, Harry and William, and their canoe company is traced from the establishment of the family's general

goods store in Fredericton in 1836, through 1897, when the first Chestnut canoe was built, until the last canoe left the factory in 1979. Like many business tales of the era, there was skulduggery afoot — a questionable patent on wood and canvas construction techniques, workers stolen from rival companies, secret deals and amalgamations, all of which add a little spice to a somewhat disorganized but nonetheless fascinating story.

Although Solway's book contains much to interest both the canoe enthusiast and the general reader, it is badly edited and very poorly organized. In addition to misspelling of proper names such as "Canard" liners and "Malicite" Indians, the main text is cluttered with tiny, barely decipherable photographs, some out of sequence, plus biographic notes, tables and other inserts whose proper place is in endnotes and appendices. Worst of all, eighty-four wonderful pages of reproductions from old canoe catalogues have been squeezed into forty pages of book, overlapped and reduced in size to the point where, without magnification, their text is quite illegible.

Robin H. Wyllie
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Timothy J. Kent. *Birchbark Canoes of the Fur Trade*, 2 vols. Ossineke, MI: Silver Fox Enterprises, 1997 [P.O. Box 176, 11504 U.S. 23 South, Ossineke, MI 49766, USA]. xi + 343 pp. (I), v + 326 pp. (II), figures, photographs, maps, sources. US \$49.50 (\$46 & \$3.50 p+h), Cdn \$71, paper; ISBN 0-9857230-0-3.

There can be few more enduring historical associations than that between the birch bark canoe and the North American fur trade. Images of stalwart voyageurs paddling through the wilderness are a staple of North American history, and many will have heard of artists such as Frances Anne Hopkins and her fur trade paintings — indeed, one of them graces the cover of volume number one of *Birchbark Canoes of the Fur Trade*. For all of the acknowledged importance of fur trade canoes, however, considerably more historical attention has been devoted to the voyageurs, their routes and the circumstances of the trade than to the watercraft in which this was all carried out. This two-volume study by Timothy J. Kent sets out to remedy that oversight.

Kent's work is in a clear line of descent from previous scholars. The best-known modern student of birchbark canoes of North America was the Canadian Edwin Tappan Adney (1868-1950). He became interested in bark canoes at an early age and carried out exhaustive research for the rest of his life, interviewing longtime employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, reading manuscript accounts, examining photographs and finally making models of various types of bark canoes. This vast accumulation of research material lay unpublished in manuscript until it was collected, synthesized and expanded by Howard Chapelle. This work resulted in the publication by the Smithsonian Institution of *The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America* (1964). It quickly became the standard reference work on the subject.

The research of both Adney and Chapelle was based largely on every possible kind of source but the canoes themselves. Indeed, Chapelle concluded in *The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America* that it had to be so, for he and Adney believed that none of the original craft had been preserved in museum collections. However, four original bark canoes and four model bark canoes do still exist, and it is on these extant artifacts, as well as a considerable amount of archival information, that Kent has based his study.

Birchbark Canoes of the Fur Trade is first and foremost a work of material culture scholarship, founded on a detailed examination of artifacts. The first volume addresses the voyages and routes, manufacture, origins, sizes, crews, cargoes, decoration, equipment, loading, propulsion and longevity of fur trade era birchbark canoes. Appendices explore French canoe builders in the St. Lawrence Valley, the research of Edwin Tappan Adney and the paintings of Frances Anne Hopkins. The second volume is divided into eight chapters, each a detailed record of one of the extant canoes or canoe models. Each volume has a few colour plates and many more black and white illustrations. Volume one also contains a glossary of canoe terminology and an extensive bibliography.

Kent writes with authority about his topic, and his academic and archival research is bolstered by a considerable body of practical experience. He and his wife and son are living history

researchers, and travel North America portraying a 1600s French fur trader and his woodland Indian family. They have paddled thousands of miles in a traditional 16-foot bark canoe, and have equipped themselves with authentic clothing, equipment, weapons and food. This hands-on experience lends veracity to his treatment of the smaller details of canoe travel. For example, his discussion of the use of canoes as short-term shelters for sleeping was clearly written by someone who has spent many nights under such cover.

Kent's obvious passion for his topic is both a strength and a weakness. His research is unquestionably exhaustive and his work goes far beyond that of other scholars in this field to make a significant contribution. However these two self-published volumes would have been made much stronger with the assistance of an objective editor. There is a great deal of repetition and overlap between chapters, and often four or five examples are given where one would have sufficed. A great deal of the material is undigested quotations from primary sources, and Kent's arguments would have been strengthened by more analysis and synthesis. While he pays eloquent tribute to the pioneering efforts of Adney and to a lesser extent Chapelle, Kent is curiously silent about the work of other scholars working in the field. The bulk of the material in these volumes consists of his own observations or primary source quotations, and yet the bibliography is full of other writings about bark canoes. A more substantial historiographical consideration of canoe research would have helped to situate Kent's work within bark canoe scholarship.

These criticisms should not, however, detract much from what is a substantial accomplishment. This book and the primary source material it presents will be an invaluable resource for historians, students of material culture and watercraft, and living history re-enactors. Kent is currently at work on a similar book about dugout canoes. If these volumes are any indication, it should be welcomed by those working in the field. It is truly refreshing to see such a study based as much on original artifacts as on archival and textual records, for which Kent is to be congratulated.

John Summers
Toronto, Ontario

James P. Delgado (ed.). *British Museum Encyclopaedia of Underwater and Maritime Archaeology*. London: British Museum Press and Yale: Yale University Press, 1997. 493 pp., illustrations, photographs (b+w, colour), glossary, index. £29.95, US \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-7141-2129-0 (British Museum Press), 0-300-0742721 (Yale University Press).

The dust jacket of this publication claims that it is the "first comprehensive reference book on the discovery and recovery of the submerged past". Perhaps a nod of acknowledgement is due, however, to preceding efforts that went a long way down this road. Those published in English include George Bass's *A History of Seafaring* (1972), Keith Muckelroy's *Archaeology Underwater: An Atlas of the World's Submerged Sites* (1980), and Peter Throckmorton's *The Sea Remembers* (1987). Granted, each of these earlier works had some specific limitations or failings. They are all now out-of-date and out-of-print as well. In following the encyclopaedic format James Delgado naturally does not offer the smooth flow of text which Bass provided, his illustrations are not designed for the coffee table as in Throckmorton, and for cartographic flourishes one still needs to refer to Muckelroy or elsewhere. But for thoroughness and pure wealth of information Delgado's effort is without equal, and the result justifies the publisher's claim.

Over five hundred entries by 150 contributors are included in this encyclopaedia. As might be expected more than half the entries refer to specific shipwreck sites. Chronologically, these sites range from the mid-second millennium BC, with vessels such as the Ferriby boats found on the Humber River, or the Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya wrecks off the coast of Turkey, to the warships intentionally destroyed around Bikini Atoll during atomic bomb tests in 1946. Ships discovered in dry environments range from the Khufu burial ships (2600 BC) to the *Niantic*, built in 1833, and recovered from landfill beneath the streets of San Francisco. Maritime sites which are not shipwrecks include harbours, isolated underwater finds, canoe spills, graves and monuments. Submerged prehistoric sites garner fourteen entries. Geographically, fifty-two countries have sites represented. There are also twenty-four useful entries providing overviews of archaeolog-

ical activities in specific countries or regions; these often mention additional sites and projects which may not have earned an entry for themselves. The encyclopaedia also includes some shipwrecks such as the *Nuestra Senora de Atocha* and the *Whydah Galley*, excavated with salvage-for-profit as the primary motivation. Entries for these sites are accompanied with an editor's note stating that inclusion reflects the popular attention these sites have received, but "does not sanction or condone this type of activity."

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the encyclopaedia is the extensive number of entries grouped under the following headings: legislation/legal issues; organizations/institutions/agencies; research themes/approaches; and technology/techniques. Such topics add immeasurably to the book's value as a reference tool for the student of underwater and maritime archaeology. Including items on legislation and organizations may seem an invitation for the work to become dated almost upon publication, but the approach here provides the reader with a dynamic sense of the young discipline's evolving history and the changing social environment it operates within. It is gratifying to see the inclusion of avocational groups, as well as it is to see their accomplishments in the field receive due attention. These inclusions accurately reflect the increasingly mature contributions many of these organizations have made to the understanding and management of underwater cultural resources in recent years. Research themes range from the obvious to the surprising; headings such as epigraphy, filtering processes, foraminifera, quaternary studies and land bridges, and ship traps entice the browser. While most entries under the heading technologies/techniques offer little new to the specialist, for the uninitiated, topics dealing with often high-tech options for remote sensing, surveying, and site recording, may be of great interest.

The encyclopaedia's finding aids include a subject list by topic, with sites referenced according to type, period and country, as well as a twelve-page index. Related topics are bold-faced in the text for handy cross-referencing. Illustrations are good in quality and in proportion to the text. All entries have short lists of "additional reading." These are not intended to be complete bibliographies, but direct the reader to the most "recent and easily accessible works" for more

information. There is also a brief glossary of nautical terms.

The critical reader may note more than a few typographical errors and will certainly be able to identify sites and topics absent in this book. Most obvious from a general stand-point, is a noticeable bias towards North American sites and concerns. Only about one-third of the contributors are based outside of North America. Delgado, who is the Executive Director of the Vancouver Maritime Museum and who formerly worked with National Parks Service in Washington DC, readily admits in his preface that the contents reflect the "North American genesis" of the work. He further acknowledges that more contributions need to come in from "Asia and ... those countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain," and welcomes suggestions from readers for sites and topics deserving inclusion for future editions. The breadth and balance Delgado has achieved is nevertheless commendable; further editions are justified by this publication's merits rather than its omissions.

The reviewer is loathe to use the well-worn phrase "there is something here for everyone," but in this case the expression is applicable. Anyone interested in human activities on the sea will find this as absorbing to peruse as any encyclopaedia can be. It is an excellent introductory text for the student of underwater and maritime archaeology, while it remains a valuable basic reference for the professional operating in a field where there is a dearth of good comparative studies. I would particularly recommend it for maritime historians as an essential primer for a rapidly growing field of research that has much to offer to them, but is too often ignored in their publications.

Charles Moore
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John Sherwood Illsley. *An Indexed Bibliography of Underwater Archaeology and Related Topics*. Vol. 3 of "International Maritime Archaeology" series; Oswestry, Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1996. 360 pp., indices. £25, paper; ISBN 0-904614-57-3. Distributed in North America by David Brown Books, Oakville, CT.

This work is the culmination of fifteen years of work by a team of compilers under the direction

of the author, John Sherwood Illsley. This third volume in the International Maritime Archaeology Series focuses on underwater archaeology, dividing the subject into eight sub-headings. The "related topics" refer to shipbuilding and naval architecture, artefacts, conservation, archaeological sites, and miscellaneous. The data for these latter categories is intended as a general guide only and does not claim to be comprehensive.

The introduction is essential reading to understand the "how" and "why" of this bibliography. The principal criteria for an item's inclusion is that it had been employed in a work related to underwater archaeology, or seen to be potentially useful in that context. The selection and organization of headings and sub-headings is acknowledged by Illsley as a list that may have been different under the direction of another author, but that such individualism is unavoidable. However, an explanation of the rationale behind his selections would have been helpful, as well as the scope of his definition of the subject.

Some entries fall into more than one sub heading, but there are no more than four for each listing, and about one quarter of the total are duplicates. Most of the titles were derived by combing IJNA periodical notes, articles and book references, and other bibliographies. Therefore, neither the sources cited nor the topics themselves have been systematically reviewed which makes the work as a whole seem slightly piecemeal and almost arbitrary. It does however, provide a wide range of titles covering a gamut of publications in many languages. Practical and efficient indices to the authors and keywords complete the book, although the same for the sources is missing. Some indication of the accessibility of the entries could also have been added but may be beyond the expectations of a bibliography.

The major design problem of *An Indexed Bibliography* is in the page composition, since its original intended format was as an electronic database. It resembles a computer print-out in which each entry is coupled with distracting numbers, although the purpose they serve is to correspond with the abovementioned indices. The small font is also necessary given that the citations number approximately twelve thousand.

This book clearly shows the growing volume of research produced in the field and illuminates areas where there is a relative small body of

scholarship, such as fishing, small boats and boatbuilding (found under Maritime Ethnography and Ship Types). North American sources are relatively scarce, but this bibliography can still serve as a solid basis for any researcher to begin his or her study. With its exhaustive listing and careful organization, *An Indexed Bibliography of Underwater Archaeology and Related Topics* will prove to be an essential reference tool for both the generalist and specialist.

Monica MacDonald
Ottawa, Ontario

Mark Redknap (ed.). *Artefacts from Wrecks: Dated Assemblages from the Late Middle Ages to the Industrial Revolution*. Oxbow Monograph No. 84; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997. vi + 232 pp., figures, maps, tables, illustrations, photographs, colour plates. US \$68, library binding; ISBN 1-900188-3922. Distributed in North America by the David Brown Book Company, Oakville, CA.

This book consists of nineteen papers delivered at an international conference held at the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff in 1994. The papers deal with the interpretation of artefacts from wreck sites, with the objective of highlighting the importance of contemporary studies of artefacts from wrecks, focussing on the period of transition in Europe (c. 1485 to 1785). Overall, the collection is very interesting while the hardbound book is well presented, with a colour cover, colour plates and excellent black and white illustrations. One wonders how Oxbow has been able to produce such a reasonably priced book. The work is a credit to the editor and the organizers (who were the Nautical Archaeological Society).

The papers themselves cover a wide range of subjects which are divided into four parts: artefact integration and potential; artefact groups from the Age of Discovery; an interdependence of disciplines; and shipwreck identification and social structure. Some of the papers are extremely interesting, and many are most welcome in the field of shipwreck archaeology. The papers are divided into those dealing with sites (*Mary Rose*, *Machault*, *Kronan*, the Cattewater Wreck, Duarte Point wreck, Zuiderzee wrecks and a wreck in Wales). Artefact studies included coinage from wrecks, ingots, a study of shoes from the Basque

whaling ship from Red Bay, clay pipes and ceramics. More generalist papers deal with subjects such as armaments that might be found on wrecks, and identification of ships' departure points from artefact assemblages. I found the latter a little unsatisfying, as in this format there is not the space to develop the themes to useful levels.

One paper I found particularly interesting: "Family life on board: the Dutch boat people between 1600 and 1900" by Van Holk. Here the author investigates the evidence for the presence of family groups on board ships, seeking items that may indicate gender or age from both written and archaeological evidence. On the other hand, in "Rhenish stoneware from shipwrecks: the study of ceramic function and life-span," Gaimster draws erroneous conclusions from the *Batavia* (1629) material, having not read the excavation report and relying on an early illustrated catalogue. As a result he assumes a certain ceramic on the wreck, with a sprig dated 1595 was an heirloom, whereas the archaeological evidence suggests that there were at least four identical items without base wear and thus more likely to be trade items and the potters were re-using sprigs that were thirty-five years old. In addition he makes statements about the *Vergulde Draeck* material which are not even recorded in the excavation report stating, for example, that mercury was found on the site when it was not, and that the *bartmann* jugs were used to carry mercury. This was true on some VOC ships, but in this case the archaeological evidence indicated that they were being taken to the Indies empty, evidence which is confirmed from archival sources. He goes on to state that a fatty substance from a small jar was analysed, where no such substance was found or analysed.

What a joy to at last see some of the products of the *Mary Rose* in print. It is also interesting to see both a more rigorous analysis of some of the archaeology that has been conducted in the past and also the development of the integration of archaeology and the archival record. These aspects have been sadly lacking in the past.

I found a lack of representation of terrestrial archaeology in the proceedings. There were no reports of complementary evidence and surprisingly, while the Netherlands was well represented in the shipwreck aspects, it would have been

useful to have some comparative terrestrial reports from the archaeology conducted in the cities in the Netherlands — Amsterdam and Rotterdam and similarly from the United Kingdom. Many of the shipwreck reports refer to other shipwreck archaeological sites and it was difficult to find a reference to authors using evidence from terrestrial excavations. Does this mean that the two fields are still so far apart?

Jeremy Green
Fremantle, Western Australia

Mensun Bound (ed.). *The Archaeology of Ships of War*. Vol. 1 of "International Maritime Archaeology" series; Oswestry, Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1995. 192 pp., maps, figures, photographs, index. £32, paper; ISBN 0-904614-52-2. Distributed in North America by David Brown Books, Oakville, CT.

This new publication presents some of the papers given at a 1992 conference entitled "The Archaeology of Ships of War" held at Greenwich. The title is somewhat misleading as only half of the twenty-four papers deal specifically with the archaeology of warships. The remainder cover other topics related to ships of war, principally ordnance and restoration projects. This, however, does not make these papers any less interesting. The present volume has no particular thematic focus other than warships in general and tends to touch on a range of themes. Chronologically, the papers encompass the ancient world to the modern era with an emphasis on more recent history. Geographically, the focus is clearly European, and more specifically the United Kingdom although there are contributions bearing on the Mediterranean, India, as well as North and South America. The rest of the conference papers are to be published in a forthcoming companion volume entitled *Excavating Ships of War*. The editor and publisher hope these will be the first contributions to a new series of publications dedicated to maritime archaeology.

As seems to be common among conference proceedings, there is significant variability and uneven scholarship in the quality of the papers presented. Predictably, some presentations show that the authors took great pains in preparing superior works while others seem to be little more

than résumés prepared from speaking notes. Most of the papers are brief and of a descriptive nature. A few, however, go beyond mere description of the vessels under study and make a positive contribution to furthering the study of warships. A strength of the volume is that the papers, almost without exception, deal with real, and in most cases, extant vessels.

Following a short introduction and preface, the papers are arranged into three main sections — Excavation and Interpretation; Ordnance; and Construction, Reconstruction and Preservation. As might be expected, the first section is the longest, with thirteen of the two dozen papers. This section is diverse, with survey and excavation reports on new sites as well as research updates on previously excavated sites. The papers are ordered chronologically although, due to a lack of thematic focus, this does not provide an evolutionary perspective bearing on anything substantial. For those interested in Renaissance naval architecture, the papers on Henry V's *Grace Dieu* (Hutchinson) and the Tudor warship *Mary Rose* (Rule and Dobbs) will be particularly intriguing. Hutchinson's paper describes the unique triple-thickness clinker planking on the *Grace Dieu* and how the composite strakes may have been built up. In the case of the *Mary Rose*, recent research indicates no positive evidence of "dovetail tenons" joining the floors to the first futtocks or even of fore2aft treenails to fasten the frame members together. The lack of these features may signal a different architectural tradition distinct from sixteenth-century Iberian practices where these features are common and diagnostic.

An exemplary paper is John Broadwater's concerning an eighteenth-century British transport, part of Cornwallis' fleet at Yorktown during the American War of Independence. In it he addresses aspects of the naval transport service during this period and illustrates this with his archaeological work on the collier brig *Betsy* discussing its unusual construction features, provisioning, shipboard life and function at Yorktown. Other noteworthy contributions include Martin's concise and competent discussion of a Cromwellian shipwreck from Scotland and Guérout's more expansive and informative account, albeit in French, of work on the US Civil War vessel CSS *Alabama* discovered off Cherbourg.

The section on ordnance contains only three presentations. Of these, two deal with East India-men: one, a straightforward historical study of the arming of ships for the English Company; and the other, a somewhat disjointed case study of guns from the Dutch East Indiaman *Mauritius* that goes on to present a precise, ordered and detailed method of recording and describing cast iron and bronze artillery. The highlight of this section, however, is Robert Smith's paper on wrought-iron swivel guns from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Here, in a clearly argued fashion, Smith marshals archival sources and information from dated artillery pieces, primarily from underwater sites, to make sense of the myriad of names for these guns and to produce a firm typology and chronology. This is a stellar contribution to the understanding of the early history and development of these shipboard weapons.

The final section of this volume contains a potpourri of articles ranging from aspects of wooden ship construction, to restoration and reconstruction projects, to the pros and cons of preserving historical vessels. Of these, the most satisfying are the papers dealing with restorations. A paper on the *Victory* by a former commanding officer of the vessel, outlining restoration efforts on the vessel during the twentieth century, gives an insightful look into the complexity and difficulty of the work involved in maintaining extant historical vessels. Equally interesting is an article on the revolutionary, screw-propelled ironclad HMS *Warrior*. While basically a description of the restoration process, the accompanying illustrations provide a good understanding of the structure of this remarkable warship.

Obviously, this volume's main appeal will be to those readers involved in the field of maritime archaeology, although it may also hold interest for those attracted to history, as many of the contributions include sound historical accounts. In fact, most individuals with an interest in things nautical will find something appealing in this book, though the rather high price may be a barrier to many. This is a well produced, tightly edited book, practically free of typographical errors and, for the benefit of those unfamiliar with underwater archaeology or naval architecture, the writing is not overly technical. Unusual for conference proceedings, this volume is also profusely illustrated with good quality plans,

photos and drawings, both historical and modern, which greatly enhances each presentation. If it can be judged by its inaugural issue, this new series will be a welcome and worthwhile addition to the literature on maritime archaeology.

R. James Ringer
Ottawa, Ontario

Dennis L. Noble. *Lighthouses and Keepers: The U.S. Lighthouse Service and Its Legacy*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xv + 244 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$34.95, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN I-55750-638-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Dennis L. Noble, a retired US Coast Guardsman who holds a PhD in history, is the author of numerous books and articles dealing with maritime and military topics. Noble now turns his attention to the lighthouses and other navigational aids of the United States that have benefitted countless mariners over the last two centuries.

Lighthouses and Keepers is an overview of a large, complex, and important subject. Noble acknowledges the cursory nature of his history and identifies the need for more scholarly works on the subject. Nevertheless, the author points out that *Lighthouses and Keepers* updates previous general histories written by George R. Putnam in 1913 and F. Ross Holland, Jr. in 1972. He also notes that his book is designed to interest the large number of modern lighthouse buffs who are fascinated by virtually all aspects of their subject.

After referring to the handful of lighthouses erected in colonial America, Noble describes the initiation of the federal navigational aids program by the Treasury Department in 1789. In 1820, by which time the government operated more than fifty lighthouses, this program was placed under the supervision of Stephen Pleasonton, the Treasury's fifth auditor, a responsibility he shouldered for over thirty years. Noble asserts that this official impeded progress because of a lack of technical knowledge and a consuming interest in economy. In Pleasonton's era, US lighthouse equipment was inferior to European gear and these facilities often were operated by incompetent keepers.

The Treasury Department's establishment in

1852 of the US Lighthouse Board reflected a determination to correct a bad situation. Noble's discussion of the origins of the board is all too brief. But its creation was presumably related to the major economic importance of the maritime industry in the antebellum United States. Since naval and army leaders held a majority of the board's seats, one wonders whether the critical need to find additional billets to absorb the surplus of military officers available in the 1850s had something to do with this initiative. Finally, the appointment of two leading scientists (Alexander Bache and Joseph Henry) suggests that the growing role of science within the US government may help to explain the origins of the Lighthouse Board.

Whatever interpretations surround the establishment of the board, Noble notes that it revolutionized the effectiveness of US lighthouses. Perhaps the most important advance was the overdue adoption of the superior lenses developed by the French engineer Augustin-Jean Fresnel in the 1820s. The competence of lighthouse keepers also improved significantly after 1852, despite the fact that these individuals were political appointees until 1896. In the twentieth century, the Bureau of Lighthouses replaced the Lighthouse Board. But Noble claims that US aids to navigation continued to be highly effective.

The book also summarizes institutional developments after 1939, at which point the lighthouse service was absorbed into the Coast Guard. In recent decades, unmanned facilities replaced most keeper-maintained lighthouses and lightships. The author also recounts the development of GPS and other electronic locational systems that reduced but by no means eliminated the need for navigational aids. The remainder of the book presents capsule histories of seven representative lighthouses and vignettes of some of their colorful keepers, retells a few lighthouse ghost stories, and provides useful overall discussions of lightships, tenders, and buoys.

Lighthouses and Keepers may interest general readers, but it is light and unsophisticated history. As Dennis Noble observes, we badly need more rigorous accounts of the history of the US government's navigational aid program.

Dean C. Allard
Arlington, Virginia

Keith Keller. *Dangerous Waters: Wrecks and Rescues off the BC Coast*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1997. 303 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, index. \$28.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55017-168-2.

British Columbia's coastal waters are among the most dangerous in the world. Tens of thousands of commercial and pleasure vessels travel the Inside Passage and open Pacific each year and while improved safety procedures and electronic navigational aids have made travel safer, accidents still happen regularly. In *Dangerous Waters*, Keith Keller chronicles shipwreck and survival in twenty-one accounts of marine incidents. What happens "When misfortune separates us from the little islands we call boats" [10] is the issue Keller explores through the stories of the people involved in dramatic wrecks and rescues.

In two sections the book deals with incidents on the south and north coasts of British Columbia; four harrowing accounts relate to the same particularly violent storm in 1985. The broad variety of incidents involve a cross section of the people who work and live on the coast — commercial fishermen, SAR (Search and Rescue) Techs, Coast Guard captains, rescue helicopter pilots, lightkeepers, pleasure boaters, kayakers, divers and loggers. The sources are equally broad, ranging from official incident reports and articles in newspapers and marine magazines, to dockside conversations with fishermen. It is quickly apparent that the most important source is the words of the people involved: the fishermen forced to abandon sinking vessels, the SAR Techs dangling from rescue helicopters, the lightkeepers raising the alarm from the shore.

Dangerous Waters is as much an exploration of people coping with crises as it is a narrative of capsized boats and heroic rescues. Through the stories of the survivors, Keller examines how people react when suddenly thrust into an environment where they do not belong: water. The stories reveal the instinct for survival that exists in life-threatening situations and that assistance comes not only from trained professionals but from fellow mariners determined to save their comrades at great personal risk: "When the worst happens, people who can help do help." [10]

Keller presents dramatic portraits of marine incidents and rescues, depicting emotions from

the shock of sinking to the elation of rescue to coping with the deaths of crew members and friends. There are also elements of humour in the middle of desperate situations. In "Three Men On a Raft," the crew of the sunken tug *Kitmano* has just abandoned ship; one crew member says to the skipper, "I've only been working for you for 12 hours and I'm already floating around in a raft. I think I quit." [107] Then there are the horrifying moments at Cape Beale when assistant light-keeper Mike Slater hears the cries of shipwrecked Rusty Waters who clings to wave-washed rocks. Waters' body was never recovered. Some scenarios almost defy description and comprehension; the crash of the rescue helicopter attempting to save the crew of the seiner *Bruce I* at Cape Beale, or the plummet of a SAR Tech into massive seas when his line from the helicopter is severed.

Combining individual accounts into narrative has challenged the author to resolve differences in witness stories and to objectively portray the incidents. Keller carefully links each account with information providing context and continuity. Although some of the rescue scenarios are very detailed and may confuse the reader with the sheer volume of information about sea conditions, weather and equipment on the vessels, the overall impact of the stories is powerful and moving.

Wrecks and Rescues is a testament to the determination of survivors and rescuers alike. These events transformed their lives — some returned to sea, some could not face work on the water again. Keller shows great sensitivity to those involved in wrecks and rescues and provides readers with a unique insight into life at sea and the will to survive against the odds.

Chris Mills
Ketch Harbour, Nova Scotia

Maria Coffey; Photographs by Dag Goering. *Sailing Back in Time: A Nostalgic Voyage on Canada's West Coast*. Vancouver & Toronto: Whitecap Books, 1996. x + 158 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), map, figures, index. Cdn \$39.95, US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55110-487-3.

This book is a tribute to Allen and Sharie Farrell — pioneer British Columbia boat builders, sailors, organic intellectuals and advocates of a simple life at sea. The book is not the success it might

have been.

The idea was that Marie Coffey and photographer-husband Dag Goering would accompany the Farrells on a three-month cruise, documenting the occasion in words and photographs. The Farrells would be on their junk-rigged boat *China Cloud*, while Coffey and Goering followed along in *Luna Moth* — an open dory. The result is a magnificent production job, with Goering's photographs beautifully presented, the pages laid out with generous white space, and an attractive typography — a coffee-table book *par excellence*. Yet, despite the publisher's professionalism and the charm of accompanying the Farrells on a "nostalgic voyage," the book fails to satisfy. Throughout the voyage the *China Cloud* persistently gets far ahead of *Luna Moth*; similarly, Coffey's diary of the voyage cannot keep up with the anarchist essence of the Farrell lifestyle.

The entire voyage occurred within the Strait of Georgia, in areas visited by hordes of recreational and commercial boaters. Coffey tries to breathe high adventure into routine passages through, for example, Nanaimo Harbour and False Narrows. What lies ahead is presaged as *China Cloud* and *Luna Moth* (trailing a kayak) leave Nanaimo Harbour. Still within sight of cappuccino stores and the local gas station, Coffey reports: "After wrestling with the kayak for several minutes, I end up flat on my back like a helpless insect, with the kayak on top of me and waves rushing by only inches from my face."

The voyeurism of the book, without analysis of the more profound currents that ruled the Farrells' lives, also becomes an irritant. The Farrells were unquestionably coastal characters (other books have been written about them) but the deeper aspects of their story remain untold.

Sailing Back in Time is a lush coffee-table book and it presents a romantic view of the BC landscape. But the essence of the Farrells' — their anti-consumerist lifestyle, the functional simplicity of their designs, their attitude to mind and body — remains hidden. Meanwhile, the *Luna Moth* (known locally as the *Algeria Shoals*) lies beached at Ruxton Island where another island character has made repairs.

After years of escaping "civilization" the Farrells played the ultimate joke on Coffey and her husband. (who spent much of the voyage fixing the recalcitrant mast in *Luna Moth*); *China*

Cloud and the Farrells simply sailed away, escaping both pen and lens. Whilst lavish, this book does little to expose the charm, uniqueness and, most importantly, rebelliousness and politicality of the Farrells. Not long after the book was published Sharie Farrell passed away. Allen still lives aboard *China Cloud* in Pender Harbour. We can only hope that *Sailing Back in Time* did not change their lives.

Roger Boshier
Vancouver, British Columbia

Vernon Oickle. *Busted: Nova Scotia's War on Drugs*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1997. x + 213 pp., photographs, map. \$16.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-227-1.

Busted is Vernon Oickle's account of the thirty-two major drug busts made in Nova Scotia from 1975 to 1997 and of the effect of the drug traffic on ordinary Nova Scotians, especially those in coastal communities. Oickle is a veteran of the community newspaper industry and is currently editor of the *Bridgewater Bulletin*. He has had first-hand knowledge of several of the major drug seizures, especially those that were made in Lunenburg, Queens and Shelburne Counties, all favourite destinations for drug smugglers, and he interviewed people on both sides of the law. To demonstrate how ordinary people become involved in drug trafficking, he invents the story of a fictional small trucker who helps move one shipment only to become more deeply involved. In the final chapter he describes the effect of the drug trade on individuals at all levels: distributors, pushers and addicts. These characters may be composites and the fruit of numerous interviews, but their stories ring true.

Readers will no doubt be interested in the nautical aspects of anti-drug operations: the shadowing, interception and seizure of drug vessels at sea. Some interesting incidents are described and photographs of several drug ships appear among the illustrations, but the events at sea are not covered in detail because the main policing activity usually occurs ashore. The police prefer to let the drugs be landed as their object is to make arrests, even if this means risking some of the goods getting through. All most all of the big hauls by the police have been

the result of long, painstaking intelligence work or of blunders by the drug importers. One wonders if shifting the emphasis from obtaining convictions to active prevention by offshore air and sea patrols would not be more effective and perhaps cheaper in the long run. The Coastal Watch program has led to some important interceptions, yet fishermen will privately tell of obvious drug ships and transshipments to small craft going on undisturbed off the coast. Perhaps a more active patrol policy could be effective.

The controversial question of legalizing some drugs is another theme of the book. Oickle presents arguments on both sides of the issue, but allows readers to form their own opinions. Law enforcement officers and social workers who see, every day, the plight of crack users, heroin addicts and street people mainlining with infected needles oppose legalization of any drugs that are now banned. Yet others want marijuana legalized for medicinal use. It is certainly helpful to those suffering from multiple-sclerosis and epilepsy and it can prolong the life of AIDS patients. In the terminal stages of agonizing diseases, heroin would be more effective than morphine, yet the law does not allow it. Middle class recreational drug users do not agitate for legalization: this is a measure of how easy it is to obtain drugs illegally and why, according to one drug dealer, the demand is so great and there is so much money involved. It is a war that will never be over and which neither side can win. Although the book deals with events in Nova Scotia, the considerations that are addressed apply anywhere. Vernon Oickle is to be congratulated for shedding some light on a pervasive social problem.

C. Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

Norman R. Okihiro. *Mounties, Moose, and Moonshine: The Patterns and Context of Outport Crime*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1997. xxiv + 188 pp., photographs, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$45, cloth; ISBN 0280202089127. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-8020-7874-5.

Mounties, Moose, and Moonshine is an ethnographic accounting of criminal behaviour, community response to criminality and law

enforcement in rural Newfoundland. Among the interesting findings is that there are crimes committed in outport areas that are considered criminal offenses by the rules and regulations of the province and country but not necessarily by the community, and acts that violate local norms although not criminalized by the province. The material reflects the development of outport criminal behaviour in relationship to settlement patterns, the historical, economic and political context of a province dependant on multi-species inshore fisheries for livelihood.

Okihiro identifies three different types of crime. There are crimes that arise from economic subsistence behaviours, such as hunting, gathering and domestic production; these crimes include big game poaching, illegal fishing and fishing policy enforcement, and the production and consumption of moonshine. Indeed, "game hunting with or without a licence and the distilling of liquor are seen as having a moral basis in economic necessity." [9] Interpersonal crime is categorized as assault, theft and domestic violence. Here, crime is personal in nature — perpetrators and victims are known to each other and the fear of criminal attack by strangers is almost non-existent. The third type of crime, involving "exploitative" behaviour, arises from the continual state of impoverishment and economic vulnerability in most outport areas. Okihiro provides many examples of crimes of the powerful in the outports — mostly about relationships between fisher-people and the buyers or between fish plant workers and the plant owners. In one fish plant it was said that "management was dictatorial and that working conditions in the fish plant were geared to get the maximum productivity with little consideration for the workers." [137]

The development of outport culture is attributed to the geographical location of each village, the social isolation of the village and the inhabitants and the limited contact with outside persons. Social isolation made community members economically dependant on merchants in a cashless mercantile system. Dependency on the merchant and inadequate payment for the salt fish led to a way of life based upon "individual resourcefulness and resilience." Community members in the outports are mutually dependent on other villagers for "community service," are tied into extensive and overlapping kinship and friendship

relationships with almost everybody else. The patterns of interaction between individuals in the outports are in part based on the need to maintain harmony and social order in the absence of regular law enforcement.

Okihiro says that the informal means of social control that heavily proscribed aggression was by all accounts highly effective because the ultimate sanction was community ostracism. Outbursts of aggression were attributed to "cultural channelling of frustrations and/or hostilities, or the breakdown of the informal social order of the outport." [19]

This book makes a valuable contribution to the study of crime and to maritime studies. In the first instance, Okihiro clearly addresses the difficulty of crime designations and enforcement in rural areas and reveals the existing conflict between legal codes and local custom. The study of rural crime as a distinct entity has been overlooked and this work with an apparent maritime focus is unique. It challenges the assumptions about general patterns of crime and reveals the complexity of culture, community and criminality. On the one hand, the community presents the opportunity for these types of crime and on the other protects those in the community from prosecution. Okihiro's study clearly advances the call in Ian Taylor, Paul Walton and Jock Young, *The New Criminology: For A Social Theory of Deviance* (1973) for an adequate social theory of deviance. Finally, and quite apart from its academic merit, this book is written without jargon and will be accessible to a general readership.

Anna Leslie
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Don Downer. *Turbulent Tides: A Social History of Sandy Point*. Portugal Cove, NF: ESP Press, 1997. xvii + 361 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-9681156-4-0.

In her brief but warm forward to this book, Lynn Verge recalls her family picnics at Sandy Point and expresses her gratitude to the author for creating a tangible record of the history of a community which was once the hub of economic life in Bay St. George. I, too, can recall a number of expeditions: seas of purple irises, diving terns,

and newly hatched gulls not much more than balls of fluff nestled under protective vegetation on the upper beach. Reading this book should encourage others to find their way across Flat Bay to the old wharf, and it will certainly add interest and understanding to their subsequent explorations of Sandy Point.

Author Don Downer uses two methods to tell his story. There are twelve chapters which cover many of the topics which you would expect to find in any local history. For example, an overview of the topography and ecology of the island is followed by an account of the demographic history of the community and a description of the booms and slumps which this resource-based economy experienced. Then the gradual growth of services like churches and schools is explored. Because the material is presented topically there is a good deal of duplication, for major figures like the Reverend Thomas Sears or the Reverend Alexis Belanger contributed to the community in many different ways. Interspersed with these chapters, and carefully identified by the use of italicized typeface, are ten historically based stories. For example, "On Official Business" recounts the visit of the international commissioners in 1859 through the eyes of two fictional characters. Similarly, a brief entry in Edward Chappell's log of his 1813 voyage tells how his ship was met off Sandy Point by an Irishman in a canoe who offered to sell them fresh salmon. Downer uses this fragment as a basis for "The Genuine Paddy" in which he imaginatively recreates the kind of early life which might have led Seamus McFtridge to that meeting place. Some of these stories are based very closely on archival documents, like the Grand Pond trek which describes Jukes' expedition to Grand Lake in 1839. Others are entirely fictional like "The Legacy of Billy" which explores the excitement and romance which developed when ships of the Royal Navy visited the bay on a regular basis during the 1930s. Still other stories, like "Last Nail" and "At the Gap," are based on the memories and recollections of some of the "Sandy Pointers" who the author interviewed. This technique of overtly mixing what the historical record suggests *did* happen, with what *might* have happened, must be recognized as a brave innovation, for Downer risks being shunned by historians for mixing fact with fancy! But it is clear that

his laudable objective is to infuse his story with life and humanity. The degree to which he succeeds must be evaluated by each reader, for it is a matter of personal taste.

The author interviewed more than forty former residents of Sandy Point and uses their testimony to inform both his imaginative stories and his factual analysis. If the average age of his informants was perhaps between sixty and seventy, then they would have been children during the Great Depression and young people during World War II. I therefore find it surprising that these two searing periods in world history receive such cursory treatment. Moreover, one cannot help thinking that Downer allows himself to be lured into nostalgia when he reviews "Growing up in the 1940s and 1950s." There may have been no unemployment, [287] but there was underemployment, extreme poverty, malnutrition, and inaccessible health care. The real contemporary problems of widespread functional illiteracy, high dropout rates and youth unemployment must surely have their roots in what Downer unabashedly describes as "the good old days."

I was disappointed too that no attempt was made to move from the particular to the general. Why is the story of Sandy Point of particular interest to those of us who were not raised there? What does it tell us about the process of relocation? What light does this particular case throw on contemporary outmigration? While the author conveys very well the political uncertainty under which permanent settlement evolved along The French Shore, this turmoil is hardly unique, since it is one of the attributes of most frontier communities. It would be helpful if some of these contextual links were explored.

Apart from a magnificent cover featuring a painting by Lloyd Pretty based on a photograph of Sandy Point taken in the 1950s, I found the illustrative material to be a mixed bag. There was a lot of duplication. If half the photographs had been culled out, there would have been room for more full plate pictures and above all for more careful explanations. The pictures were appendages rather than an integrated part of the text. For example, the oblique air photograph of the community on which the cover painting was based, could have been used to identify functional groupings of buildings and individual merchants' premises. Similarly, enough pictures of individual

houses are presented to allow some comments on domestic architecture. The "ecological pictures" of "Fir, Spruce and grassland trees and beach rocks" are dull and dark. As a whole they suffer from being taken at one season of the year. Few birds or flowers were illustrated. The pictures of the island simply do not convey the sense of beauty, complex variety, and ecological dynamism which I remember. On the other hand, I found the portraits and "snaps" collected from family albums had immense appeal. The picture of the sailor with a young woman [196] related very closely to the story "The Legacy of Billy."

"Sandy Point is clearly a treasure" concludes the author, and in his book, he has polished it and held it up to the light for our enjoyment and admiration. The march of time and the economy have rendered all talk of restoring the community as a tourist attraction redundant. Yet the possibility of enhancing the capacity of the island to be a sanctuary, by developing a partnership between landowners and wildlife interests, seems attainable. Some modest changes in the timing and intensity with which grazing is practised might be all that is required, especially if it were coupled with an educational programme in the local schools which pointed out the many values of the "treasure" to which the young people are heirs.

Simon M. Evans
Calgary, Alberta

Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers; John De Visser (photo.). *True Newfoundlanders: Early Homes and Families of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1997. 240 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), illustrations, maps, select bibliography, index. Cdn \$34.95, US \$29, cloth; ISBN 1-55046-199-0.

True Newfoundlanders "is the compelling story of the people of Newfoundland and Labrador," says the dust jacket blurb. But it isn't so, particularly if we take "true Newfoundlanders" to be the type of those who "rant and...roar" in H.W. LeMessurier's *The Ryans and the Pitmans*, from which, I assume, the title is taken. Indeed, the likes of Bob Pitman, or Tim Brown, or Clara from Brule, or John Coady's Kitty, or Bidy McGrath appear nowhere in this book. Those who do in fact appear are, by and large, representative of the

"merchantocracy" or of the Colonial Civil Establishment. This is, in fact, a book about the upper crust and has very little to do with "the people of Newfoundland and Labrador." True, there are a few exceptions like the Cantwells of Cape Spear and the Youngs of Lobster Cove Head. And there are a few others, near-legendary larger-than-life sealing captains and banking skippers who were strong enough to force their way through "the door called push" into the privileged circles of wealth and power.

If we examine the sub-title *Early Homes and Families of Newfoundland and Labrador*, the same argument applies *pari passu*. The book says almost nothing at all about early homes and families. Most of the structures depicted in John De Visser's superb photography are of middle- to late nineteenth-century provenance; though very far removed from the palatial splendour of old country stately homes, most represent the best that the more modest wealth of a desperately poor colonial backwater could afford. The lighthouses and churches that are well represented do, of course, address in an indirect fashion, the lives of the "people." But as to their workaday world, only a single photograph shows a flake full of drying salted cod, and that has as a backdrop the comparatively imposing business premises of the Crosbys. From another perspective, we might note that the section on "The Northern Peninsula," for example, is totally committed to Sir Wilfred Grenfell who wasn't a Newfoundlander at all. By the same token, Labrador is represented by Moravian missionaries, Grenfell again, and John Slade and his mercantile successors at Battle Harbour, where Robert Peary, who merits nearly a full page of text, was once constrained to spend ten days. A single concession to the homes and families of the "people" of Labrador is the reference to the Isaac Smith house recently rebuilt by the Battle Harbour Historic Trust.

Having said what the book is not, we can now look at what it is: a pictorial record of selected surviving elements of what has been called Newfoundland's built heritage. Almost all the structures chosen for illustration are those that have been identified by the Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Foundation as worthy of preservation. It is, perhaps, inevitable that those should have been the well-constructed and, hence durable buildings that only those of comparative

wealth could afford.

So long then as we remember that we are reading about a very small subset of "true Newfoundlanders" and about the homes and families of a nineteenth-century élite group, we can read the book with great pleasure and profit. For the text is well written, informative and entertaining. The historical introduction is, perforce, highly generalized, and contains some elements that might be described as popular mythology. But that does not detract from the lively, and by and large, judicious selection of historical material touching the lives of the builders. For the antiquarian, the tidbits of information included in the sidebars with which many pages are replete, are a gold mine of delight and might prompt the reader to seek a copy of Mosdell's *When was That?* from which, I suspect, most were culled. These, incidentally, do cast some light on the lives of the ordinary people whose building did not become heritage structures.

John De Visser's photographs are superb, and photographs from other collections, all properly credited, are judiciously chosen. There is a useful select bibliography and a good index. Perhaps we should note that in respect of the colour photographs between pages 128 and 129, two captions are incorrect. The Roman Catholic Basilica in its St. John's setting is identified as St. Paul's Church, Trinity; while the last picture in the group is identified as St. John's, which it obviously is not.

Leslie Harris
St. John's, Newfoundland

Mark Kurlansky. *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997. viii + 294 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, recipes, bibliography, index. Distributed by Random House Canada, Toronto, ON. \$27.95, cloth; ISBN 0-676-97061-3.

Mark Kurlansky has written a book out of its time, though one with a thoroughly modern and overly-simplistic message. In style and presentation, it resembles the work of a Victorian antiquarian — delightful to handle and entertaining to browse through but lacking in substance once one probes deeper. It is highly decorated, not only with reproductions of woodcuts and engravings

but also with scattered cod recipes, ranging from Medieval to modern, and literary quotations from Cervantes, Dumas, Melville, Zola and others. These embellishments finally out-run the main text and fill a forty-page appendix of their own.

Before the decorations overwhelm the substance, Kurlansky presents the glorious and sorry tale of the Atlantic cod fisheries through the last 500 years, with some reference also to the previous half millennium. (He blithely declares that cod fishing was an Iron Age development and thus avoids probing its Neolithic variants.) Whether codfish really changed the world during this period, as implied by his subtitle, is questionable but they were certainly an important economic and food resource for some North Atlantic nations. In particular, they provided early New England with the staple product on which its commerce was based and thus under-wrote much of the revolution that produced the United States. The direct impact of the fisheries even reached beyond the northern shores inhabited by cod since their preserved catch provided a primary source of protein for the large slave populations on Caribbean islands, thus allowing both a plantation economy that would otherwise have been ecologically impossible and all the accompanying horrors of the middle passage.

Meanwhile, cod supported sufficient colourful events and inserted itself deeply enough into Western cultures that a writer with Kurlansky's gifts could have filled several volumes with their story. Outside of scattered areas, from Nordmark to New Bedford by way of Newfoundland, that tale has been purged from our national myths in favour of the fur trade, cattle ranching and the like. Even Canada's nautical self-image emphasizes privateers, deepwater sailing ships and wartime corvettes, more than the cod fishermen who first opened the route from Europe to the northern reaches of the New World. Kurlansky's book should help to restore some balance.

He does not, however, let the facts get in the way of a good story and his book is riddled with errors — too many to even summarize. They include an insistence that the Basques had a major fishery off Newfoundland before Cabot's voyage of 1497, for which there is not a shred of evidence. There is also a claim that the offshore dory fishery began two hundred years before its late nineteenth-century appearance, while the inven-

tion of longlining is set several centuries after its actual origin. Elsewhere, Kurlansky manages to confuse the Newfoundland and Nova Scotian fisheries of the eighteenth century in order to explain those colonies' refusal to join the New Englanders in their revolt. (At the time, Nova Scotia had an outgrowth of the Massachusetts fishery, quite unlike Newfoundland's. It remained British primarily because of the power, including the financial power, of the naval base in Halifax, not because of cod.) He even manages the bizarre statement that the early North Sea trawlers were longliners, though what he thinks those terms mean is anyone's guess. Most of these historical errors affect only details, of course, and the general impression that the average reader will retain may not be affected by them. However, where the book moves into current affairs and modern policy choices, the mistakes are perhaps more significant. There is utter confusion of Canadian fisheries management decisions in 1977 and 1983, errors in the dates of closures of the fisheries around Newfoundland and so on. The list is endless; or as long as Kurlansky's book.

Cod is an entertaining read but not one to be taken seriously; and certainly not a reliable reference source.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia

Joan Goddard. *A Window on Whaling in British Columbia*. Victoria: Jonah Publications, 1997 [3974 Lexington Avenue, Victoria, B.C. V8N 3Z6]. viii + 114 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, appendices (incl. sources and suggested readings), index. Cdn \$16.95, US \$12.95, paper; ISBN 1-895332-14-1.

Whale-watching is now one of the most popular tourist activities on the British Columbia coast, and generates more money than was ever realized by harvesting whales in the same area. But what about the bad old days? Robert Lloyd Webb's *On the Northwest: Commercial Whaling in the Pacific Northwest 1790-1967* (University of British Columbia Press, 1988) is the definitive account of whaling activities on this side of the continent. What has been lacking up to now is something more modestly priced, appealing more to the general reader rather than the academic,

and focussing on the specifically Canadian aspects of West Coast whaling history. Joan Goddard's account fills this gap nicely, and her work is based on careful research in the available archives in this country and in Norway, conversations with folk who were active in the local whaling industry, and personal exploration of the sites of the whaling stations on Vancouver Island.

As the grand-daughter of William Rolls, who managed the Kyuquot whaling station in the early 1900s, the author comes by her interest in the subject honestly. This connection is reflected in the many family photographs featured in the book which date back to that era. She points out that compared to the industrial scale of activities elsewhere in the world, the catch in British Columbia was relatively insignificant. Nearly 1.4 million whales were taken in the Antarctic between 1904 and 1978, while those caught in a half century of whaling in British Columbia totalled only about 25,000. Whale stocks are now increasing in a satisfactory fashion, but unfortunately this coincides with rumblings of resumption of hunting activity.

The catchers and equipment used until the mid-1960s by Canadian and Japanese whaling interests, who worked from the station at Coal Harbour on Vancouver Island, were of up-to-date Norwegian design. However, as recently as 1942, catcher boats of 1910 vintage, armed with black-powder muzzle-loading cannon, which would have been considered museum pieces in Norway, were still in use. There is a great photograph [50] of William Schupp, president of the Consolidated Whaling Company, grasping the stock of such a whaling-cannon, and the cover features a splendid painting by Victoria artist Harry Heine, showing one of these early catcher-boats hunting a whale. The recollections of folk like William A. Hagelund, author of *Whalers No More* (1987), who served in such boats, offer a remarkable window into the past and the whaling technology of almost a century ago.

I loved this book. It deserves a place on the shelves of anyone remotely interested in Canadian whaling, or the history of Canada's West Coast.

John H. Harland
Kelowna, British Columbia

Andrew David, (Chief Ed.). *The Charts & Coast2 al Views of Captain Cook's Voyages, Volume 3: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780 With a Descriptive Catalogue of all the known original surveys and coastal views and the original engravings associated with them together with the running journal of James King 1779-80*. London: The Hakluyt Society, in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1997. cxxxvi + 319 pp., illustrations, charts, appendices, indices. £210.00, cloth; ISBN 0-904180-5527.

This is the third and final volume of Andrew David's magisterial edition of Cook's charts and views, and it continues the high standard of scholarship and production set by the first two volumes. Beautifully crafted and presented, this book is an invaluable resource and a work of art in its own right — a tribute to its chief editor Andrew David, associate editors Rudiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, and to the Hakluyt Society. (Readers should however be warned that this volume costs nearly as much as the first two volumes combined.)

The third voyage was overshadowed by Cook's death at the hands of Hawai'ian islanders in February 1779, but this did not diminish its cartographical significance and David gives us over two hundred of its charts and views, many of them previously unpublished. The introduction sets each into the context of the voyage and mines the voyage journals for details about the objectives and conditions of the original surveys. Many of the ships' officers contributed to the draughting of charts — each of these individuals is introduced — while John Webber, William Bligh and William Ellis drew the coastal views.

The introduction also covers every aspect of the third voyage's objectives and scientific achievements, with detailed discussion of Cook's emergence from semi-retirement, the contents of his instructions, and the equipment and scientific significance of the voyage. This is David's forte; his detailed, empirical research stands out bravely amid a burgeoning literature on the racist, colonialist subjectivities of Pacific exploration. Yet one wonders whether it is wise to ignore altogether the sensitivities that have developed in recent decades. It seems inexcusable today to write that Cook was killed by "the natives." On

the other hand, David's annotation of James King's running journal carefully notes the indigenous names of peoples encountered in the far north Pacific; perhaps the book's introduction was written much earlier than the King material.

The King journal was included in memory of Helen Wallis, who had been working on it at the time of her recent death. It is easy to see the importance of this document, which covers part of the time of King's command of the *Discovery* from Petropavlovsk to the Cape of Good Hope, August 1779 to April 1780. David found the journal in the Hydrographie Department archives in 1973, and he makes a splendid job of editing and illustrating it. King was interested in what was happening ashore, as well as what happened on board ship under his command, and through him we have documentation of some extremely important aspects of north Pacific history, including the decimation of Kamchatka's native population by smallpox.

Knowing the threat that Russia posed to hopes for the expansion of British trade in the area, King also observed what he could of the geography, natural history, and current Russian military strength in Kamchatka and tried (unsuccessfully) to glean intelligence about the Russian imperial court from his interpreter at Petropavlovsk. Reaching Macao on 3 December, the officers and crews received their first news of home in over three years: the American Revolution had followed almost on the heels of their departure, and now Britain was at war with France and Spain as well. "What a conflict of passions did this mighty flood of new matter occasion," King declared, [297] as he and his fellow voyagers rejoined the late eighteenth-century story of European imperial rivalry. As we know, the north Pacific that he had just left would soon become the focus of Anglo-Spanish conflict; one of King's last entries mentions the sea otter pelts which Cook's officers had already discovered to be of considerable value in China. In this and George Vancouver's subsequent survey voyage, the Royal Navy would initiate a series of navigational and commercial relationships that would culminate in new colonies and new trade routes in the Pacific.

Jane Samson
Edmonton, Alberta

Reinhard A. Krause. *Zweihundert Tage im Packeis. Die authentischen Berichte der Hansa-Manner der deutschen Ostgrönland-Expedition 1869 bis 1870*. Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag for the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, 1997. 348 pp., maps, illustrations (b+w, colour), photographs, bibliography, indices. DM 78, cloth; ISBN 3-8225-0412-2.

If you were asked to list the nations involved in the exploration of the Arctic, the chances are that your list would not include any of the German states of the late nineteenth century. Yet, some intrepid German geographers, explorers, and seamen did participate in several excursions to both polar regions. This volume details the experiences of one particularly unfortunate group of the Second German Northern Polar Expedition of 1869-70. It is a story for which the author is well qualified to recount; in addition to being a scientist and seaman, the author has participated in three Antarctic expeditions.

The expedition consisted of two ships, the *Germania* and the *Hansa*, neither of which was destined to fare exceptionally well. The *Germania* group spent most of their voyage trapped in a sea of ice which defied all their efforts to regain the open sea. The men aboard the *Hansa* were far more unfortunate. Their ship ran aground and was ultimately destroyed on an ice floe, obliging the men to live for over two hundred days by their wits, their hunting skills, and by whatever they could salvage from their hapless ship.

The volume is divided into two principal parts. The first focuses on the experiences of the *Hansa* group. In essence, it consists of a reprinting of the diaries of three of its sailors. The second section provides a general overview of the history of German Polar expeditions and research. The text is complemented by a very large number of illustrations, contemporary maps and a few photographs. The majority of the illustrations were drawn by Carl Koldewey, who participated in this expedition aboard the *Germania*. The remainder stem mostly from official sources, contemporary photographs and a few other written accounts of this expedition. Overall, the majority of the various illustrations are well chosen and effectively highlight the text.

The diaries of the seamen are interwoven by

date, giving readers the opportunity to compare and contrast how they described their plight and daily struggles. Krause has resisted the temptation to standardize their vocabulary, reminding us that Germany was not yet a unified country. Their contradictory attitude towards wildlife stands out. Although they hunted extensively, they also made several efforts to tame some animals. Their arduous spring journey through Greenland's frigid spring waters and desolate landscape is a highlight of the book. It is also a testament to man's determination to survive in the face of extreme adversity. In the end, all of the men of the *Hansa* managed to survive their ordeal, and only one member of this hardy band suffered from an adverse psychological setback.

Readers unfamiliar with the general history of Polar explorations might want to consider reading the second part first. This provides not only an excellent summary of the prehistory of the Second Expedition, but also the general state of European, and particularly German, knowledge and theories on the nature of the Arctic region. The various German Polar expeditions, financed by both Austria-Hungary and Prussia, are well detailed. The text chronicles the struggle of the organizers, led by August Petermann, of this expedition to find financial, scientific, and political support for this venture, as well as the scientific theories that underlay it.

At best, the German tradition in exploration is very weak. Certainly, the degree to which the fate of the Second Polar Expedition contributed to this lack of exploratory zeal is definitely debatable. Nonetheless, Krause has illuminated a much-ignored aspect of German and world history, and for this reason alone this work deserves a wide audience.

Peter K. H. Mispelkamp
Pointe Claire, QC

Roland Huntford. *Nansen: The Explorer as Hero*. London: Duckworth, 1997. xiv + 610 pp., b+w plates, maps, notes, bibliography, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-71562274026.

When Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930) died, it was said that while Norway had born him the world had lost him. Since then, his fame has dwindled outside his native land. It is hard to say whether

this has been caused by ethnocentricity or by the fact that his career was not shadowed by controversy or tragedy. In any case, it is time for the English-speaking world to give Nansen once more the acclaim which is his due. This book, by the dean of polar historians, is the first full-length biography in English for many years. It is based on previously unused sources, including ones in the Norwegian language. With it, Huntford completes the cycle of books which began with *Scott and Amundsen* (1979) and continued with *Shackleton* (1985). The life of the man many believe to be the most accomplished and innovative polar explorer of all is a fitting capstone to the trilogy.

Nansen was a man of extraordinary gifts, both physical and intellectual. Astonishingly good-looking as a young man, he was also a daring athlete, renowned in Norway for his exploits as a skier. While in his twenties he conducted the research into the central nervous system which made him one of the fathers of modern neurology. He defended his doctoral thesis in April 1888 and, four days later, set off for the journey on skis across Greenland which made him famous for the rest of his life. The *Fram* expedition (1893-1895), using a ship specially built for drifting in the ice, failed to reach the Pole. Yet Nansen and his companion, Hjalmar Johansen, in the course of a separate venture by skis, sled and kayak, set a new record of Furthest North by almost 150 miles.

A hard act to follow, one might think, but the second half of Nansen's life was as remarkable as the first. He played an important role in the winning of Norway's independence from the Swedish crown in 1905. He served as Norway's ambassador to Britain from 1906 to 1908. He returned to scientific endeavours with pioneering oceanographic research. He was also active in humanitarian work, for which the Nobel Peace Prize for 1922 was awarded to him. He was involved both in famine relief and the settlement of displaced persons; his greatest achievement was the exchange of ethnic minorities between Greece and Turkey under the 1923 Convention of Lausanne.

Huntford brings to the telling of this life his considerable gifts as a writer. Even a pedestrian author can thrill us with polar tales full of horror and pathos. Huntford's *forte* is competence in polar exploration. He is able to make such un-

promising material as the lengthy period that Nansen and Johansen spent in a hut measuring ten by six an enthralling read. A master of narrative pace and drive, Huntford also has a keen eye and ear for details. Phrases such as "the homely tramp of a sewing machine" [214] or "the shabby snowbound sprawl of wooden houses liberally stocked with petty officials that was Tyumen" [169] bring the past splendidly to life.

Huntford loves the way things — from ski bindings to ships — are made and how they work. His explanations are so vivid that even readers indifferent to technology share his enthusiasm. He is also shrewd about the ways men cope with each other. This shrewdness, presumably honed by years of studying men in the extreme conditions of polar travel, stands him in good stead when he surveys Lenin's regime and the world, apparently only slightly more savoury, of international good works.

Perhaps Huntford's greatest achievement is his treatment of Nansen's personality. When in action — skiing, dancing, riding to hounds, playing bridge, flirting — Nansen was a happy man. He wrote that one day, mending clothes while wintering in the hut with Johansen, he "discovered that it was possible to get 12 threads from a piece of string, and I am as happy as a young god..." [327] When he was not achieving he was desperately unhappy. He seems to have had no close male friends. Although he loved the company of women, as women loved him, he never enjoyed a satisfactory long-term relationship. He and his first wife seemed to have loved each other more when apart and writing letters than when actually living in the same house. His second marriage, to a woman with whom he had carried on an affair while his first wife was still alive, was miserable. As a father, he was a disaster.

Huntford may love to explain things but he knows better than to explain Nansen. Instead, his aim is to show us why Nansen is a modern hero. He employs the motif of the Faustian striver, the man blessed with great gifts and the determination to achieve in ways commensurate with those gifts, who yet never feels that he has achieved enough. Nansen wanted the approval of only one man — Fridtjof Nansen — and that he was never going to get. It is legitimate to wonder if in the end he turned to the relief of human suffering because it was a goal that could never be fully

achieved and thus could never disappoint.

Nansen's life sums up the modern sense of despair about reconciling humanity's victories and defeats. Since his death, science and technology have continued to advance, yet the problems he sought to solve — man-made famine, ethnic conflict in the Balkans — are with us still. I started to read this book expecting to learn more about a great polar explorer. By the time I was done I realized that Nansen counts for far more than what he did in the world's high latitudes.

Anne Morton
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Marijke Spies; Myra Heerspink Scholz (trans.). *Arctic Routes to Fabled Lands: Olivier Brunel and the Passage to China and Cathay in the Sixteenth Century*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997. 168 pp., illustrations, maps, sources. 159,50, US \$37.50, paper; ISBN 90-53562263-X. Distributed in North America by University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI.

Olivier Brunel is not a well-known name. This predecessor of William Barents in the search for a northeast passage was born near Brussels in the first half of the sixteenth century. Fie made a series of extended trips to northern Russia, venturing far past the White Sea, reaching as far as Novaya Zemlya in 1585. The better-known Dutch explorer Barents later thought of himself as standing where Brunel once stood. Marijke Spies' short book is designed not simply to bring together what little we know of this early merchant-explorer but also to re-create the intellectual milieu of the low-country geographers in this period. Spies is concerned to locate Brunel within the world of the great cartographer Abraham Ortelius, or even within the cosmos of the half-mad scholar Guillaume Postel, as well as the intersecting commercial empires of the Stroganovs and the great Antwerp merchant Gillis Hooftman, who actually employed Brunel in his trading ventures.

This discussion is based on published sources, many of the period itself, but does not present fresh documentary evidence. This is, in other words, a product of diligent library research rather than a report of crumbling documents newly retrieved from the archives. Spies repro-

duces many early maps and illustrations, providing a comprehensive view of geographical knowledge of the Arctic in the period. Her treatment is chronological, following a brief introduction to Brunel himself and to late-medieval geography. The discussion is lively, though sometimes heavily freighted with forgotten names, like a Russian novel with a cast of hundreds. The presentation of *Arctic Routes* is unusual in one respect, as the author interrupts her well-documented exposition with brief fictional passages, re-imagining sixteenth-century conversations about the difficulties of exploration.

How successful this unusual approach will be, depends on the reader. This middle-aged, *Annales* style, modernist found the introduction of imagined material off-putting at first, or even alarming, with the inevitable whiff of fabricated evidence. In the end, though, the reader may accept fictional dialogues as a poly-vocal presentation of forgotten debates that presents conflicting points of view clearly. They do make Spies' Brunel more like, say, Steffler's Cartwright rather than, say, Quinn's Gilbert or Williamson's Cabot. Marijke Spies is a professor of literature and her book is, predictably, not a conventional history. This is not a work of analysis, concerned to trace the interconnections of capitalism and the emerging modern science of cartography. Nor is it even, really, an historical synthesis, attempting to trace a significant narrative. *Arctic Routes* is more a very erudite gossip column, in which one discovers, for example, that Richard Hakluyt was happy to do contract research on arctic geography for the Antwerp merchant De Moucheron. The approach is not to be despised, for it serves well the author's purpose of re-creating at least the illusion of intellectual context.

In physical terms this is a well-produced volume and a pleasure to hold, read and contemplate. The bibliography is complete and the translation idiomatic, with the exception of the term "gulf stream," which Myra Scholz misunderstands as a common rather than proper noun. There is no index, which makes this publication much less useful than it would otherwise be, particularly given the attention paid figures little known in the English-speaking world.

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John Logan Allen (ed.). *North American Exploration. Volume I: A New World Disclosed*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997. xvii + 538 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, selected bibliography, index. US \$75, cloth; ISBN 0-8032-1015-9.

New World Disclosed comprises the first segment of a three-volume overview of the European exploration of the North American continent and adjacent waters from prehistorical times to the end of the nineteenth century. Eight essays trace European awareness of, and involvement in, North America from medieval folklore to the early seventeenth century. Each is written by an acknowledged expert in the area, evenly balanced between the disciplines of history and geography. Most of the contributors assess developments within a specific geographic region, ranging from David Beers Quinn's treatment of the Northwest Passage in theory and practice, to Robert S. Weddle's account of the Spanish penetration of the Caribbean and Central America. As is fitting for this period and subject, half of the chapters are devoted primarily to Spanish endeavours.

The editor conceived of this volume as a comprehensive investigation into the *process* of European exploration, rather than simply another reiteration of the events of discovery. An emphasis upon the role of human imagination should, it is stated, enable a reader to understand how images and ideas shaped the course, and meaning, of exploration. The *terrae incognitae* of North America became "known" to Europe in a subjective fashion within a particular cultural context. These are admirable goals. Unfortunately, in spite of significant accomplishments, the volume as a whole falls well short of the mark. Too frequently, we are provided with the bald story of exploration. Contributors, confronted with the twin challenges of describing events within their areas of study and accounting for them, have tended to tell readers, once again, about the exploits of Ponce de León, Hernando de Sota, and their contemporaries. The stories are inherently interesting, and frequently are narrated expertly. However, little space remains for analysis and insightful appraisal. Certainly, the objectives of the editor are rarely realized to their full. A presentation focused upon the narration of events frequently leads to slap-dash examination of complex political, economic, or intellectual

contexts. The human imagination becomes little more than the quest for mythical straits and imaginary kingdoms. Contributors routinely fail to provide readers with a clear, early statement of their thesis. Argument, indeed, normally takes a back seat to description.

One essay which does achieve the agenda established by the editor is G.M. Lewis' detailed investigation of native North Americans' cosmological and geographical beliefs and their influence upon European exploration and knowledge. In an innovative and captivating study, Lewis reveals the depth of the conceptual divide which separated indigenous and European views of physical geography. The twin themes are the inability of the European explorers to understand, and thus effectively utilize, most of the information passed on to them, and the likely reliance upon indigenous sources during this early period for a surprising amount of cartographical information.

The organization of the volume possesses both beneficial and negative consequences. In treating the theme of the assimilation of geographical knowledge for all North America's east coast between 1524 and 1610 as a coherent unit, Karen Kupperman is able to provide a useful, thoughtful portrayal of a large theme, and of the relationships which existed between geographical understanding and settlement patterns. Similarly, Alan Macpherson and David Quinn aptly summarize extensive information in their cautious studies, respectively, of pre-Columbian discoveries and the quest for a Northwest Passage. Repetition, however, runs through this volume. Readers will find the same pen-and-ink sketches of individual explorers and voyages, and the same anecdotes, repeated two or three times. Surely, an astute editor could have overseen the removal of some of this overlap (none of it consequential to the arguments advanced). Certainly, a careful editor would have noticed when quotations purportedly from the same published text are at variance, could have gently informed a contributor when a superior text is used by a fellow author, or might have pointed out how one writer's balanced assessment makes mincemeat out of another's confident, but rash, pronouncement. But then a careful editor would also have ensured that the index is reliable (it is not).

Individual factual errors, mostly on small points of little consequence, have been identified

in many chapters. The principal limitation, however, rests in a perhaps excessive general reliance upon standard texts and established views. When, as in the case of W. Michael Mathes' examination of the early exploration of the Pacific coast, there are eighty-two citations to his own work within the ninety-four endnotes, it is clear that the essay can not help but be a rehash of existing views and information. This is the most telling criticism of the volume: Lewis' contribution excepted, *A New World Disclosed* tells an old story, in reasonably familiar terms. In the hands of experts, this is often done admirably, and there is considerable value in having the overviews collected within the pages of one volume. We are not led far, though, into a new world of the cultural values and meaning of physical geography.

J.D. Alsop
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Felipe Fernandez-Armesto (ed.). *The European Opportunity*. "An Expanding World," Vol. II; Aldershot. Hamps. and Brookfield, VT: Variorum Press, 1995. xxi + 360 pp., maps, tables, illustrations, index. US \$107.95, cloth; ISBN 0-860782 501-7.

The fifteen previously published essays collected here (twelve in English and three in French) form the second volume in a series edited by A.J. R. Russell-Wood that addresses broad questions related to European exploration and its aftermath. The first five selections ("Means") deal with the issue of how Europeans were able to conceive and carry out long-distance voyages into unknown oceans. Thomas Goldstein (1965) argues persuasively that Florentine scientists in the early fifteenth century first theorized that the southern hemisphere was suitable for human habitation and that the western oceans might logically lead to Asia. Their insights were part of the intellectual milieu that inspired later generations. Similarly, Paul Adam (1960) argues that the techniques crucial to celestial navigation, which existed by about 1480, evolved from centuries of mariners following the stars. Richard Unger's article on Portuguese shipbuilding and African exploration (1987) is the only one in the collection to deal specifically with ships, featuring an excellent summary of the development of the caravel. The

essays by Jacques Heers (1960), and Charles Verlinden (1953), were among the first to study the crucial role of Italian merchants in financing early voyages of discovery.

"Motives," often summarized as "God, Gold, and Glory," defines the theme of the next five essays. P.E. Russell and Guy Beaujouan, both writing in 1960, brush aside the clouds of myth surrounding Prince Henry of Portugal. Beaujouan demonstrates that the prince's "book of secrets" was a work of astrology, not astronomy as some claim, debunking the persistent notion that the early voyages were based on secret nautical information. Russell presents the prince as a practical man, concerned that Portugal's African voyages show a profit but who also defined them as a chivalrous crusade against the Muslims. Without Prince Henry's religious vision, Portugal would not have pioneered the age of discovery.

C.F. Beckingham (1979) examines the spiritual motive driving expeditions to Africa in search of the legendary Christian potentate known as Prester John, who was viewed in Portugal as a potential ally against the Muslims. Similarly, Pauline Moffitt Watts moves away from the notion of Columbus as a modern man of science to rediscover the importance of Biblical prophesy and scripture in shaping his outlook. Her 1985 essay provides an important corrective to earlier historiography, reminding readers of Columbus' zeal to liberate the Holy Land from the Muslims and to spread the knowledge of Christ to all peoples. Andrew M. Watson (1967) argues that the differing ratios of gold to silver in the Christian and Muslim worlds influenced flows of bullion back and forth across the cultural divide. A relative shortage of gold in fifteenth-century Christian Europe provided a powerful incentive to seek out the gold-rich kingdoms of Africa.

The third group of essays, headed "Momentum," explores various traditions in medieval Europe that were later adapted to colonial experience in the Americas. Charles Verlinden's 1966 essay traces the organization of frontier societies and sugar plantation agriculture to the Crusader kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean. Charles Julian Bishko's 1958 conference paper examines medieval Castile, where borderlands disputed by Christians and Muslims were exploited by herding until more settled conditions made agriculture possible. In Ireland and Wales (Rees Davies,

1992), other Europeans also developed a tradition of frontier warfare alternating with truces and cultural accommodation. These traditions served Europeans well as they explored beyond the known world. So did the mapping of real (and imaginary) places. Felipe Fernández-Armesto's 1986 article examines cartographic evidence to argue that the Azores were discovered in the fourteenth century. Commercial documents, like maps, provide some of our only records about medieval long-distance trade. Robert S. Lopez's 1943 article examines the most famous of these accounts and suggests that Italian experience in Asia was more extensive than these few documents indicate.

Specialists in the Age of Discovery are already familiar with most, if not all, of these venerable essays, whose elegant and path-breaking arguments have now become commonplace. The collection will be useful mainly for scholars in other fields and for libraries lacking a rich assortment of scholarly periodicals. The editor could have served those audiences better by providing a fuller historiographical context for the essays. For example, what is the current state of scholarship regarding Columbus' intellectual formation, discussed (with key differences) by both Goldstein and Watts? Has Watson's call for serious scholarship in monetary history been answered by subsequent decades of work on international bullion flows? How many of the topics covered by the essays were significantly advanced by works published for the 1992 Columbian Quincentenary? By providing answers to these questions, the editor could have greatly enhanced the value of this classic collection.

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Om Prakash (ed.). *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia*. "An Expanding World," Vol. X; Hamps. and Brookfield, VT: Variorum Press, 1997. xxvi + 330 pp., tables, figures, illustrations, maps, index. US \$112.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-508-4.

This book is a collection of fifteen trend-setting papers published in different journals between 1960 to 1992. These encompass the commercial activities of the different European powers in the

Indian Ocean, such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French and the Danes. The volume is the tenth in the series dealing with European impact on World History from 1450 to 1800. The goal is to provide a reference book on European presence beyond Europe in the early modern period which also encapsulates changing historiography on the subject. The focus then shifts from dominance, conquest and control to interaction with non-European communities and groups within a broader global perspective.

Trade between Europe and Asia dates to at least the beginning of the Christian era. There was nevertheless a structural change in the pattern of this trade after the entry of the Portuguese and other Europeans in the Indian Ocean network at the end of the fifteenth century. It is now accepted that rather than a bilateral arrangement between the countries of Europe and Asia, this trade should appropriately be termed Euro-Asian. Traditional historiography had accepted that luxury cargoes comprising of textiles, spices or tea were transported from Asia and sold in the home ports of Europe. Recent research presents a far more complex picture.

European trading companies found it necessary to procure cargoes from one part of Asia with goods they had obtained in another, an obvious example being the shipment of Indian cloth to Indonesia to pay for spices. The Europeans were often unable to supply goods at competitive prices in Asia, nor could they generate an adequately large demand for them. As a result, they had to rely on precious metals for payment of local commodities. This need for precious metals, largely of American origin, to pay for the goods from Asia led to the development of an organic and interactive relationship between the two ends of European expansion.

This complexity of the trading network in the Indian Ocean is also reflected in the variety of watercraft used. These were of several kinds: those built in Europe but kept in Asian waters; those commissioned by Europeans and built at Asian shipyards; or locally built vessels operated by private individuals. From the seventeenth century onwards, more than any other European power, it was the English who were more heavily involved in shipping. It was this vigorous 'private' sector that gave the British a dominant position in intra-Asian trade.

In contrast, large-scale official involvement and the forging of commercial links marked the activities of the Dutch East India Company across the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. An important partner in this was Japan where the Dutch established a factory in 1609 to be followed by the English in 1613. Though suspicion and hostility marked the relationship between the Japanese Shogunate and foreign merchant groups, it nevertheless continued, as it was advantageous to both partners.

It has been argued that trade cannot be studied in isolation as an economic phenomenon, but needs to be looked at within the larger socio-political and military context. In keeping with this objective, van Santen's study compares the performance of Dutch and Gujarati merchants trading from Surat to the region of the Persian Gulf and dealing in cotton piece goods. The analysis shows that differences in entrepreneurial behaviour between the Asian and western trader were insignificant. But where the VOC had an edge was in their control of superior technological and maritime means for enforcing their policies as compared with those available to their Asian counterparts. Nor was the Company averse to using this advantage; in most cases market control over a product was established only after violence was used against Asian traders and their rulers.

Another paper that departs from the general theme of commercial expansion relates to navigation between Portugal and Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Based on a quantitative analysis of data collated from shipping lists, the paper argues that for seven decades in the sixteenth century, from 1521 to 1590, the *Carreira da India* dominated Indian Ocean trade. The carrack emerged as the craft of commerce, though earlier fleets comprised a combination of naus, galleons, caravels and pinnaces, with a great diversity of tonnage. The complement of these vessels was equally disparate and included sailors, gunners, carpenters, cooks, etc. as also elite groups such as military and naval officers, bureaucrats, merchants and missionaries. It was this latter category of captains and Jesuits that had an edge over the others in matters of survival, both in terms of better nutrition and a guaranteed place in the ship's longboat in case of shipwreck. Significantly both these aspects of trade and eco-

nomics activity are somewhat under-represented in the present collection.

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M.N. Pearson (ed.). *Spices in the Indian Ocean World*. "An Expanding World," Vol. XI; Hamps. and Brookfield, VT: Variorum Press, 1996. xxxvii + 359 pp., tables, figures, illustrations, index. US \$115.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-510-6.

This is a collection of fifteen articles in English and French and one excerpt from Gracia de Orta, "Colloquios das simples e drogas da India" on the spice-trade, mainly focusing on the pepper trade from 1400 to 1700. Some, such as Frederic C. Lane's "The Mediterranean Spice Trade: Further Evidence of its Revival in the Sixteenth Century" (1941), are quite old and set much of the terms for the debates. Most are well known to specialists (for example, two articles by Jan Kieniewicz on Kerala, Charles Wake's article on pepper-imports in Europe or Charles Ralph Boxer's article on Atjeh and the spice-trade to the Red Sea). This reviewer did not know two articles — by Peter Musgrave and C.R. Da Silva.

There is a brief introduction to the articles by Michael Pearson (22 pages) which — as always with Pearson — does an excellent job in summarizing the state of knowledge on this topic until about 1985. But as these are mostly "classic" articles, Pearson does not confuse us with discussing recent literature in his introduction. Thus, James Boyajian's challenge to the established views on the size of the return-cargoes of the *Carreira da India* is not mentioned. Yet Pearson does include Niels Steensgaard's older article on the return-cargoes of the *Carreira*, though it is now seriously outdated. Similarly, new writing on the Dutch East India Company is not mentioned. We now know that the VOC had a lead over the English in the trade in Indian textiles as much as in spices until the early eighteenth century (contrary to Pearson's claim on p.xxxiii).

It is this which makes this both an easy and a difficult volume to review. Easy, because it is hard to argue with a collection of articles which, presumably, have been vetted by peer-review not once but thrice (although not every statement can go unchallenged. It is simply not true, for

instance, that "over a broad price range the demand for spices in India was inelastic" as Om Prakash asserts in an article on the VOC [336]). Generally, then, the articles are fairly representative of the scholarship in this field.

What makes the volume more difficult to review is the logic of the publication itself. What kind of a market do the publishers seek to reach with this volume? It is too difficult and too specialized for students and can hardly serve as a good introduction. For the specialists it hardly reflects "revisionist interpretations and new approach" as Russel-Wood claims in his introduction [xi] since it is a collection of older articles which instead reflect the *idéé reçues*. It may be very useful to collect older articles if these are not obtainable in libraries anywhere (for example, why is there not a reprint of the *Chronistas do Tissuary* or the *Revista das Colonias*?). But one can hardly claim that access to articles which appeared in journals like *The American Historical Review* is difficult.

As such this volume is the academic equivalent of *Terminator 2* and *Jaws 3*. With mounting production-costs publishers tend nowadays only to pick books with proven sales, whether it be a book by Robert Ludlum or this one. "Established scholars" see their views published and re-published, while younger scholars or those from countries like Denmark, Holland, Russia or Spain which do not have an Anglo-Saxon academic tradition are either published not at all or only with obscure local publishers. Such volumes tend to reinforce the "winner take all" tendency in academic publishing and by implication in a narrow academic job-market. If all publishers go for "safe" books as Variorum does (and they increasingly do), then the result will be that a small group of scholars will totally monopolize the academic discussion and jobs — for the simple reason that they get their views published and others do not.

Given that university-budgets are limited expensive books like this will crowd out works published with smaller or non-English publishers. I am therefore not happy with this book — not with its contents so much as with the concept behind it — and would strongly encourage Variorum to publish either original research or older work which is difficult to obtain, rather than mere compilations of articles which have already been

published in established and accessible journals.

R.J. Barendse
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Sinnapah Arasaratnam. *Ceylon and the Dutch, 1600-1800: External Influences and Internal Changes in Early Modern Sri Lanka*. Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, Hamps. & Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996. xii + 332 pp., map, index. US \$97.95, cloth; ISBN 0286078-57923.

The late Sinappah Arasaratnam was an active historian during forty prolific years. He contributed extensively to numerous reputable journals, to the point where readers without access to specialized libraries face real difficulty getting access to his publications. *Ceylon and the Dutch* is therefore a welcome collection.

The collection opens with "Ceylon and the Dutch, 1630-1800: an essay in historiography" (1995), in which Arasaratnam comments on the Dutch sources documenting Sri Lankan history: "We are thus left with a situation in which history has to be written primarily from the record of the rulers and aggressors. Fortunately, the abundance of the material available and the diversity of circumstances of its origin enable the critical researcher to engage in reconstruction with a view to getting as close to the truth as possible." State archives in The Hague, Colombo, Madras and Jakarta contain hundreds of meters of documents, all dealing with the so-called Dutch Period. The Dutch archives are particularly abundant and diverse, yet only a very limited part has been published. The archivists in the National Archives in Colombo have engaged in a praiseworthy attempt to edit an important series of English translations of "Memoirs" of the Dutch Governors and administrators (Colombo 1910-1974). It is obvious from his footnotes that Arasaratnam has made considerable use of these printed sources, and though he rarely gives us the kind of details that these sources are capable of supporting, Arasaratnam has provided us with a considerable amount of information, as when he underlines the role of local trade by members of the fishers' caste in his synthetic survey of "Ceylon in the Indian Ocean trade: 1500-1800" (1987).

Through his articles, Arasaratnam describes the drastic effects of the colonial presence in the

Sri Lankan economy between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The island had much to offer to the outside world — everything from cinnamon to elephants to precious gems. The returns financed imports of Indian cotton, rice and other commodities, while the profits benefitted foreign and Sri Lankan traders alike. This situation, however, changed thoroughly after the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. Sri Lankan traders and shippers gradually lost their share in the long distance trade as well as in the valuable regional connections maintained with South India. The Sri Lankan economy was increasingly subordinated to the interests first of the Portuguese and then the Dutch. Under the Dutch East India Company (VOC), locals were excluded, with few exceptions, from all international trade.

These themes are carefully explored in several articles. In "The Kingdom of Kandy: aspects of its external relations and commerce" (1960), Arasaratnam examines the struggle between the Dutch and the Kings of Kandy to regain revenues from the trade with India. According to Arasaratnam, "Loss of political independence brought commercial dependence in its train." In "Dutch sovereignty in Ceylon: a historical survey of its problems" (1958), Arasaratnam discusses the subject of the legitimacy of the Dutch presence in the island by delving deep into the views of each party on the issue of sovereignty over the island. In "Baron van Imhoff and Dutch policy and Ceylon 1736-1740" (1963), Arasaratnam explains how the Governor wished to retaliate against the Kandyan Kingdom by creating enmity between the two parties who fought for succession — a strategy similar to that employed successfully to divide the Sultanate of Mataram in Java early in the eighteenth century. Van Imhoff even considered invading Kandy, but was eventually convinced by the superiors in Batavia that warfare would be too costly, if possible at all. The war which eventually took place between the Dutch and the Kandyan kingdom in 1761 proved them right.

In "The indigenous ruling class under colonial rule in Dutch maritime Ceylon" (1971) and in "Elements of social and economic change in Dutch maritime Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 1658-1796" (1985), Arasaratnam discusses the impact of Dutch domination on social and administrative sectors in the Sri Lankan society. For instance, he

shows how members of governing castes adapted to the new situation while still maintaining their positions through conversion to Christianity. Yet their acceptance of baptism for their children, their attendance at church, and their willingness to send their children to schools managed by the Company proved to be superficial, even insincere, in the opinions of the Dutch. Tamil officials in the north certainly adhered to their Hindu practices, while their colleagues in the South never gave up Buddhism. Labour is another theme explored by Arasaratnam in these essays. The Company ordered the construction and maintenance of defence works, warehouses and other buildings, all of which required mobilization of local labour as well as slaves from South India or from the Indonesian Archipelago. Members of the fishers' caste developed into major professional groups such as transporters, craftsmen and carpenters. The fishers' caste, Arasaratnam explains, therefore moved upwards in the social strata under the Dutch administration.

At this juncture Arasaratnam shifts his attention to the history of the Dutch education system. In "Protestants: the first phase, 1650-1880" (1978) and in "The first century of Protestant Christianity in Jaffna, 1658-1750" (1985) he examines the Dutch Seminary of Nallur, founded in 1690, and the Seminary of Colombo, founded in 1696. Both institutions, established to educate the children of Sri Lankan elites, operated successfully.

The collection closes with an essay on "Sri Lanka's Tamils: under colonial rule" (1994). It is an understandable choice. Arasaratnam was born in the North, so that the history of the old Kingdom of Jaffna was close to his heart. Based on his broad learning, Arasaratnam gives a beautiful synthetic survey, starting with the first Tamil migrants in the third century BC. He focuses on the changes and developments of Tamil society under colonial rule, some of which in his opinion influenced Tamil identity. Arasaratnam insists that "there were positive factors that contributed to the building of communal solidarity and self-consciousness." It is always risky to connect the past and present too closely in a causal way. It is, moreover, sheer coincidence that 1994, the year Arasaratnam wrote this article, was the year that the old Dutch fort of Jaffna was demolished by the Tamil Tigers. Arasaratnam might have been

astonished, since wiping out these unique monumental traces carries no weight to change the past. The Dutch period is a part of Sri Lankan history, a period in which many changes have occurred that are worthwhile to study. Throughout his very productive life, Arasaratnam was fascinated by this process of change; as he notes at the end of the opening article, the interaction of Ceylon and the Dutch presents an "interesting interaction between a traditional Asian society and a modernising European power which is intruding into many sectors of that society."

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Holden Furber; Rosane Rocher (ed.). *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the Eighteenth Century*. Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, Hamps. & Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1997. xi + 322 pp., frontispiece, index. US \$89.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-619-6.

The Variorum Press continues to reprint articles, lectures and essays of well-respected scholars. It is apparently a profitable business, though the price of these volumes must surely discourage the individual buyer. Several Indian historians, C.R. Boxer and others have meanwhile seen their short-length output reprinted. The articles in their original style are always simply photocopied and assembled, with the original pagination maintained. This "Collected Studies Series" has by now become so extended that no longer are only top rank scholars having their work re-published.

This particular volume, however, belongs to the old tradition. Between 1950 and 1975, Holden Furber (1903-1993), professor at the University of Pennsylvania, was one of the best-known experts of the history of European expansion in Asia. Since 1976 students have profited from his standard work *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800*. Furber's broad knowledge of British, Dutch, French and Scandinavian archives and literature had made him the ideal person to write such a nice comprehensive survey, in which he compares and characterises the different European Asiatic companies. The Variorum volume contains fourteen minor products of his pen, published between 1935 and 1976; two lectures are published here for the first time.

The articles are printed in the order in which they originally appeared. This seems an obvious decision, if the intent was to show the evolution of Furber's interests. Sometimes, however, one returns in a later phase to one's old favourites — and Furber did so — and then a thematic order becomes more logical. The priority given to the chronological appearance of the articles rather than their thematic consistency means that the first article deals with proposals for Anglo-Spanish commercial agreements concerning the trade of India, China, the Philippines and Spanish America in 1793, while Article XII covers the Indian trade in the Pacific 1600-1800; Article IV describes Madras in 1787, while Article X deals with Madras in the mid-eighteenth century. And Article V on the overland route from Europe to India is followed by an essay on the financial records of the East India Company.

Human relations and conditions in trade in Asia, particularly in eighteenth century India, have Furber's interest. He takes his readers to the archives, showing them the shipping-lists, correspondence, and other documents. Amazed by the steady increase of the British country trade in Asia from the 1720s onwards, Furber then discovered the importance of this trade, of which the Dutch VOC became the most significant victim in the eighteenth century. He shows how interwoven the interests of Europeans and non-Europeans were in this trade and how rich individuals became while in their companies' service. The title of this volume alludes to this, but does not cover the full cargo. Though four articles deal with the three British presidencies in India (Madras, Bengal and Bombay), most of the others do not have a direct relation to the title. Thus, one essay examines American trade with India between 1784 and 1812, another focuses upon a mysterious scheme for an entrepôt on an uninhabited island in the Eastern seas, offered in 1786 to the Swedish crown, while another concerns the stockholders in the East India Company, among whom were a large number of Dutchmen. Between 1783 and 1791 about one thousand Dutchmen bought or sold India shares, so that one could almost call this company the Anglo-Dutch East India Company. The volume is full of such insights.

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Pieter Emmer and Femme Gaastra (eds.). *The Organization of Interoceanic Trade in European Expansion, 1450-1800*. "An Expanding World," Vol. XIII; Aldershot, Hamps. and Brookfield, VT: Variorum Press, 1996. xxvi + 429 pp., maps, tables, figures, index. US \$134.95, cloth; ISBN 02 86078-505-X.

European colonial empires may now be virtually extinct but their legacy is still very much with us. It was most recently manifested in the attention lavished on the quincentenaries of the voyages of Columbus and da Gama. Outstanding for value, scope and quality in the resultant flood of learning old and new is Variorum's republication of key essays dealing with nearly every aspect of Europe's initial expansion into the wider world. In the volume under review the distinguished Dutch scholars Pieter Emmer and Femme Gaastra bring together eighteen articles concerned, directly or indirectly, with the ways in which this process affected the organization of trade. In a crisp introduction they neatly sketch the salient features, arguing, as few would deny, that though the impact of expansion was substantial it was not fundamental and that the roots of Europe's subsequent industrialization lay elsewhere. They outline the different ways in which different powers attempted to handle new long-distance trades, contrasting the royal or private monopolies favoured by the pioneering Iberian monarchies with the joint-stock (and also monopoly) corporations eventually employed to such good effect by Holland and England. They consider the circumstances in which such companies failed, and they stress the extent to which even the most effective were unable to control the doings of private individuals, whose role in oceanic commerce remained as vital as in Europe's earlier trade. Pursuing the theme of the fragility of metropolitan authority they further note that imperial growth was accompanied by the spread of piracy and privateering, whose economic impact was not, however, necessarily harmful — at least on those engaged in it.

Given the limited amount of space available to the editors and the sheer mass of material confronting them, some topics inevitably receive less attention than they deserve and some are simply squeezed out. There is little, other than incidentally, on the growth of the European redistributive

trades in exotic products. There is nothing of substance on the English Navigation Acts and their bearing on the country's subsequent commercial and naval primacy. Smuggling, which with tea, silver and tobacco reached an unprecedented scale, importance and sophistication, is largely ignored. And most remarkably, indigenous commerce is overlooked, notwithstanding (and contrary to what the editors assert) an extensive literature on everything from the North American fur trade to successful local competition with Europeans in Asia.

The articles reprinted amply illustrate the general points raised in the editorial introduction. The oldest dates from 1929 and the most recent from 1990, giving readers a bird's eye view of shifts in historical interests and fashions. Some are primarily presentations of the fruits of detailed archival work, such as Herbert Heaton's attractive account of the fortunes of a Leed's merchant in Napoleonic Brazil (which incidentally throws a flood of light on the social and economic conditions then prevailing there). So, too, in their respective contributions, Bowen and Vermeulen examine, with solid statistical backing, the difficulties of recruiting Europeans to serve in Asia, and the even greater difficulties of getting them there. Other authors suggest revisions to the received wisdom of their time, with Jonathan Israel sharply criticizing the depiction of Dutch activities in the Mediterranean in 1590-1713 by Fernand Braudel and Ralph Davis. A few papers, notably those of Pearson and Chaudhuri, ingeniously and fruitfully apply ideas and techniques derived from other disciplines to historical data.

Naturally enough, some of the essays reproduced are starting to show their age. The statistics in A.P. Usher's classic account (1932) of the failures of the Spanish shipbuilding industry are suspect and need to be compared with those (themselves not above suspicion) in Pierre Chaunu's massive *Seville et l'Atlantique, 1504-1650*. But the oldest piece in the collection, that (1929) of Violet Harbour discussing the differing evolution of English and Dutch ships, still holds the field. An even more ancient truth, the dictum of St. Francis Xavier that empire meant no more than to conjugate the verb "to rob" in all its moods and tenses, is notably confirmed by Zahedieh's paper on early Jamaican piracy. Yet this also reveals the extent to which such prime-

val means of capital accumulation could underpin economic growth.

To assemble a representative collection of essays on so large a theme as trade and European expansion is a formidable task with which Emmer and Gaastra have striven valiantly and on the whole successfully. They have reprinted and made generally available seminal articles otherwise hidden in various specialist journals. They include contributions from eight countries in three continents which will be of value to experts and students alike, not only for the ideas and information which they contain, but also for the indications which they give as to how thinking on so fundamental a matter has evolved.

G.V. Scammell
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Susan Socolow (ed.). *The Atlantic Staple Trade. Volume I: Commerce and Politics and Volume II: The Economics of Trade.* "An Expanding World," Vol. IX; Aldershot, Hamps. and Brookfield, VT: Variorum Press, 1996. xxiv +807 pp., tables, figures, index. US \$215, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-511-4.

Those interested in early modern contributions to "globalization" will want to know about this ambitious reprint series from Variorum Press, currently projected as thirty-four volumes under thirty-one titles. The series subtitle, "The European Impact on World History, 1450-1800," is appropriate, though one remembers Susan Subramanyam challenging its "North Atlantic triumphalism" while introducing an earlier volume in the same series.

Susan M. Socolow, a Latin Americanist at Emory University, assembles two volumes that are representative of the general approach of this series. Thirty-three English-language articles and book chapters, originally published between 1936 and 1992 though two-thirds of them were published since 1980, are given continuous pagination in addition to their original, allowing a useful general index. The editor's introduction is surprisingly brief and, like the selection, makes it clear that the focus will be on specific empirical work. She shows little interest in the original "staples theory" of Harold Innis and Mel Watkins, or the controversial claims of the dependency

theories of Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein. "Mercantilism" is little more than a cliché here, rather than an economic milieu within which there were changing priorities.

The introduction can afford to be brief because the first of the eight articles reprinted under the title "general trade" is Teodoro Hampe-Martinez's thoughtful overview "Structure and Magnitude of the Colonial Economic Interdependencies (1500-1750): A World Trade in Development" (1990). The European perspective is discernible, and a more specifically Iberian slant to both argument and sources adds to the article's freshness. (The same can be said for these two volumes more generally.) In sketching the African, American and Asian trades with Europe, Hampe-Martinez discovers no "crisis of the seventeenth century" in world trade. Jose Jobson de Andrade Arruda's 1991 essay on mercantile investment in the Luso-Brazilian Empire also includes a wide-ranging and insightful theoretical discussion. The theoretical and empirical both lead to the conclusion that it paid to have colonies. He also suggests that highly mobile, non-specialized, and very profitable merchant capital became blended with less profitable and less mobile investments in production (agricultural or industrial) only when profit margins from trading were reduced. Other reprints in this category include Ralph Davis' two classic articles on English foreign trade, R.C. Nash on the Irish Atlantic trade (1985), Paul Butel's 1986 article, "Traditions and Changes in French Atlantic Trade Between 1780 and 1830" and the pioneering "Trade Between Western Africa and the Atlantic World in the Pre-Colonial Era," by David Eltis and Lawrence C. Jennings (1988).

The five articles chosen to represent studies of "political economy" avoid discussion of the economic policies of fiscal-military states, and emphasize Spanish American smuggling and war. Engel Sluiter's fifty-year-old article on early Dutch-Spanish rivalry in the Caribbean continues to be useful, detailing the place of the Araya Bay (Venezuela) salt as the lure that brought thousands of Dutch mariners to become familiar with navigation in the area where they raked salt, smuggled, and eventually raided. Zacarias Moutoukias' article (1988) on the seventeenth-century trade of Buenos Aires explores a more structural weakness in Spanish control, namely

government connivance at illegal trade to help finance local administration. Ironically, the arrangements actually strengthened a smuggler-landlord élite that needed and supported the same imperial regime it violated. The first of two short articles by Jerry W. Cooney (1987, 1989) discusses Yankee smuggling in the Rio de la Plata in the decades after the American revolution, revealing smuggling in its more traditional role as a solvent of imperial loyalties. Cooney's second article studies the merchant consulado of Buenos Aires between 1796 and 1806. The volume closes with Selwyn H.H. Carrington's familiar 1987 article on the devastating impact of the American Revolution on British West Indian economies.

The ten articles on "specific commodities," which dominate the second volume, avoid the fish, fur, timber, or wheat that might have special interest for readers of *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord*. Nor is there anything on the sugar industry except Gilman Ostrander's durable 1956 article on the colonial molasses trade. The Carolina rice trade is represented by R.C. Nash's excellent 1992 article, which supercedes Henry C. Dethloff's 1982 study, also reproduced here. Nash exemplifies the newer commodity histories that detail markets as thoroughly as production. Jacob M. Price's general article, on the relationship between Chesapeake economic development and the rise of the French tobacco monopoly, anticipates many features of his definitive subsequent work on various aspects of the trade. Only the comment "Local regulations against smoking were still being passed in Burgundy in the 1680s." [441] reminds the reader that the article was written in 1964. Catherine Lugar's companion piece, on the Bahia tobacco industry in the late colonial period, reveals a very different pattern. Also included are well-known articles on cochineal, logwood, cacao, and hides, by Raymond Lee (1947), Arthur Wilson (1936), Eugenio Pinero (1988), and Rudy Bauss (1986) respectively. This section ends with Dauril Alden's 1964 study of Yankee sperm whaling in Brazilian waters at the end of the eighteenth century.

If the discussion of commodities shows a strong Latin American emphasis, the articles on "shipping" do not. Jerry W. Cooney's third article in this collection, on merchant shipbuilding on the Paraguay River in the decade after 1796, is the only study with a Latin American focus.

Christopher French's 1987 sketch of productivity changes in British Atlantic ship utilization is complemented by Kenneth Morgan's 1989 study of Bristol's Atlantic shipping patterns. Julian Gwyn's "Shipbuilding for the Royal Navy in Colonial New England" completes the offerings on shipping. Geoffrey Rossano's engaging, if indiscriminate, 1988 account of the colonial Atlantic shipowning ventures of Samuel Townsend of Oyster Bay, Long Island, should have been included in this section as well, rather than later in the volume.

The concluding reprints, on "trade and economy," include Morris Altman's (1988) statistical study of economic growth in early eighteenth-century Canada, as well as the familiar magisterial overviews of Jacob Price (1984) and John J. McCusker and Russell Menard (1985).

Readers of this journal will likely be familiar with many of the classic articles reprinted here that concern the English-speaking Atlantic, though it is helpful to have a number of them so handy. It is noteworthy that, of the sixteen articles that concern Latin America, only two concern the sixteenth-century heyday of the Iberian Atlantic. This may be accidental, or it may reflect the interests of those Latin American scholars who are likely to write in English. This collection will be of special value to those readers without a knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese who are curious about recognized scholarship on colonial Latin American trades. However, the main market for this rather high-priced cargo of historical staples will be those libraries that do not have an established collections of the relevant journals.

Ian K. Steele
London, Ontario

Patrick Manning (ed.). *Slave Trades, 1500-1800: Globalization of Forced Labour. 'An Expanding World,'* Vol. XV; Aldershot, Hamps. and Brookfield, VT: Variorum Press, 1996. xxxiv + 361 pp., maps, tables, figures, index. US \$115.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-512-2.

This collection of reprinted articles forms a part of the multi-volume series *An Expanding World. The European Impact on World History, 1450-1800*, edited by A.J.R. Russell Wood. The purpose of the series is to collect articles on various

aspects of the global impact of the European overseas expansion, scattered in publications on a broad range of often unrelated topics. These aspects include cross-cultural encounters, technology, commerce, governments and notions of empires, societies and cultures created by the expansion, exploitation, and the power relationship between Europe and the world. Although the present volume, *Slave Trades*, is listed in the "Trade and Commodities" segment, the selection of material makes it relevant to most of the themes covered by the *Expanding World* series.

The collection is divided into five sections, supported by a general bibliography. The first section, with three articles, offers an overview of the African slave trade. It highlights the major carriers, volume estimates, and the impact on African and American societies. The next two sections form the bulk of the collection. The first five essays deal with various aspects of the slave trade from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. They are followed by six articles studying the trade and its abolition in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The last section contains three case studies illustrating the effects of the slave trade outside Africa.

The selection of essays stresses the geographical and topical diversity involved in the study of the export of slaves from Africa. Included are not only articles that deal with Africa and the Americas but also a few that focus on the Mediterranean and southwestern Asia. The papers pursue a broad variety of themes, including the need for labour, the engine behind the growth of Atlantic slave trade; its demographic dimensions, social and political links, and economic importance; and last but not least the slaves themselves. They are shown not only as passive objects of the trade, but as proactive players who resisted enslavement, sought to avoid exploitation, and pursued strategies aimed at improving their lot.

Patrick Manning, the volume's editor, selected articles both by scholars who had made major contributions to the study of slavery and the African slave trade, and by those whose focus usually lies elsewhere. Since the key objective of the collection was to illustrate the thematic complexity and geographical extent of the slave trade, the editor was obliged to work with papers of varying quality, length, and level of specialization. As a result, some important authors and

seminal articles were left out, while others were included because they dealt with important but poorly covered areas or themes. Overall, Manning's strategy was very successful, for the volume presents the African slave trade and its ramifications from a remarkably rich kaleido2 scope of perspectives.

Despite its impressive breadth of coverage, however, the collection does not fulfil the mission expressed in the title: to document the various forms and branches of trade in slaves in the period 1500-1800. The volume is conceptualized around the export of slaves from one continent, Africa, primarily to the Americas. The enslavement of native Americans constitutes a secondary focus. Slave trade and slavery in other parts of the world, in particular Asia, are either poorly covered or entirely neglected. This is an important omission, given the claim expressed in the volume's title that the overseas expansion brought about globalization of slavery and forced labour, a notion that many would consider overstated.

Scholars of maritime history will find the volume of interest if only because much of the slave trade was seaborne. The essays offer data on carrying capacity of the transoceanic trade, cargo capacity of ships, and the transportation logistics of the Atlantic slave trade. However, only one article, by Jean-Michel Filliot, deals directly with shipboard issues, such as manpower and daily operations of the slave ships, illness on board, and so on. Unfortunately, this article is one of the weakest in the collection: it is only eight pages long; parts of it are in outline format; and it mixes extremely general information with very interesting but undeveloped data.

Overall, the volume presents a well2con2ceived, rich, and inspiring selection of recent writings on the history of the African slave trade. It effectively illustrates the complexity and multiple dimensions of a key and haunting aspect of European overseas expansion and its impact on world history. Although weak in its coverage of regions and issues that did not form a part of the Africa-Americas slave trading nexus, *Slave Trades, 150021800* represents not only a valuable component of the *Expanding World* series, but also a very useful research and teaching tool.

Ivana Elbl
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William F. Page. *The Dutch Triangle: The Netherlands and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1621-1664*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1997. xxxv + 262 pp., tables, illustrations, maps, photographs, notes, index. US \$66, cloth; ISBN 0-8153-2881-8.

This is a curious work. Ostensibly a revision of a 1975 New York University PhD thesis, it contains few of the primary sources that one would expect in a dissertation, there is little evidence of revision (if by this is meant incorporation of the recent literature) and, despite its title, it is not particularly focused on the slave trade. A more accurate description would be a survey of Dutch activities in the seventeenth-century Atlantic world based on the older secondary literature. Thus the author is able to write "European historians rarely accept the proposition that an African boy was better off growing up in his village...than being taken away to some 'civilized' world, enslaved." [218] But it is hard to believe this was true in 1975, much less a quarter century later.

The volume might see service as an introductory survey of the early Dutch Atlantic empire. It has a short introduction on slavery in the Atlantic world, and a brief review of the European background to Dutch expansion into the Atlantic. The main body provides a chapter each on the Dutch in Africa, South America and the Caribbean together, and North America except for the Caribbean. North America so defined gets an extra chapter on Africans in the New World, though there were far fewer peoples of African descent on the North American mainland than in South America and the Caribbean. As this suggests, there are striking and unexplained imbalances. Ninety pages of text deal with New Netherlands — the destination of a tiny fragment of the slave trade incorporated into the title as well as the slavery that concerns the introduction — compared to a mere sixty pages on Dutch Brazil, Surinam, and the Dutch Caribbean together. Moreover, at times, the book does not even focus on the Dutch. The chapter on Africa is sub-titled "Europeans in West Africa," yet the Dutch do not appear until nearly half way through it. The discussion on New Netherlands makes heavy use of direct quotes from published collections of documents, some of them a page long. This section also contains numerous descriptive tables, most

of which are lists of slaves or merchandise that have little analytical value. Apart from an appropriate sense of outrage at the treatment of slaves, it is hard to divine an overall thesis. The book does provide a useful account of the tensions and struggles within the New Netherlands colony and Dutch relations with Amerindians and English, as well as anecdotes of people of African descent who lived under Dutch rule.

The book is easy to read, with a genial and at times colloquial style; narration invariably takes precedence over analysis. Thus, "[t]hat the French suffered great losses by these raids suited the Dutch just fine, for after all, the French were Catholics, the Dutch were Protestants." [150] In no sense does the book engage the historiography or challenge existing conceptions of the Dutch role in the early modern Atlantic World. The sections on the slave trade offer nothing beyond the work of Johannes Postma, Pieter Emmer and Ernst van den Boogart, but as a summary of Dutch activities involving Africans, with particular reference to North America, it is a useful source for students and teachers.

David Eltis
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Maggie Montesinos Sale. *The Slumbering Volcano: American Slave Ship Revolts and the Production of Rebellious Masculinity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997. x + 264 pp., notes, bibliography, index. US \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8223-1983-7; \$16.95, paper; ISBN 028223-1992-6.

As the abolitionist crusade intensified during the second third of the nineteenth century, and radicals openly sought to redefine the meaning of American nationalism by redefining the role of blacks in American society, slaves successfully revolted aboard the schooners *Amistad* and *Creole*. Contemporary readers not only knew of these "mutinies" but also had the opportunity to read two fictionalized accounts of slave ship revolts published shortly thereafter — Frederick Douglass' "The Heroic Slave" (1853) and Herman Melville's "Benito Cereno" (1855).

Maggie Montesinos Sale's ambitious book uses these slave ship revolts and stories as departure points to reconsider American nationalism,

Lockean natural rights, and race as they were then understood. At her best, Sale presents the ironies underlying Americans' trope of revolutionary struggle in light of popular responses to slave rebellions aboard ship. Clearly the notion that "the cause of liberty justifies rebellion" had very explicit limitations in a post-revolutionary society that still embraced plantation slavery.

As a practitioner of Cultural Studies Sale's concern is not with "what happened" (which she would probably claim is unknowable); or with narrative stories that make sense of what happened. Instead, following Michel Foucault, she is concerned with the intrinsic contradictions that define concepts such as "American" or "man," and the struggles in which people engage to redefine those concepts. Her book is less about slave-ship revolts than it is about the normalization of masculine white supremacy during the middle of the nineteenth century, and the racialization of the masculinity at the heart of American political identity. She approaches these concerns by theorizing a variety of discourses — legalistic, nationalistic, racialistic, and masculine. The book does a fine job comparing public reaction to the fictionalized accounts of revolt with public reaction to the actual episodes of revolt. But the author's concerns with so many questions and so many complex relationships give the book a certain entropic quality, despite its probing analyses.

The power of this text is its indictment of the limitations of liberal political theory. Sale achieves this by historicizing masculinity and establishing linkages between masculinity, race individualism and property. These concepts are revealed as fluid, protean, and contested. Thus, Sale knows that "Racialism, like other discourse, does not operate according to rules of reason and coherence, but rather disperses multiple, often contradictory assertions, thereby becoming increasingly powerful and persuasive." [161]

The book consists of an introduction, a conclusion, and five chapters. Chapter One, "Rhetorics of Nation, Race and Masculinity," presents three competing versions of American national development — a Northern version, a Southern version, and an African American version. Sale uses these to contextualize the debates about slave-ship revolts. She then analyzes the discursive strategies employed by various groups as they "produced, debated, and

limited the possible range of meanings of the rebellions in the popular press." [64]

The next four chapters are devoted, one each, to the *Amistad* revolt, the *Creole* revolt, "Benito Cereno," and "The Heroic Slave." Although the chapter on the *Creole* is noteworthy for its attention to international law and the implications of legal language, Sale generally seems more comfortable analyzing the fiction than the actual revolt. In an elegant assessment of "Benito Cereno" she shows how Melville normalized white supremacy, and denied Blacks' voices.

Her critique of "The Heroic Slave" is the most compelling. Frederick Douglass, she argues, "appropriated a late-eighteenth-century notion of manhood, of republican male virtue, characterized by bravery, eloquence, moral restraint, concern for the common good, and a willingness to die for liberty, and transported it into a different historical context...in which racial difference had become one of the most salient ways of signifying social power." [185] Through Douglass' fictional protagonist, Madison Washington, gender solidarity among men transcended racial difference, thus redefining the rhetoric of the Revolution, but at a cost of marginalizing black women.

Provocative, complex, and tantalizing, *The Slumbering Volcano* is nevertheless not an easy read. Sale is at once historian, literary critic, and theorist exploring a variety of discourses. The result cannot help but be a bit fragmented. Nevertheless, there are many rewards here for students of cultural studies interested in the interrelationship of gender, race and rhetoric. Readers of this journal will each decide for themselves how *The Slumbering Volcano* contributes to our ongoing discussion of the definition of maritime studies.

W. Jeffrey Bolster
Barrington, New Hampshire

Charles E. Davies. *The Blood-Red Arab Flag. An Investigation into Qasimi Piracy 1797-1820*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997. xix + 453 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. £40.00, cloth; ISBN 0-85989-509-2. Distributed in the USA by Northwestern University Press, Evanston, IL

It is, perhaps, fitting that this book should be reviewed by the resident of a country that contin-

ues to agonize over the question why the captain of its cruiser *Sydney* in November 1941 allowed his ship to approach the camouflaged German raider *Kormoran* so closely that it could be sunk virtually without trace and with the loss of all on board. Much of the events painstakingly described and analysed by Charles Davies revolve around the meeting at sea of British vessels (both commercial and naval) with hostile craft that only in the very last moment showed their true colours — often with disastrous results.

The purpose of Davies' study is to provide a definitive revision of what for the moment may be called the question of the "Qasimi Piracy," which provoked the East India Company to make two attacks on the Qasimi capital Ras al2 Khaimah, 1809/10 and 1819/20 and establish the system of treaties that culminated in the 1853 Perpetual Treaty of Maritime Peace. This British influence, in turn, prevented the participating emirates from being conquered by the Sa'udis and resulted ultimately, in 1971, in their constituting the independent United Arab Emirates. To develop these themes and arguments, Davies has meticulously and exhaustively researched all available primary sources, in both English and Arabic, that can throw light on his subject.

The significance of the subject of Qasimi "piracy" lies both in the immediate and long-term consequences of British policy and in the necessity of reevaluating the orthodoxy of colonialist and imperialist historiography in a post-Eurocentric world. The classical image of Arab piracy in the early nineteenth century in the Gulf and western Indian Ocean was built on the European maritime and legal models of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, in which pirates were seen as standing outside all human society, carrying no flag of any recognized state, and being liable to capture and sentencing by all nations. This view was strongly challenged in 1986 by a truly indigenous voice, Sultan Muhammad al-Qasimi of Sharjah, who, in his *The Myth of Arab Piracy in the Gulf* turned the tables on previous British historians by claiming that his forebears had been legitimate maritime traders engaged in bitter but perfectly legal struggles with other Arab powers — above all, with the EIC's major ally, Oman. No piracy there, but a complex form of naval warfare sanctioned and carried out by organized states.

Al-Qasimi's work was far-reaching in its

revisionism but many traditionalists, inevitably, accused it of a smaller or greater degree of polemicism and biased partisanship. Although I feel that such charges were hugely exaggerated and largely based on orientalist inclinations, it is most welcome that Davies has now presented us with the results of his massive research, painstaking analysis and well-considered judgements. Indeed, if his book has any fault, it is that it is so dense that it might deter some readers who do not trust their intellectual staying power. That, however, would be a real shame: *The Blood-Red Arab Flag* offers such a detailed and surgically sharp analysis of British policy and action, on the one hand, and the maritime history of the Gulf in general and the Qawasim in particular, that it may indeed, for a considerable time, be regarded as the definitive work on the subject.

The range of themes canvassed by Davies in order to explain the intensity and nature of Qasimi activity and operations at sea is vast as he delves into the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of contemporary Arab life. He correctly emphasizes both the extent and relatively great value of maritime trade in the Gulf and western Indian Ocean and the close connections between land and sea. In particular, and here lies the major factor of the sudden rise in Qasimi activity and its violent character, the eastward thrust of the Wahhabi Sa'udis into Qasimi territory and Oman is discussed and assessed in its full ramifications, as is their sudden collapse through the intervention of Egypt's Ibrahim Pasha.

Arab maritime culture, Davies suggests, had many elements in common with that of the desert bedouin: a freebooting nature in which raids and individual valour were written highly within a context of seemingly interminable intertribal rivalry with ever changing alliances and enmities. But there were also major differences: ships did belong to certain political entities and maritime warfare, therefore, had to be seen as much more than a ritualistic, if occasionally violent, rite of passage. Raids at sea were undertaken for both economic gain and political advantage that accrued from it. One might well say (Davies himself does not make the point) that the Gulf in this respect hardly differed from the endless wars that had characterized European waters in previous centuries, especially when it is taken into account that there was, indeed, one political constant: the

enmity between the Qawasim and Oman, whose rulers cleverly entangled the British in their complex manoeuvres. Davies is especially good and convincing in following and explaining the kaleidoscopic political changes in southeastern Arabia; here his comprehensive research pays rich dividends.

For readers interested more in naval operations, Davies' book is as rich in its analysis and judicious in its judgements. Again, attention is given to both affairs of high policy and matters of practical detail; especially poignant (hence the particular introduction to this review) is his discussion of the very real dilemmas faced by naval commanders who approached or were approached by boats that displayed no sign or symbol of their identity. On this point, I should have liked to have seen more about the crucial question of flags: was it indeed so that all Arabs basically carried the same red flag (see, for instance, p. 144) or could they differ from place to place in shades of red that escaped the British eye (see the colours of the still current flags of Bahrain, Qatar and those of the individual shaykhdoms of the UAE)? Why the "blood-red" in the title of the book — is it a mere marketing device or does it refer to any "official" definition of the Qasimi colour? Why did the new Qasimi flag proposed in Bruce's provisional agreement of 1814 with the Qawasim include the Shahadah "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Messenger"? Was it an acknowledgement of the Qasimi alliance with the Sa'udis who still bear witness in their green, Wahhabi, flag?

One can argue with Davies on some minor points. Basing his text specifically on primary sources, he eschews "public" discussions with earlier historians. Although the book would have been more voluminous, its impact would have been greater, as readers now must make their own comparisons and judgements. Arab boats and pearling should also have been discussed in more detail and much earlier in the book. On the other hand, although the dichotomy between the narrative of all the various incidents and the interpretative part of the book loaded me with reservations when I saw its table of contents, having read the book I must concede that this organisation does work. Equally effective are the appendices, and the eighty-nine pages of fine print footnotes are a real treasure trove. Even with a price tag of £40,

this book is highly recommended. Davies has made a major contribution to a crucial period of Gulf and British history which maritime historians will read with great advantage.

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Jesse Lemisch. *Jack Tar vs. John Bull: The Role of New York's Seamen in Precipitating the Revolution*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1997. xx + 180 pp., bibliographical note, index. US \$41, cloth; ISBN 0-8153-2788-9.

The title of Jesse Lemisch's *Jack Tar vs. John Bull: The Role of New York's Seamen in Precipitating the Revolution* is fairly self-descriptive. This is a study of seamen in New York on the eve of the American Revolution and their political interaction ashore as the American colonies began to drift toward revolution. Lemisch originally completed the work in 1962 as his PhD dissertation at Yale University. Ever since, *Jack Tar vs. John Bull* has been a formative and important work in American historiography, both in terms of the originality of the topic and the author's "from the bottom up" approach to history.

Nevertheless, the present volume is disappointing on several accounts. Marcus Rediker's "Foreword," which begins with himself and Lemisch searching Moscow for Siberian miners on a hunger strike, painted an almost pathetic picture of not-so-"New Left" historians apparently traumatized by the collapse of the Soviet Union, a mood that I believe trivializes Lemisch's work by focusing on it as a political rather than a serious historical effort. That is not, of course, to deny the political aspect of *Jack Tar vs. John Bull*, but I think the staying power that Rediker later rightly attributes to Lemisch's work has more to do with his historical adroitness than his political astuteness. After all, the bottom line is simple: *Jack Tar vs. John Bull* outlasted the Soviet Union! Another major disappointment with the text is that, despite the passage of thirty-five years, Lemisch has still not followed through on his promise [xviii] to develop more fully and to expand his thesis into a "completed work" that would "deal with other colonies as well." Instead, the reader is presented with a manuscript that the author four decades ago himself termed "frankly

fragmentary," born of "the naïve faith that the historian can find answers for whatever questions he chooses to ask," and marred — as it was in its original form — by Lemisch's failure to carry the tale into the actual outbreak of the American Revolution in something other than a breezy "Epilogue." One has to wonder: given the abbreviated maritime careers of most seamen, how many of those who took to the streets during the protests of the late 1760s, most notably those that occurred in response to the Stamp Act, were still seamen when the American Revolution began in 1775? And if the answer is not many, then what motivated that next generation of seamen-revolutionaries? The work, for all its originality and depth, still smacks (as is so often the case with dissertations) of an effort cut artificially short to meet graduation deadlines.

One wonders as well why the book has been reprinted. Lemisch's thesis is already well known and its major parts appeared in article form and as chapters in anthologies decades ago. Above all, why was the book deemed part of Garland's "Studies in African American History and Culture"? This seems odd for a work, the index of which lists only a single page entry for "Blacks."

In short, Garland's publication of Lemisch's dissertation, still "as-is" thirty-two years after its completion, is more an occasion to be lamented, than to be celebrated.

Michael A. Palmer
Greenville, North Carolina

Joan Druett. *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820-1920*. Auckland: Collins New Zealand, 1991. vi + 213 pp., photographs, illustrations (b+w, colour plates), chapter notes, appendix, select bibliography, index. US \$25, cloth; ISBN 1-86950-043-1. North American distributor, Harper Collins, Scranton, PA

Joan Druett. *Hen Frigates: Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998. 274 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, appendix, index. US \$25, cloth; ISBN 0-684-83968-7.

There has been a small fashion in recent years, perhaps an offshoot of the feminist movement, for publishing books, sometimes fiction, sometimes

diaries, sometimes a mixture of both, about women who for various reasons went to sea in merchant sailing vessels. I made a small pioneering contribution as collaborating author of *Liomen Under Sail*. There are now ten books in our own library on the subject, of which my own favourite (and many other peoples') is James W. Balano's edited, but still very frank, version of the diary of his mother published as *The Log of the Skipper's Wife* in 1979. She was a remarkable woman who married Fred Balano, Master and part owner of the tern schooner *R. W. Hopkins*, in which she herself became a shareholder.

The two books reviewed here are of a different nature. Each comprises passages based on documentary material — diaries, letters — in which the wives of master mariners who were taken by their husbands to sea recorded their experiences. The greater part of this material was of American origin and not surprisingly much of it from New England, and there is a surprising richness of it. In *Hen Frigates* — incidentally a term I have never met before for a vessel with the master's wife on board — Ms. Druett drew on no less than seventy-five different sets of documents written by girls and women who accompanied their husbands or fathers to sea in many different types of sailing vessels. In a comprehensive appendix including "all such manuscripts known to the author" she lists a further sixty-nine potential sources. Todd Gray's forthcoming comprehensive catalogue of maritime material held in British County Record Offices when it is published may show the extent of similar documentation in Britain, but I doubt that the material will prove to be on the same scale.

Druett's women experienced most facets of life at sea under sail in the nineteenth century and the book comprises a valuable social record. She is frank in her discussion of the special problems women met with in bearing and bringing up children — conceived usually while in harbour because of the sheer physical difficulty of sexual activity at sea — in their relations with their husbands and other crew members and in just simply passing the time, often in endless sewing operations. They went to sea very often simply to be with their husbands, or because all the husband's capital resources had gone into investment in the vessel under his command and they had no home of their own ashore.

A criticism of the book might be that Druett does not compare the women's experiences with those commonly met with ashore. In describing the hardships and tragedies they at times encountered it is well to remember that life at all levels ashore and afloat was incomparably rougher, harder and dirtier than anything conceived of by most young people in the western world today.

If the life on board nineteenth century merchant sailing vessels has been romanticised by later generations, even more so has been the life in sailing whale hunting vessels, particularly New England ships. In fact, a harder, more filthy and more dangerous and more socially isolated an occupation is difficult to imagine. The voyages often lasted for years and since the alternative was often almost perpetual grass widowhood it is not surprising that masters' wives so often accompanied their husbands. In *Petticoat Whalers* — again perhaps an unfortunate title which tends to contradict the author's own definition of "whaler"

Druett lists seventy-two "logs, journals and reminiscences of the whaling sisters in public hands." Considering that compared with merchant vessels the whale ships were relatively few in number this is a remarkable total and the author has drawn impressively on its riches.

Both books are well produced and adequately illustrated though the quality of reproduction in *Hen Frigates* is not as good as that in the whaling book, while Ron Druett's coloured drawings in the latter are rather wooden and not up to standard. These minor criticisms apart, the two comprise the product of commendable and original historical research and valuable contributions to social maritime history.

Ann Giffard
West Boetheric, Cornwall

William L. Lofstrom. *Paita, Outpost of Empire: The Impact of the New England Whaling Fleet on the Socioeconomic Development of Northern Peru, 1832-1865*. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1996. xv + 232 pp., figures, maps, illustrations, appendix, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, paper; ISBN 0-913372-74-9.

Paita, located on the northern coast of Peru, is today a small and sleepy seaside town. But in the first half of the nineteenth century it was a busy

and prosperous port, mainly due to the large number of American whaling ships that called each year. The whaling grounds off the coast were popular with American whalers, and Paita became a preferred port of call for vessels needing to refresh and repair.

A large protected bay offered a safe anchorage for visiting vessels, and the irrigated farms of the nearby Chira valley produced a wide range of agricultural produce for the visiting ships. The town had enough cantinas and friendly local girls to keep the sailors happy, and the local men were willing to serve on whaling ships for low pay. So many American vessels called that in 1833, the American government decided to establish a consulate in Paita and, in the 1840s, set up a hospital for sick and injured American seamen.

The money spent by the American whaling fleet provided substantial economic benefit to the town and its hinterland. Port and other facilities developed, business flourished and workers were attracted to the area by the high wages available. However whaling has always been an ephemeral industry with fluctuating benefits for all involved, including the residents of service ports like Paita. The size of the American whaling fleet reached its peak in the 1840s, and then began a gradual decline that was accelerated by political events, such as the US Civil War. By the 1860s, few American whalers called at Paita, and the US consular post and hospital there were closed in response.

Apart from the immediate economic benefits, the author contends that the visits by American whalers "[were] a catalyst in the subsequent modernisation of northern Peru and its integration into the export-oriented economy that characterised [its economic development in] the second half of the nineteenth century." [x] He suggests that the capital accumulated by local entrepreneurs during the American whaling phase helped to finance the next important economic development in the area, the production and export of cotton. During the US Civil War, federal blockades stopped cotton exports from the southern states reaching Europe, and this provided an opportunity for Peruvians to develop irrigated cotton plantations in the Chira valley. Cotton exports continued from northern Peru after the civil war ended, and provided lasting economic benefits to the region.

Lofstrom is probably right about the economic importance of American whaling to Paita.

Yet he cannot say exactly how important it was due to a near-total lack of statistical data for the region in this period. This has forced him to base his argument on estimates in American consular reports, plus a few figures in published accounts by visiting foreign travellers.

The book will probably appeal most to whaling historians for its detailed description of Paita during the period concerned. There are some superb illustrations of the town in 1837 and a useful appendix lists American whalers and merchant ships calling there between 1832 and 1865.

Mark Howard
Melbourne, Australia

Eileen Reid Marcil. *Tall Ships and Tankers: The History of the Davie Shipbuilders*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1997. xi + 604 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, glossary, indices. \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-7710-5666-4.

The history of Canadian shipbuilding, a broad and fascinating topic, is indebted to Eileen Marcil for her work on nineteenth-century wooden shipbuilding at Quebec, *The Charleyman* (1995). With *Tall Ships and Tankers*, she has made another major contribution to the subject. The author was asked by Davie Shipbuilding to write a history intended for the Davie employees, past and present, and their families. Marcil complied, writing a company history spanning the years 1811-1996. Yet her study goes well beyond our usual notion of a "company" history.

The book is organized chronologically into twenty-five chapters, many of which (especially those dealing with the nineteenth century) focus on a key individual or Davie family member and his or her role in the development of the company. This approach works well and is faithful to the request to write for the employees and their families, many of whom had several generations work in the Davie yards. Marcil provides essential details of the major turning points in the company's history from an early (1820s) decision to engage in ship repair work, to Davie's long relationship with Canada Steamship Lines, to Takis Veliotis' emphasis on developing the General Engineering Division in the 1960s even though the company's shipbuilding business was

good, to recent decisions to diversify and embrace new technologies and markets.

Throughout this lengthy study, Marcil maintains the narrative pace by providing interesting biographical information on a wide range of individuals from ownership, management, and, on occasion, down to the shop and yard levels. The author discusses the evolution of the various yards, family connections, variety of vessel types built by Davie, changes in technology, crises, triumphs and failures, and family tragedies that make up the history of Davie. Marcil also provides ample evidence of the emergence of a corporate culture, through the 1950s at least, embraced by Davie employees. This culture emanated from early Davie family members who focused on leadership, community, mutual respect, work ethic, and fairness. While by no means immune from labour disputes, it appears that Davie avoided many of the more bitter battles associated with shipbuilding and the maritime trades. Marcil touches on the interconnection of politics, economics, and personalities associated with the Davie corporate history but does not pursue the details of city, provincial, and national politics as they influenced Davie corporate life.

Tall Ships and Tankers is generously illustrated with photographs of vessels, shipyards and shipyard scenes, employees as well as vessel drawings. Appendices include the Davie family genealogy, lists of shipyard and union presidents, and a twenty-four page yard list of vessels built by Davie that documents the impressive range of vessels built by the company, both commercial and military. The footnotes and especially the bibliography should encourage further research into many aspects of Davie's history only briefly discussed in this survey. A brief glossary of shipbuilding terms is also included.

As a survey of almost two centuries of company history, *Tall Ships and Tankers* is an unqualified success. Yet, as with any broad treatment, readers may wish that Marcil had written several other books on topics such as labour relations, technology transfer, material culture in the maritime trades, conflict of culture and language, government's role in the economy, among others. Let us hope that other historians will expand on the many rich topics only briefly discussed by Marcil. Hers is a significant contribution to the literature of Canadian shipbuilding.

ing and I strongly recommend it to historians interested in corporate, urban, and maritime history and to libraries, archives, and museums in these fields.

Robert W. Graham
Bowling Green, Ohio

David R. Owen and Michael C. Tolley. *Courts of Admiralty in Colonial America: The Maryland Experience, 1634-1776*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1995. xxxiii + 421 pp., illustrations, tables, appendices, bibliographical essay, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-89089-856-1.

Careful scholarship bristling with enthusiasm and set within a comparative framework is an irresistible mix. Accompanied by a full bibliographical apparatus, this study is distinguished by a thematic approach and by invaluable appendices that summarize the almost 150 admiralty cases from Maryland extant in US and English archives.

Novices will find this an informative introduction to the historical evolution of admiralty jurisdiction and practice in the Americas. The more experienced may learn new things from the careful distinctions drawn here: for example between the origins and development of vice-admiralty's jurisdiction in instance cases (in Maryland, mostly seamen's wages and charter parties) as separate from that over prize (captured enemy ships in war), which was assumed at an early stage and confirmed by imperial statute in 1707. Both are distinct from the colonial courts' unique jurisdiction in trade (the Navigation Acts from 1696), and from courts of Oyer and Terminer hearing charges of piracy upon which vice admirals sat (1700), and from admiralty sessions which heard criminal charges back in England.

Concerning practice, the authors are sure guides to admiralty's sometimes arcane manifestations of nomenclature, forms of action, court procedures and forums for appeal. Readers may occasionally suspect that distinctions do not always signal differences, for instance whether vice-admiralty courts were established by the governor acting under his mandate from the High Court of Admiralty in London (which gave no jurisdiction in prize) or under his instructions as governor (which did); or whether appeals lay to the Privy Council or to the HCA. However, this

study emphasizes the big issues: the power of proceeding *in rem* rather than *in personam*, permitting the arrest of the vessel as security for the libellants' (plaintiffs') claims; speedy summary trial on written evidence; joinder (consolidation) of seamen's actions and their preferred claims on the proceeds of sale of the ship's assets.

Obvious gaps in these procedures were the inability of the parties to testify in person and the absence of a jury. Both reflected admiralty's wish to facilitate commerce. Critics of imperial policy on the eve of the American Revolution argued that these denied colonists their rights as free-born Englishmen. Yet the authors argue convincingly that such criticisms were really aimed at London's revenue raising policies especially after 1763. That admiralty in Maryland, and in other colonies, had proved popular and efficient was evident in the decision to perpetuate the jurisdiction and practice of the pre-war admiralty courts in the Constitution and in the Judiciary Act of 1789. The framers did add the options of *viva voce* testimony and a jury. But in fact, these had been pre-war features of admiralty practice in Maryland. Courts of vice admiralty, established in 1694, had not enjoyed an exclusive jurisdiction. For half a century the governor in council, and the common law courts, the Provincial and that of Oyer and Terminer, had adjudicated maritime causes, with or without a jury. Accordingly, we are reminded that to understand the law, we must see it in its historical context.

Among the strengths of this study is the care with which it clarifies the issue of what law was received in Maryland. First and notably, the colonists had a wider jurisdiction in admiralty than did England itself. The restrictions placed by parliament on the territorial and substantive reach of English admiralty in the late fourteenth century predated the arrival of English settlers in America and were of no force. Secondly, the common law courts in Maryland had their own way to make, whether against the Proprietor or London, and felt no compulsion as had the English common law courts, to restrict admiralty's jurisdiction. In addition the variety of courts — common law, civil, and occasional hybrid mixtures of the two — encouraged forum shopping and pragmatic practice. Yet another feature distinguished colonial from English admiralty. There were no Maryland practitioners trained in the tradition of

the civilian lawyers of Doctors' Commons (separate from the Inns of Court and the common law courts at Westminster). The absence of ecclesiastical courts in the Thirteen Colonies (admiralty in England falling, with priestly discipline and probate, under their jurisdiction), may have offered wider scope to local lawyers. In any case, they proved capable practitioners of admiralty whatever the forum or level of court.

Admiralty in Maryland was responsive to local needs. It worked, and its place in American jurisprudence then and now attests to the continuities of both jurisdiction and practice. Whatever the validity of Horowitz's contention in *The Transformation of American Law* (1977), that post-revolutionary America was distinguished by the transformation of the common law to meet the needs of an expanding commercial and entrepreneurial economy, there were no fundamental changes in admiralty. This was not surprising. For centuries admiralty's jurisdiction, practice and evidentiary norms had promoted economic and commercial efficiency. In seeking to achieve a broad and uniform jurisdiction in the nineteenth century, American common law embarked on a voyage which admiralty had already made.

Christopher English
St. John's, Newfoundland

Watkin Tench; Tim Flannery (ed. & intro.). *1788; Comprising A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1996. map, illustrations, table. AUS \$16.95, paper; ISBN 1-875847-27-8.

The early and troubled history of Australia holds great fascination. From the dramatic explorations of James Cook to the first European encounters with the Aborigines, from the convoluted Old World imaginings of lost continents to the harsh realities of convict settlements, the initial European forays to the South Pacific continent have shaped the identity and nationalism of Australia and, seemingly, have forever fixed an image of this far-flung outpost of the British Empire in the eyes of the world. Australia's early history benefits, in particular, from a powerful combination of the individual and the general, from an understanding of the role and perspectives of specific

people and groups and from an appreciation of the broad social and cultural context in which this society functioned.

Watkin Tench, a captain in the marines, was in his late 20s when he arrived in Botany Bay in 1788, a member of the famous First Fleet. Tench was very much a man of his age. He entered the marines when sixteen and was promptly dispatched to North America to battle against the upstart colonies, then engaged in rebellion against the British Crown. Several years after the American Revolution ended, and reduced to half pay, he applied for a spot on the fleet heading to Australia. He departed for Australia in 1787 and remained in the new colony until 1792. His military service continued after his return and included distinguished action during war with France in 1793-1793. Tench died in 1833.

That Watkin Tench remains a notable figure in early Australian history is due primarily to the publication of two small books, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay* (published in 1789) and *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson* (1793). Much excitement, and no small amount of worry, attended the dispatch of the First Fleet to Australia. Relatives of the transported criminals — many of them incarcerated for minor crimes — anxiously awaited news from the distant land. Government officials and business people wished to learn of the prospects for settlement and development in Australia. And the geographically and culturally curious — a large and active group in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — were desperate for word about this exotic colony, its mysterious wildlife and its unique indigenous population. Publishers were therefore anxious to rush first-hand accounts of the Botany Bay experience into print, knowing that a large and enthusiastic audience awaited.

The editor wisely lets Tench speak for himself. *1788* includes a brief introduction and the complete text of Tench's two small books. The material is annotated, with brief and helpful asides that explain otherwise obscure references (the editor explains that *1788* is not intended to supplant a more extensively annotated edition of Tench's writings, published by L.F. Fitzhardinge in 1961). A map from Tench's second book is reproduced but is unclear and difficult to read. The introduction is a model of brevity and conciseness, with a short overview of the marine's

life and career (little is known of Tench before or after his expedition to Australia and few personal records survive) and a short guide to the main themes of the two publications. Not surprisingly, given the primary granted Aborigine2newcomer relations in modern Australia, Flannery describes Tench's extensive relationships with the indige2 nous people and suggests how Tench's observa2 tions reveal the complexity, violence and misun2 derstanding that characterized cultural encounter in the early years of British settlement.

This is not a book about Tench's maritime adventures, and the voyage to Australia is given but a few, undramatic pages. The almost perfunctory account of the voyage, which includes traveler's comments on the Canary Islands and "the Brazils," masks the richness of what follows. The remainder of the first book, *A Narrative*, and the second volume, *A Complete Account*, offer detailed descriptions of the tenuous first British settlements in Australia. Watkin Tench was a creation of his time, and his language and descriptions carry the weight of British assumptions and the misunderstandings inherent in the adjustments to a new land. But his acute and humane narrative provides a remarkable window on the formative stages of Australian society. His books were intended to explain Australia to people living thousands of miles away. Quite deliberately he offered himself as the eyes of the British and provided descriptions and explanations that answered their most pressing questions. As an account of ocean travel to the South Pacific, 1788 has limited value; as a window on early British settlement in Australia, this book, assembled and introduced by Tim Flannery, is excellent.

Ken Coates
Saint John, New Brunswick

Douglas C. Meister, Sharon Pfeiffer and Brian VanDeMark (eds.); Jack Sweetman (ed.-in-chief). *New Interpretations in Naval History: Selected Papers from the Tenth Naval History Symposium*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1993. xix + 418 pp., figures. US \$35, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN I2 55750278221. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The publications of the various Naval History Symposia held every two years at the US Naval

Academy have long been a convenient way to keep abreast of new work. This volume brings together twenty-three of the more than fifty papers given at the 1991 Symposium. My most general observation on the collection is that the essays as a group reflect both the strengths and weaknesses of current naval history in the Canadian-American academic world. The need for spatial qualifier reflects the fact that sixteen of the papers were written by individuals currently working in the United States, three by scholars working in Canada, and only four by historians working outside those two nations (significantly, those written by non-North Americans are among the weakest in the book). In terms of subject matter, the spatial spread is slightly less concentrated: twelve of the essays focus primarily on the United States; four on Britain; and seven on the rest of the world (including one on Canada).

One of the strengths of naval history as it is written today is the ability of practitioners to tell the human side of the story; several of the papers reflect this. In "John Paul Jones and the Campaign of the Liman," James Bradford has unearthed new sources that allow him to reinterpret Jones' Russian campaigns, adding new dimensions to Jones' persona in the process. Clark Reynolds does the same in his piece on "Carl Vinson, Admiral John H. Towers, and the Creation of the Two2Ocean Navy," though readers interested in Towers might well want to consult his *Admiral John H. Towers: The Struggle for Naval Air Supremacy* (Annapolis, 1991).

Another of the field's strengths is the ability to link strategy and tactics. At its most myopic, of course, this can also be a weakness, but Joseph A. Moretz's essay on "Liddell Hart and Naval Warfare: The Missing Dimension" is an example of this sort of thing done well. Moretz argues convincingly that while Liddell Hart's ideas on strategy were generally sound, he was a techno2 logical illiterate. His failure to grasp either the potentials or weaknesses of technology weakened an otherwise brilliant set of principles.

Fortunately, few of the essays reflect one of the real weaknesses of naval history: a lack of concern for the larger context. Two that do, however, are Jeffrey G. Barlow's "The U.S. Navy's Fight against the Kamikazes" and Elbert B. Smith's "Men against the Sea: The Loss of the USS *Warrington*." Since I like much of Barlow's

work, I was somewhat surprised to read an essay that treated the US Navy as though it were unconnected to a larger society. Smith's study (like Paolo Coletta's on "Dirigibles in the U.S. Navy") is pure antiquarianism, telling us nothing significant about either the navy or American society.

Perhaps the most serious criticism levelled at naval history is its predilection to ignore larger issues that animate debate in the wider historical profession. Certainly a number of the essays in this book could be accused of this flaw. But what is especially encouraging is that several exemplify the approach practitioners must take if they are to improve their standing among historians. One is Paul C. Forage's impressive examination of "The Foundations of Chinese Naval Supremacy in the Twelfth Century," which situates Chinese technological superiority in the context of the society. Another is Mark Grimsley's "The Pirate and the State: Henry Morgan and Irregular Naval Warfare in the Early Modern World," which contrasts piratical behaviour with the policy goals of the British state. And a third is D'Ann Campbell's "Fighting with the Navy: The WAVES in World War II," which continues her lengthy string of publications on gender in the modern US Navy.

While space precludes a discussion of all the papers, on balance this is an encouraging collection. If most of the essays are fairly traditional naval history, some do extend their inquiries in exciting directions. I hope that future volumes will continue this promising trend.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

Rif Winfield (illus. John McKay). *The 50-Gun Ship*. London: Chatham Publishing, 1997. 128 pp., illustrations, photographs, tables, plans, cutaway drawings, appendices, notes, index. £30, Cdn \$69.95, cloth; ISBN 1-86176-025-6. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Ambiguity is the chief characteristic of 50-gun ships. Though they possessed two complete gun decks, they are usually thought to have been too small to serve as ships of the line. But during the late seventeenth century they were frequently the most numerous type of ship in any real line of

battle. Ambiguity characterized 50-gun ships another way. For though they became too small to fight in the line, they lacked the manoeuvrability and speed of frigates. Finally, there is ambiguity in this book's title for it really concerns the Royal Navy's warships known as fourth rates which rarely mounted fifty guns.

Rif Winfield has produced a valuable and stimulating study of this often ignored class of warships from the Age of Sail. Far from being a sort of freak or mutation lacking any clear purpose, he contends that the 50-gun ship or fourth rate occupied a special place in the evolution of wooden warships and contributed to the evolution of both the battleship and the frigate. Whether he presents a convincing case is perhaps less important than the bright light that he has cast on the development of this interesting type of warship.

Winfield traces the origins of the 50-gun ship to the frigates of the Commonwealth period. Originally possessed of a single, low-placed gundeck without a forecastle, the quarterdecks of these frigates were extended forward to turn them into two-decked vessels. They mounted forty guns, but some built with a broader beam carried forty-four guns and constituted a separate class of fourth rates that came to carry 24-pdrs on their gundeck and lighter guns above. Few new ships were built during the Restoration, but all had their ordnance increased. By 1688 they mounted fifty-four to sixty-four guns, and constituted the most numerous rate in the Royal Navy. The quarter century of warfare after 1689 marked the high water mark of the fourth rate, and though they fought in the line in major fleet actions, their inadequacy was soon revealed; many were lost. As naval warfare expanded overseas and French *guerre de course* forced the navy to escort convoys and cruise against privateers, the 50-gun ship ran into challenges that it could not well meet. Curiously the 1703 establishment of guns raised the 48-gun fourth rates to fifty-four guns, but lightened their ordnance from 24-pdrs and 8-pdrs to 12- and 6-pdrs, respectively. The navy spent the next half century gradually re-gunning these ships back up to their original weight of metal. It seems that fourth rates really did become strange under-gunned hybrids that were neither frigate nor cruiser. Though two-decker fourth rates remained in service until the end of the Napoleonic Wars, they seem to have lost their

purpose by the end of the War of the Austrian Succession which ended in October 1748, not a year later. [511

The text is so concerned with technical details and dates that the trees sometimes obscure the forest. Why the navy reduced the armament of fourth rates in 1703 and then spent the next half century increasing it is never satisfactorily explained. The emphasis on fleet actions leads to insufficient attention being paid to the numerous demands made on fourth rates during the first great period of Anglo-French warfare between 1689 and 1713. This reader wishes the author had devoted more attention to the many fourth rates that operated overseas in the West Indies, off the coast of Africa and in the Mediterranean, attacking enemy colonies, escorting sugar-laden merchantmen, protecting fisheries and fishing vessels, and cruising against privateers and pirates. What combination of strength and manoeuvrability yielded maximum operational efficiency at the lowest cost? Too much attention is paid to ships lost and captured rather than to their functions as the Admiralty conceived them. The problem seems to have been that small two-decked ships provided no real alternative to single-decked frigates. They could not carry their main armament with sufficient freeboard to use it in all conditions at sea. Is this why they were so lightly gunned after 1703?

The material is arranged in two parts of approximately equal length. The first deals with the development of the type, the second with the technical details of the ships themselves: The depth of detail is mind-numbing in places, but the publishers clearly know their market. They are to be congratulated for the high quality of the illustrations that grace nearly every page. Ship modelers will find an added bonus in John McKay's set of drawings of HMS *Leopard* (1790); plan, elevation, and lines (1/8 inch to 1 foot), together with mast and rigging plans are located in the end pocket. Perspective cutaway drawings of each deck showing the arrangement of the ship's internal features are in the text. This is a fine addition to the publisher's ShipShape series and a mine of information for anyone seeking details about the 50-gun ship.

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario

Denis Orde. *Nelson's Mediterranean Command: Concerning Pride, Preferment and Prize Money*. Bishop Auckland, Durham: Pentland Press, 1997. xv + 228 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. £15, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-493-9.

When I saw this book announced, and noting the name of the author, I presumed that it would be an apology for Admiral Sir John Orde, whose appearance in naval history is largely centred on two withdrawals, both in somewhat ignominious circumstances, from the seas off Cadiz to England and subsequent disgrace. While this element certainly forms a principal part in the book, the author, as befits a senior judge, and despite his family connection, has delivered a much more balanced appreciation of his ancestor's conduct, placed within the setting of the great events of the period 1798 to 1805 in which they occurred. As the sub-title suggests, the narrative, in attributing explanations of these curious proceedings, examines the personal relations between various senior officers, arising from the three factors therein mentioned. On the way, we are told of connections between various distinguished Northumbrians who were prominent at the time.

It must be made clear, however, that the title has to be taken as a whole. The book is not an account of Nelson's Mediterranean command, though the main events of it are covered, but of the effect of Nelson's two appointments i.e. in 1798 and in 1803 on relations between him and his contemporaries such as Orde, St. Vincent and others including the various First Lords of the Admiralty. On the first occasion, Nelson's selection to command the force in pursuit of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition was over the heads of both Orde and Parker, who were senior to him and felt much aggrieved. Added to some subsequent minor disputes, it led to Orde's being sent home by St. Vincent. Both were evidently difficult and tactless men. St. Vincent was reproved. Orde, when offered another command by way of consolation by Spencer, foolishly declined it. In 1804, when Nelson was already in command, Orde was selected to command a squadron with the task of blockading Cadiz when Spain entered the war, the part of the Mediterranean station west of the Straits of Gibraltar being placed under his command. Now it was Nelson's turn to be unhappy, for, he alleged, it was the most lucrative

area for prize money, and he regarded this change as directed against him, whereas obviously enough, the course of events required such an appointment, as Nelson was too remote. When the Toulon fleet appeared unexpectedly, en route for the West Indies, Orde quite properly withdrew to the Channel Fleet, but was subsequently criticised by historians. Having already asked to be relieved, he came ashore on anchoring at Spithead.

The result is an interesting account without the signs of axe-grindery which your reviewer had feared. While the author has evidently read widely, it is not clear how far he has used original sources, though in this period the number of printed documents is so great that the need for consulting originals is correspondingly less. However, it was disconcerting to find that Sir Julian Corbett's *The Campaign of Trafalgar* did not appear in the bibliography, as not only is that book the most thorough survey of the campaign, but Sir Julian was the first to show Sir John's 1805 withdrawal in a favourable light.

The main fault of the book is to explain too much in the wider world, leading to some excessively simplified accounts of say, the Seven Years' War, and discursive character sketches which, though useful, also divert attention from the main thread of the story. Some avoidable mistakes are made such as that Anson established the rating of ships in the Navy, and one notes an excessive number of mistaken spellings, of which "Boscowan" is perhaps the worst, while people are "on" ships, whose gender appears as neuter rather than feminine. The illustrations are reproduced as well as the quality of paper allows, and include portraits of the principal figures. The best which can be said of the bibliography is that there are better ways in which it could be organized to give references from the text. The latter are, however, numerous, though a few are inadequate, such as "Letter 185, Public Records [sic] Office."

Taken in all, the book is a useful contribution towards an understanding of two complex episodes; useful too as indicating the undercurrents of high command, while it justifies the proud, capable but tactless Sir John Orde.

A.W.H. Pearsall
London, England

Robert Malcomson (ed.). *Sailors of 1812: Memoirs and Letters of Naval Officers on Lake Ontario*. Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1997 [Fort Niagara State Park, P.O. Box 169, Youngstown, NY 14174-0169]. 96 pp., maps, illustrations by George Balbar. US \$7.95, Cdn \$10.97, paper; ISBN 02941967-19-0.

This is an affordable, entertaining and useful compilation of some of the diaries, letters and memoirs of four minor players in the War of 1812. Some of these documents can be found in print elsewhere, but in obscure places, and they are usually overlooked.

Bishop James Richardson, an authentic Upper Canadian hero whose notice, in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. X, makes only passing and cavalier reference to his brave and resourceful efforts as an officer in the Provincial Marine, provides the continuity for this collection. Complementing Richardson's narrative, which was written many years after the event, is some of the correspondence of Arthur Sinclair, a regular officer in the US Navy who constantly sought fame and never quite found it. He is best known for a less than glorious record in the footsteps of Oliver Hazard Perry on Lakes Erie and Huron. Despite overwhelming naval preponderance in 1814, he lost four vessels by the exploits of two enterprising young officers in the Royal Navy, Miller Worsley and Richard Dobbs. More importantly, he lost Mackinack to the British.

Bob Malcomson does not refer to these disasters in his introduction, presumably because the documents were selected to illustrate operations on Lake Ontario, yet the letters he chose tell us something of Sinclair's personality. He was evidently a devoted family man, delighting in the beauty of the lakes and their surroundings. Perhaps more than most of his contemporaries he often complained about his lot. He corroborates Richardson's account and offers fresh insights into the so-called Burlington Races of 1813. Whether Sinclair could have done any better than Chauncey we will never know. He certainly believed he could, though his later performance belies his self confidence.

Henry Kent's understated narrative about the 1814 march of seamen, from Saint John, New Brunswick to Kingston, Ontario in the dead of winter, is one of the most stirring accounts of

endurance and devotion to duty ever written. It first appeared in the *Naval Chronicle*, and Rear Admiral Hugh Pullen published it in the 1950s as an "Occasional Paper" of the Maritime Museum of Nova Scotia. That version, however, is out of print and difficult to find. We should be grateful to Malcomson for printing the account here.

Almost as an appendix to these narratives is an excerpt from the journal of Barzallai Pease of the US Army Transportation Service. It tells us something, but not enough, about the use of ships and seamen on the lakes by the US Army, a topic that deserves more attention by historians.

Malcomson set out to add to our understanding of operations in Lake Ontario. He uses his sources well to provide a framework for the documents, providing admirable explanatory notes. Would that the maps were equally informative; they could easily have replaced some of the rather romantic illustrations.

W.A.B. Douglas
Ottawa, Ontario

David Curtis Skaggs and Gerard T. Altoff. *A Signal Victory: The Lake Erie Campaign 1812-1813*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. x + 244 pp., maps, tables, illustrations, appendix, notes, glossary, bibliographic essay, index. US \$34.95, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-030-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The Battle of Lake Erie, also known as the Battle of Put-in-Bay, 1813, has long interested historians. It was the one instance in which a British fleet was captured in battle. It is also a remarkable episode in which "command of the sea" was acquired by battle, giving the victors great possibilities for campaigns on land that were not fully exploited. Fought in the continental Great Lakes heartland, the episode is the more remarkable, for virtually all war materials had to come from great distances, though the ships themselves were built locally. Similarly, officers and men had to come from hundreds if not thousands of miles away. If this was a ship-builders' war, then it was also one in which amphibious operations played a prominent role in follow-on campaigns. Indeed, in the run up to the 1813 battle, had amphibious operations been undertaken by forces of either side

(and the enemy's ships torched on the stocks, so to speak) no such fleet engagement would have been necessary. And had the British army assisted the small British naval forces on Lake Erie, and taken out the American squadron at Presque Isle (now Erie, Pennsylvania), no such battle should have occurred. The encounter is also of interest in that it involved two battle-experienced commanders: Barclay on the British side and Perry on the American. Their lives and experiences play an interesting additional theme to any study of the Battle of Lake Erie.

The authors concentrate on the battle itself, but with conspicuous care to the surrounding and related questions of strategy and logistics. They stress the error of American strategy: not attacking Montreal. In this they follow various after-war views. They also have a familiarity with how the British and Canadian forces had carefully nurtured the Indian alliance. They provide, for the first time, a thorough analysis of the material forces of the two sides in the Battle of Lake Erie, pointing out the hopeless nature of the British circumstances, especially the isolated nature of Barclay's command, limited as he was in support from Commodore Yeo on Lake Erie and from General Rottenburg on the central, Niagara front. Poor Barclay lost the war before he could begin it, though with true Nelsonian spirit. Indeed, he had to fight for he could not run away — at least one of his larger ships drew too much water to ease through the shallows of Lake St. Clair.

This fine book is based on an extensive knowledge of the primary sources and secondary literature of the subject. It is not likely to be surpassed in its even-handed treatment of the various matters handled. True, the style is mixed, as is common with jointly authored volumes, and the momentum of the narrative and analysis frequently stalls. It is a pity, too, that more illustrations about ships could not have been included, though there is a fine rogues' gallery. The book is heavily referenced, contains a brief bibliographical essay, and has a useful glossary of nautical terms. The book therefore advances the professional study of the naval War of 1812 on the Great Lakes and sets a fine model for what other battles might reveal. We can hope that the authors might turn their attention next to Lake Ontario, where the imperial stakes were equally high if not more so, but where no conclusive result in naval

ascendancy occurred. Perhaps they will turn to Lake Champlain. In my own research, on naval activities and amphibious waters in Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, realization has occurred that fighting such a war was a logistical nightmare for both sides. Skaggs and Altoff show how the Lake Erie campaign was vital to fortunes in the heartland, though campaigns both terrestrial and amphibious could work around the margins of American command of the sea recently acquired.

Barry Gough
Waterloo Ontario

Roger Morriss. *Cockburn and the British Navy in Transition: Admiral Sir George Cockburn 1772-1853*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press and Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997. xiv + 338 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. £35, US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85989-526-2 (UEP) or I-57003-253-X (USCP)

Until recently those interested in the early nineteenth-century Royal Navy depended on C.J. Bartlett's *Great Britain and Sea Power, 1815-253* and a scattering of journal articles. This neglected period has experienced a scholarly renaissance of late, primarily in the works of Andrew Lambert and David Brown, and we may now add Roger Morriss to that list. His subject, Admiral Sir George Cockburn, was an influential figure in this era but he had no serious modern study until now.

Morriss contends that Cockburn's reputation as a blinkered reactionary, resistant to technical innovation during his years as First Naval Lord, was the product of political hostility. As a Tory, Cockburn suffered greatly from later historians' Whig sympathies. Morriss maintains that Cockburn was as forward-looking as could be expected in an era of rapid technological developments, and was responsible for many crucial breakthroughs in the transition to a steam navy.

He served under Nelson in the Mediterranean in his early career, rising rapidly from 8th Lieutenant in 1793 to senior Captain in Nelson's squadron by 1795. Further meritorious service followed, including the capture of Martinique, a spell in India, and the Walcheren expedition. He is most remembered for his service in the War of 1812, where he was a driving force in the Chesapeake Bay operations under Cochrane, proving

himself a vigorous and courageous officer.

His cool and unflappable bearing led to a most delicate assignment, the transportation of Napoleon to St Helena and to serve as the island's Governor for the first phase of his exile. There was a battle of wills between the two, Napoleon insisting on imperial dignity and Cockburn refusing (on orders) to give him any more deference than was due a general. The time on St Helena was even more tense, as it was necessary to mount a discreet guard over Napoleon, without overly restricting his personal liberties. The fear of rescue attempts was so great that for a time all vessels were forbidden to call at the island.

Cockburn returned home in 1816, and began an almost uninterrupted (except for a spell in the 1830s) career at the Admiralty, eventually becoming First Sea Lord, until 1846. In many ways this is the most interesting part of the book because it deals with the crucial issues of the introduction of steam propulsion, iron ships, engineering officers, screw propellers, and the winding down of the beloved sailing navy. The hoary view that the Admiralty was too reactionary to adopt the new technologies was demolished years ago by Bartlett: with over a hundred wooden line of battle sailing ships, and over three hundred similar frigates, a huge advantage in skilled seamen, and no apparent rivals, only a complete idiot would have initiated a technological revolution in warships. However, as Morriss demonstrates, administrators like Cockburn kept a close eye on the new developments, formed high-powered committees to investigate changes, authorized experimental craft to test concepts, carried out numerous experiments with iron construction and shell guns, and were prepared to move ahead quickly when foreign competition made delay too risky. Ultimately, the Royal Navy did adopt steam, iron construction and shell guns, and it was by no means a last-minute panic response by frightened elderly admirals which produced this transition. Cockburn, as First Sea Lord, naturally exercised some due caution in rushing into new schemes, partly because the Admiralty was often deluged by proposals, many of the crackpot variety. In an age of massive cuts to naval budgets after the wars one had to choose the experimental projects with care. Cockburn's responsible management of slim resources, as well as the hostility of Whig historians and commentators, produced the for-

mer unflattering picture. In some ways he was his own worst enemy, because he disdained to defend himself against attacks in print, and seems not to have left much in his papers, so that the official records are almost all Morriss has to work on.

This is a very valuable book, and Cockburn will not likely need another biographer in our lifetimes. Morriss has tried to place Cockburn inside broader national history — a growing trend in naval writing — and to a large extent he succeeds. Certainly the navy's place in the politics of the day is made very clear. Morriss has a very firm knowledge of all the administrative practices of the day, and explains how things were decided and implemented without tedious detail. There are few errors, though Map 6 on the War of 1812 will surprise: Labrador is in New Brunswick, Newfoundland has drifted into Cape Breton, Quebec City has shifted to Montreal, and Montreal is nicely settled in Ontario, but they are close enough to be almost twin cities, and the State of West Virginia has miraculously appeared fifty years early. On page 185 it should be noted the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 opened public employment for Catholics as well as non-Anglican Protestants, and I am not sure it is right to refer to Puseyites (who were somewhat to the right of the Jesuits) as "nonconformists." These are small flaws in a very solid book, however, and there is no hesitation in recommending it to anyone as an excellent source for the Royal Navy in the Cockburn years.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario

Nathan Miller. *The US Navy: A History*. 3rd ed.; Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 324 pp., notes. US \$22.95, Cdn \$31.95, paper; ISBN 1-55750-595-0. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This survey history of the US Navy, first written in 1977, has now been revised for the second time by its venerable author, Nathan Miller. The only conceivable reason for releasing the book in its third incarnation is for use as a textbook. Its purpose, states Miller in his Preface, "is to provide the present generation with the story of the navy, its people and the role they played in the creation and protection of the United States. For

the most part, I have relied on the research and writings of others. In the text and in the notes, I have tried to acknowledge the debt I owe to those who have sailed these seas before, and if I have overlooked any, it is not by intention." This is all well and good. However, the book appears to do little beyond compiling the works of others. No original research appears to have been undertaken for this work. Most of the material is therefore standard fare; more attention to the personalities involved and thinking behind the scenes would have enhanced the value of the work considerably. As it is, the book is probably best suited for first-year students of naval or maritime history.

The book itself is arranged in eleven chapters, with the first half of the book devoted roughly to the period from the conception of the US Navy to the beginning of World War I. A few points of particular historical interest appear early in the book, such as the attention given to the period between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, an era little covered by historians to date. The various wars with Mexico are especially worthy of note. Also of interest is the account of the duel involving naval heroes Stephen Decatur and James Barron in 1820. Due to various intrigues, both "seconds" at the duel had a vested interest in seeing both parties dead. Both duelists were gravely wounded; Decatur later dying of his injury. The ensuing public outcry led to the prohibition of dueling between senior officers, though it was not banned outright until 1857.

Most of the book appears little changed from the first edition published in 1977. Indeed, the quotation by Admiral Sergei Gorshkov, then commander of the Soviet fleet, in the final sentence of the tenth chapter sounds anachronistic: "Sooner or later, the United States will have to understand it no longer has mastery of the seas." The final chapter appears to have been reworked twice for the second and third editions. The main justification for this third edition appears to be the desire to include treatment of two of the US military's most traumatic events in the past twenty years — the suicide bombing of the 24th Marine Amphibious Unit in Beirut in 1983 and the Gulf War of 1990-1991.

It is a shame that the extensive bibliography is buried within a twenty-seven-page section of notes, since a separate bibliography is an invaluable tool for those wishing to pursue further

research. It also seems a shame that no biographical sketch of the author is included; all we can learn from the book is that Miller is the author of ten other works to date, mostly concerned with American historical figures. Serious students of nautical history will recognize his name. For readers not so familiar with him, a brief biography would have been welcome.

Within these limitations, this remains a useful book for students or anyone interested in a general history of the US Navy.

David J. Shirlaw
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Jon Tetsuro Sumida. *Inventing Grand Strategy and Teaching Command: The Classic Works of Alfred Thayer Mahan Reconsidered*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Press, 1997. xix + 164 pp., bibliography, analytical index, general index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8018-5800-3.

We have heard the litanies before: "the Army has Clausewitz, the Navy has Mahan"; each is "often quoted, rarely understood." The credibility of Alfred Thayer Mahan would seem to be in tatters as the West celebrates victory in the Cold War by means other than the decisive naval battle which he espoused. But Jon Sumida has produced a study which advocates the continuing relevance of the American naval strategist. Comparing naval command to the arts of musical performance and of zen enlightenment, Sumida seeks nothing less than the rehabilitation of Mahan for the postmodern reader.

There are few better qualified to undertake this task. Sumida is a distinguished historian of the Royal Navy in the period 1889-1914. These were precisely the years when Mahan was producing his famous studies of the influence of sea power upon history and other lesser works, which in turn would influence the course of naval development for the next century. Virtually every subsequent analysis of Mahan — not to mention any pretender to Britain's legacy of command of the seas — has invoked the universal truths ascribed to him: that naval supremacy was the prerequisite to national greatness, and that the direction of naval operations according to certain strategic principles resulted in victory. Sumida's

view is that these generally accepted interpretations are, in a word, "wrong." [4]

This contention is bound to be controversial, but he has a point. We are reminded that Mahan did not undertake the *Influence of Sea Power* series as a strategist, but as an historian concerned for the declining professionalism of the American navy. He believed that constant and rapid mechanical innovation had upset planning and education to the detriment of command confidence and authority. "He feared the consequences of a navy led by indecisive men, bred by bureaucratic routine ... to follow rules or act politically." [24] That timeless insight, and others, Sumida argues, were lost when Mahan's publisher insisted upon the late addition to his first major book of an introductory chapter on "The Elements of Sea Power." This blatant marketing ploy, done solely to capitalize on the growing debate in the United States over the future of naval construction, has defined our perception of Mahan's writing ever since.

And what of that writing? Sumida examines Mahan's "Professional Purpose, Geopolitical Vision, and Historical Technique," then his "Political, Political-Economic, and Governmental Argument" and "Strategic and Professional Argument," exposing how they evolved over his career. Important shifts in Mahanian thought are revealed, not as the unimportant inconsistencies or contradictions contended by others, but rather as nuances on his central theme of adaptability as the essence of naval command. Conscious of the tendency of doctrine to interfere with the exercise of intelligent judgement, Mahan strove to convey a sound understanding of core principles of naval warfare — not a slavish adherence to them. The contemplation of contradictory lines of thought — as in musical performance or zen meditation — are signs not of inconsistency, but of complexity.

Sumida concludes that, while Mahan's works may be dated or are incomplete in their analysis, they remain "a source of provocative methodological suggestion and a worthy subject of serious philosophical discussion." [116] To prove the point, he ends with the tantalizing proposition that the rise of US naval mastery, conventionally interpreted as having been at the expense of that of Britain, reveals a continuum of Great Power cooperative action when seen through the Mahanian concept of a transnational consortium.

Along the way, we are treated to equally refreshing reviews of Mahan's thoughts on the education of officers, ship design, naval administration, and the complexity of sea warfare — all subjects of continuing interest to sea officers.

This is an important book. If only in making the preeminent American naval historian-strategist relevant for the coming century, Sumida has accomplished his purpose. For those who think they knew Mahan, this volume is a useful rejoinder. Far from resolving the debate over Mahan and his influence on history, it is likely to renew it. And if it encourages a new generation of naval practitioners to give Mahan a read, all the better.

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Richard Brooks. *Fred T Jane: An Eccentric Visionary*. Coulsdon, Surrey: Jane's Information Group, 1997. xii + 260 pp., illustrated, bibliography, index. £26, cloth; ISBN 02170621751-8.

Fred T. Jane; (intro. Anthony Preston). *The British Battle-Fleet. Its Inception and Growth throughout the Centuries*. London, 1912; "Conway Classics" reprint; London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997. xvi + 406 pp., photoplates (b+w, colour), figures, maps, tables, index. £15, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-723-6. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Fred T. Jane, who gave his name to the famous reference book, has long required a biography. Richard Brooks' study places him into context, as a leading naval journalist of his day.

Born in 1865, Jane spent his early life in Exeter, where he learned to draw. Moving to London in 1885 he worked as an illustrator; by 1890 he was reporting on naval manoeuvres. Both his art and his writing reflected boundless enthusiasm, initially for torpedo craft, but ultimately for all aspects of naval life. In 1895 he wrote *Blake of the 'Rattlesnake'* a future-war book based on real officers and ships. It set a pattern. Jane had a powerful imagination; there were more ideas in any one of his novels than half a dozen books by other authors, but he rarely developed them, and as Brooks observes, "the whole does not live up to the promise of strong beginning." After dabbling in science fiction Jane

drew and tabulated every warship afloat for his annual *All the World's Fighting Ships* in 1897. He had found a formula to exploit the "New Navalism" of the 1890s, and the contemporary mania for technical detail. The linked "Naval War Game" was developed with the assistance of leading British officers, including Henry May and Prince Louis of Battenberg.

Jane moved to Portsmouth, where he developed a unique rapport with the Royal Navy, and some of the foreign navies that frequented the harbour. He wrote *The Imperial Russian Navy* in 1898, after a Russian Grand Duke had invited him to tour ships and bases in the Black Sea and Baltic. This success led to a Japanese invitation to write a similar study. While the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 helped sales, it divided his loyalties. Ultimately his concern with the "yellow-peril," with Chinese manpower mobilised and led by Japan, led him to argue that Russia was "fighting Europe's battle."

Despite his financial success and international reputation, Jane had no quantifiable influence on British naval policy. Brooks suggests this reflected class prejudice, although he admits that the service did not take any civilians seriously. More likely it was Jane's refusal to fall in with the cycle of panic and alarm that propelled naval policy through the Edwardian era. He had no time for the bleatings of the Navy League, and although generally supportive of Fisher, was always prepared to criticise. Jane shared many of Fisher's enthusiasms, notably speed, anticipating the battle-cruiser in 1902. Despite this he preferred Lord Charles Beresford, an aristocrat with a common touch, to the secretive Fisher. In his most significant book, *Heresies of Seapower* (1906), Jane attacked the prevailing Mahanian "blue-water" orthodoxy as over-complex and unduly historical. His interest in the conditions on the lower deck developed into the Social Darwinist concept of "Fitness-to-Win." Once again there were ideas to spare, but few of them were sufficiently worked through to satisfy an audience predisposed to criticise. The most significant theme, the critical importance of bases in steam age naval warfare, reflected nineteenth-century experience, and predicted the twentieth century better than any other naval strategic thinker of the era. As Brooks demonstrates, the failure to synthesise his thought was a reflection of the numerous calls

on his time; he continued to edit *Fighting Ships*, began writing a weekly newspaper column, took up motoring (using an eight2litre Mercedes racing car!), founded *All the World's Airships*, stood for Parliament and joined the Scout Movement.

His 1912 study, *The British Battlefleet*, reprinted in 1915 and reproduced, without W.L. Wylie's colour illustrations, in 1990, has now appeared with the colour plates. Although it was Jane's last book, it was not his best. He hoped his basic theme, how ship design reflected the naval usage, would remove the "poetry" from naval history. He used the example of Sir Robert Seppings' inspection of the shattered bow of the *Victory* after Trafalgar, arguing that the round bow was a response to Nelson's tactical revolution. Having adopted an original approach to the subject, Jane failed to develop this argument. The book is a conflation of half-read history, technical summaries of ships, many of which he did not understand, and a catalogue of errors. However, he did stress that the prime function of British naval power had always been deterrence, citing Raleigh, and attributing the peace of the last two decades to the fleet built by Sir William White. Despite a useful reading list, he had not mastered the subject, confusing Lord Hood first with Lord Howe, and then with his brother Lord Bridport. Once he reached the technical developments and operations of the ironclad era, Jane's grasp improved. He recognised the importance of bases and offensive operations on the littoral, themes outlined in *Heresies*, but did not develop their tactical or technical implications. He relied too heavily on a few texts — H.W. Wilson, Nathaniel Barnaby and in particular Edward Reed. The period after 1882 is warped by hero-worship of Beresford. His discussion of the torpedo gunboat exploited personal experience of the 1891 exercises to demonstrate their role in blockading French torpedo boat bases. He also recognised that changing the naval enemy from France to Germany forced a complete redesign of contemporary destroyers. His technical interests ensured that he was less critical of Fisher than other Conservative naval writers. However, he linked the *Dreadnought* with Cuniberti's ideas, published in *Fighting Ships*, when Fisher's concept was actually quite different. Like Fisher he believed the torpedo had doomed linear tactics, and gave aircraft, airships and submarines a promi-

nent place. Jane approved of the battle-cruiser, and recognised the trend towards smaller numbers of larger and faster capital ships, used in tactically flexible units, supported by flotilla craft. Despite his familiarity with the "real" navy he repeated Fisher's claims about speed and armour, notably the mythical 31.7 knots achieved by *Lion*: perhaps he understood the deterrent value of lies! Then he claimed that during the 1911 Agadir Crisis there was not enough coal for the Navy to go to war, a situation rectified by 1912. Jane concluded with the "Fitness-to-Win" concept of 1906. The key to success was having the right ships for the job, and crews welded together by hard discipline. The last was of such pre-eminent importance that it should give *all* reformers pause before they altered any aspect of the service.

While *The British Battlefleet* is not Jane's best work — the Russian book is more useful, while *Heresies* has lasting merit — there is little question that it has been the most influential. Later writers, notably Oscar Parkes, repeated his opinions, re-used his drawings and ensured that his errors were perpetuated. Jane's attempt to write a naval history that examined the interrelationship between tactics, strategy and ship design was ambitious, but badly delivered. Jane was too busy to do the job properly. By 1912 Jane's currency as a journalist was declining. Increasingly aware that modern war would not conform to the simplistic expectations of the nation, and most of the navy, he hoped that the Arms Race would satisfy its real object, deterring conflict. He was surprised when war broke out in 1914, probably because the conflict had nothing to do with Anglo-German issues. Although the war revived his journalistic career his message was too darkly realistic for an audience that expected a new Trafalgar or Tsushima. He spent much of his time defending the Admiralty, and explaining that in apparently doing nothing the navy was winning the war. It was a difficult message to get across, and in his efforts he pushed himself too hard, enduring long drives in an open car that brought on influenza and then heart failure. He died in March 1916, aged 50.

A man of astonishing energy, lively humour and boundless enthusiasm, Jane had a talent for taking pains with details, but rarely the time to think through the ideas that his original mind generated. Brooks' biography will be required

reading for those interested in Jane, and the years between the Naval Defence Act and the Battle of Jutland. Jane deserves to be remembered as an unusual, original journalist with the talent to spot a gap in the market, the ability to fill it, and the foresight to ensure that his annuals survived his untimely death.

Andrew Lambert
London, England

Ian Sturton (ed.). *All the World's Battleships: 1906 to the Present*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997. 190 pp., photographs, figures, tables, index. £15, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-691-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is a compact inexpensive reference book overflowing with facts and details of all the Dreadnought type ships of fifteen countries, including the Netherlands that planned but never built a Dreadnought. The national sections, written by such scholars as Norman Friedman (United States, Japan 1906-22) and Antony Preston, (Great Britain), are arranged alphabetically. Within these chapters, each design and class is discussed separately in chronological order.

A book such as this cannot be all things for all people, and for economy and space, sacrifices must be made. The writing throughout is clipped, sometimes at the expense of clarity. Re-reading to catch the meaning is occasionally necessary. Abbreviations abound. "BU" is self-evident ("broken up") but the description of German *Kaiser-class* main mountings as DrhLC/1909 escaped this reviewer. To say that it was similar to C/1909 does not help. The lack of a glossary to explain these abbreviations and the widespread use of technical terms without explanation, means that this is a book for the expert and the buff. There is little analysis, though it cannot reasonably be expected. Preston had only fifty pages whereas Parkes in his *British Battleships* devoted over two hundred pages to the same period. The editor makes no attempt to bring together parallel or sequential developments of different countries. The lack of references or a bibliography will annoy researchers who want to pursue something.

Against these shortcomings there are some noteworthy strengths. The book is richly illus-

trated. Every ship described, whether it never got off the drawing board or was altered several times, has at least one scaled lines drawing. Those classes of ships that survived the 1922 Washington Treaty frequently have a lines drawing for each modernization. The photographs are excellent. Many are full and even double page spreads. Features, such as torpedo bulges, pagoda style bridges, and tripod and lattice masts are all clearly illustrated. Each design is accompanied with a standard format table enumerating displacement, dimensions, machinery, armour, armament, and complement. If an order for construction was placed, then a second table listing each ship by name provides the builder, dates laid down, launched and completed, and the "fate." This book fills a niche. Like a *Jane's*, it brings together all the countries that had Dreadnought type ships. But it expands on *Jane's* with the inclusion of proposed designs. This adds an important dimension to discussion of naval arms races and national security concerns. A brief description of the life and/or fate of each class offers an historical component missing from the annuals.

The book also provides a basis for commentary. The tabular entries under "fate" emphasizes how transitory these behemoths were. A brief sixteen years spanned the commissioning of HMS *Dreadnought* to the Washington limitation treaty. The German fleet did not survive, and many of the other ships were "BU." The increased vulnerability to submarine and air attack of those that survived made them expensive assets to use in World War II. The photographs also suggest ideas. The World War I photographs of the British and German ships show a noticeably lower standard of ship's husbandry in the German fleet. As most of the photographs are dated, and this observation is based on pictures of 1917 and 1918, can they be used as evidence of deteriorating conditions? The fate of all these ships, easily available in a single volume, may also be a starting point for reflection on the Washington treaty and arms limitation.

This is a useful reference book for those interested in the specialty. It should be attractive for many reasons, not the least of which is its comparatively modest price.

William Glover
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Tristan Jones. *Heart of Oak*. St. Martin's Press, 1984; Dobbs Ferry, NY: Sheridan Press, 1997. 283 pp., glossary. Cdn \$19.95, paper; ISBN 1-57409-019-4. Distributed in Canada by Nimbus Publishing, Halifax.

Heart of Oak is an uninhibited description of one man's experiences of life in the lower deck of the Royal Navy during World War II. Conversations are recorded as faithfully as possible as are songs as they were sung. There is a glossary of naval terms, many of which were used but have not been recorded elsewhere. To avoid embarrassment of persons still alive some names of people and ships have been altered.

Tristan Jones went to sea at the age of fourteen as a deck boy in a coastal sailing ketch out of Wales. In 1940, aged sixteen, he joined the Royal Navy as a Boy Seaman and went off for ten months' basic training at HMS *Ganges*, a Boys' Training Establishment at Shotley near Harwich. The training was intense and those who survived were likely to become splendid young seamen.

Jones' first ship was an Armed Merchant Cruiser fitting out in Southampton. Soon completed, she was mid-Atlantic escorting a convoy bound for Canada when a boiler room fire broke out. The fire spread and the ship began to sink. In high seas the crew had to jump on to the plunging deck of the rescuing destroyer. After survivor's leave Jones was drafted to an older destroyer built in 1917 — another interesting experience. She was a screening destroyer with the forces seeking *Bismarck* and *Prinz Eugen* as the German warships broke out into the Atlantic. Jones related witnessing the destruction of HMS *Hood* and, a few days later, of *Bismarck* under the guns of the Home Fleet. Later in that summer of 1941, he had the more pleasant experience of seeing Prime Minister Churchill in HMS *Prince of Wales* bound for his historic meeting with President Roosevelt. In late 1941 Britain began sending supplies to Russia via convoys through the Barents Sea. On a bloody passage to Murmansk eleven merchantmen were sunk and on the return trip Jones' destroyer was torpedoed and sank. Survivors were picked up quickly by another destroyer, transferred to a merchantman, almost immediately sunk by a bomb down the funnel, and rescued again by the same destroyer.

Jones' next ship, an O-class destroyer,

formed part of the escort for Convoy PQ 17. For fear of destruction by *Tirpitz*, Admiralty ordered the convoy to scatter. Twenty-four out of thirty-seven merchantmen were sunk while the escort withdrew to safer waters. Late in 1942, when screening JW51B, the escorts drove off the *Admiral Hipper*, *Lutzow* and six destroyers before the convoy arrived safely in Murmansk. The last operation in which Jones was present was the destruction of *Schamhorst* in 1943. When his ship was on her way to the invasion of Normandy Jones was drafted to service in the Far East. He completed his twelve-year engagement in 1952.

The main value of *Heart of Oak* lies in the descriptive detail. Daily life in Britain between 1940 and 1944, air raids, railway travel, rationing, sex, the Yanks, profiteering, class distinction and so on, are all starkly portrayed. Life in the Boys' Training Establishment is related in painful detail, including the view from the masthead. Some might blush to recall the style of amusing and foul language and ribald song. Some might be reminded of the picturesque blasts delivered by Chief and Petty Officers. The word pictures of the fittings and conditions of old and new destroyers, to the last rivet and messtraps, would be difficult to improve. With regard to the battle experiences, it can be said that many officers and men in the Royal Navy could have been present for all such events. Based on my own experiences, *Heart of Oak* is a valuable record for posterity.

L.B. Jenson
Queensland, Nova Scotia

Alfred E. Deeble. *Three Tiffies and a Sweeper*. Bishop Auckland, Durham: Pentland Press, 1997. xv + 145 pp., photographs. £15, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-520-X.

The first factual histories to appear after World War II tended to be written by captains and generals. Then came the "official" histories and assessments, followed in turn by the exposés of clay feet and errors by so-called armchair quarterbacks. It is mostly in recent years that the lower echelons of the combatants, now retired from time-consuming employment, are producing their personal memoirs. This slim book is one of this genre, written by a wartime engine room artificer or "tiffie." Such books can usefully fill in minor

gaps in the pictures of naval warfare and history.

Despite its title, there is very little about mine-sweepers or engine room operations in Deeble's tale, in his case that of a Canadian-built Algerine-class fleet sweeper. He takes us through his joining routine and, sketchily, his time in a training cruiser. Then there is an extended description of his June 1943 trip with three mates to Toronto to pick up HMS *Clinton*. (There are no dates in this tale, so it is a bit difficult to determine when events occur.) We get rather long descriptions of his leaves, a visit to Detroit to visit an aunt, and even side employment in the shipyard to augment his meagre ERA's RN pay.

Not until page 106, when his ship puts to sea on operational training, do we have the opportunity to follow his duties in the ship's engineering department. As it is, *Clinton* only lasts until mid-October 1944 before being heavily damaged by a mine when sweeping at Piraeus, Greece. After temporary repairs she steamed to Malta, where Deeble left her, the last of the three `tiffies who had joined in Toronto.

There is some useful stuff here for anyone with an interest in the lives of those "around the engine," as Churchill termed them. The author adopts the unusual style of writing in the third person — he is "Ted" throughout, so one gets a somewhat detached view of his reactions ashore, and of his relationships, not always harmonious, afloat with his mates. I found this a bit ingenuous, as though we were sharing a minor, unnecessary secret. There are a few very small errors — *Stormcock*'s theoretical crew from Kipling's poem of the sweepers of World War I would be hurt at their omission from his quotation! Yet the errors are fewer in number than in that other and similar ERA's story, *Tubal Cain* (Lewes, 1986). In short, this is a slim but useful addition.

Fraser McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Ian Hay. *Singapore Repulsed: The Battle Cruiser Repulse*. Bishop Auckland, Durham: Pentland Press, 1997. 230 pp., photographs, appendices. £13.50, paper; ISBN 1-85821-542-0.

The loss of Force Z, battleship *Prince of Wales* and battlecruiser *Repulse*, was one of the great tragedies of World War II. Ordinary Seaman Ian

Hay, of HMS *Repulse*, has written a first-person account of the sinking, and it was with great anticipation that I opened the book. Although the disaster is narrated as advertised, overall this volume proved to be disappointing.

It begins simply enough, touching on Hay's early life in Glasgow and his training as a boy seaman in HMS *Ganges*. This part of the book provides lots of colour, with numerous little vignettes that open a window on a way of life now gone by — stories of boat and sail drill, climbing the mast, swimming lessons, and (not surprisingly!) food. It makes for interesting and entertaining reading. Thrown in, almost randomly, is a peculiar account of a murder onboard HMS *Dorsetshire*, supposedly recounted in latter years by a retired admiral.

The real meat begins when Hay joins *Repulse* immediately pre-war. The pages offer snapshots of life as a sailor in a Royal Navy capital ship — the author's anecdotes are the best part of the book. Particularly good is Chapter Eleven, "Arctic Patrol," which gives a real feeling for what it was like as part of the crew of a 15-inch gun turret. Unfortunately, this is marred by some of the many errors strewn throughout — the USS *Missouri* is a battleship, not a battlecruiser, it was her sister *Iowa* which suffered the explosion in her turret ('B,' not 'A'), and it did not occur off the coast of Lebanon. [77] There are numerous such errors, all of which should have been caught: Hurricane fighters were not "updated versions" of Spitfires [89]; HMS *Hood* did not encounter the *Bismarck* before the 18th Cruiser Squadron [100]; Admiral Lütjens of the German Navy was not involved in the "Channel Dash" which, moreover, occurred after his death in the *Bismarck* [102]; and he has confused the Battle of the Coral Sea (May 1942) with the Battle of the Java Sea in which the destroyer HMS *Electra* was sunk. [184] More subtle is the way in which Hay — perhaps through a too-liberal application of artistic license — makes it seem as though HMS *Repulse* was actually in action against the *Bismarck*, and while it makes a fine depiction of the patriotism of her crew, it is highly doubtful that *Repulse* would have been of much use in a one-on-one duel against the German battleship. [107] These mistakes make it difficult to trust the accuracy of the book. The narration itself tends to be disjointed and sometimes difficult to follow.

Hay's account of the sinking of *Repulse* is adequate, albeit somewhat scattered, and does bring home the bravery that occurred amidst the shambles. Although the book's cover hints at controversy, the author is in accord with others who blame the Admiralty and Churchill for sending Force Z out without the carrier *Indomitable*, and he does not censure the force commander, Admiral Philips, for proceeding without fighter cover. Also justified is his belief that Singapore should not have fallen so rapidly, and that the senior officers should not have fled.

Ian Hay is a man rightly proud of his time spent in a great service, and his generation made great sacrifices in the cause of freedom. It is therefore unpleasant for this reviewer to be unable to recommend his book: there are simply too many flaws for it to be a useful source on the loss of HM Ships *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales*.

William Schleihauf
Pierrefonds, Québec

Charles Furey. *Going Back: A Navy Airman in the Pacific War*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. ix + 230 pp., photographs. US \$32.95, Cdn \$45.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-278-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The 1990s, with its numerous significant and tragic golden anniversaries, have brought forth many new accounts of the greatest conflict humankind has ever had to endure. Indeed, many find it quite ironic that the public interest in World War II seems unquenchable even as the generation that fought in and survived that stunning conflagration dies away daily. Fortunately for those of us who were born after 1945 but who remain fascinated by that ever distant war, many of those who went to battle between 1939 and 1945 have sought to keep their experiences alive in memoirs, some doing so more successfully than others.

Among the successes must be included Charles Furey's *Going Back: A Navy Airman in the Pacific War*. The dustjacket asserts that the author began this book while attending a writing class at the College of the Redwoods in 1995. Given the quality of Furey's writing style and the emotional wallop of his engaging story, one could

only wish he had begun his writing career at a much earlier date. Beginning with a highly evocative chapter of his childhood days in a Catholic school in Philadelphia in the 1930s, Furey successfully evokes a lost time of boyish innocence, an innocence he would soon lose when he was inducted into the US Navy in August 1942 while still a teenager. Trained as an airman and radio-man, the young recruit found himself languishing in a series of posts state-side while the war seemed to pass him by. But by early 1944, Furey and the rest of his bomber reconnaissance crew were in the South Pacific, conducting long-range patrols over the not-always-so-tranquil waters of the vast Pacific Ocean.

For those who prefer the "drum and trumpet" school of military history, Furey's account offers relatively little "real" excitement. His brief career at the front amounted mostly to long and boring patrols, enduring bad food and worse living conditions, and tedious military duties. He does, however, include numerous funny anecdotes, particularly amusing, for instance, is his account of how he, having never had a driver's license, had to learn to drive an army truck at night while relaying increasingly alarmed flight crews to their waiting aircraft; one easily assumes that those crewmen probably viewed their missions as far less dangerous than the ride provided by airman Furey. His own crew, though, had two "high" moments. While based at New Guinea, the plane bombed and strafed a submarine caught on the surface, only to discover upon its return to base that the craft, luckily undamaged, had been American. Then, just a few weeks later, that mistake is forgotten when Furey and his mates surprise and shoot down a Betty, a small Japanese bomber near Los Negros.

The emotional core of the book, however, lies in its description of the aftermath of a short plane ride in May 1944. That ride, ending tragically at the end of an island runway, killed three of Furey's crew mates and left him horribly burned and battered. From then until his release from the navy in September 1945, Furey's war consisted of moves to various hospitals in Australia and the United States, and numerous, and ultimately successful, skin graft operations.

If one longs for descriptions of battle and blood, then *Going Back: A Navy Airman in the Pacific War* likely is not for you. If, however,

your taste runs to an intensely humanistic account of one man's lonely war, then this very fine book fits the bill. It was a great pleasure to read.

Galen Roger Perras
Calgary, Alberta

Eric Lacroix and Linton Well II. *Japanese Cruisers of the Pacific War*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xiii + 882 pp., figures, photographs, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$75, Cdn \$105, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-3H23. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

In the tradition of Siegfried Breyer, Antony Preston, and Roger Friedman, Lacroix and Wells have given us a noteworthy addition to the library of naval reference books. The volume is brimming with graphics and technical details about the design, construction, and service careers of the roughly five dozen cruisers built, converted, or planned by the Imperial Japanese Navy in the twentieth century. But to depict *Japanese Cruisers of the Pacific War* as simply one more compilation of research data, useful though that might be for many scholars and aficionados of the Pacific war, is to understate its utility for all students of the Japanese naval effort in World War II. What we have is a virtual history of the Imperial Japanese Navy's surface forces from their conceptualization of strategy in the early years of the century through the inglorious dénouement of August 1945.

One example should suffice to illustrate the depth of coverage offered by the authors. In the authoritative *Warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1869-1945*, by Hansgeorg Jentschura, Dieter Jung, and Peter Mickel (Naval Institute Press, 1970, 1982), the *Mogami*, a typical heavy cruiser, draws less than a page of text, figures, and drawings, but Lacroix and Wells devote more than fifteen pages to the vessel, plus dozens of photographs and drawings and numerous listings in assorted statistical tables. And this is only the space Lacroix and Wells set aside for the *Mogami* herself; the entire story of the *Mogami-class* vessels covers fully sixty-eight pages. Admittedly comparisons with Jentschura are of limited value because the avowed scope of that work differs from the volume under consideration here, but

even so the incredible comprehensiveness of the latter is striking. For every cruiser class, there are background narratives of each building program, construction and engineering notes, service histories, and in-depth studies of hull characteristics, armor schemes, armament, fire-control installations, propulsion and machinery, and habitability.

So, whether you wish to know the propeller shaft dimensions, torpedo fire control particulars, or stability data for your favorite Japanese cruiser of World War II, you will find it in this handsome volume, published with the usual high production values of the Naval Institute Press. Such exhaustive coverage might seem to limit the book's appeal to the antiquarian, but in fact it serves to provide a comprehensive history of Japanese naval engineering and strategic thinking for the bulk of the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, by reading selectively, one can trace the history of boiler design, ordnance development, tactical theory, or any of a variety of other facets of the Imperial Japanese Navy in the decades before and during World War II. It is hard to imagine any research topic on the Japanese navy in this era that would not profit from a consultation with this volume.

The authors have used sources that include extant official Japanese documents, postwar US studies, and numerous memoirs or other postwar publications of the Japanese principals. This is, however, more reflective of the state of the source material than any weakness in the authors' research effort, which was an extensive journey through myriad primary and secondary materials over the course of many years. Some recently declassified cryptanalytic series, such as the Japanese Water Transport Messages, might have been explored, though it is unlikely that the relevant material in such collections would have added or altered much of the final product. Another possible criticism is that the book neglects the Imperial Japanese Navy's numerous auxiliary cruisers, i.e., commandeered and converted merchantmen, but possibly the authors felt that, at nearly nine hundred pages, the book was already crowding reasonable length and cost parameters.

The minor reservations notwithstanding, these "amateur" historians have spent years producing a massive tome that meets the finest standards of the profession. The great efforts

expended in the process reveal that this prodigious technical compendium is in fact a monumental labor of love.

Mark P. Parillo
Manhattan, Kansas

Roger Dingman. *Ghost of War: The Sinking of the Awa Maru and Japanese-American Relations, 1945-1995*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xiii + 373 pp., photographs, map, notes, bibliography, index. US \$35, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN 1255750-159-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

For over twenty years Professor Dingman has explored various aspects of East Asian history with an undiminished enthusiasm and persistence that has led to over fifty international articles and several seminal monographs. His *Power in the Pacific* (Chicago, 1976) remains the standard work on the Washington Conference. His latest book, *Ghost of War*, is likely to be seen as an equivalent text for the tragic *Awa Maru* episode. All the usual elements of Dingman's scholarly endeavours — meticulous research, shrewd analysis and balanced and candid conclusions — are found in this most absorbing study of the long-term consequences of what the author calls the greatest submarine error of World War II, namely, the torpedoing and destruction of the Japanese passenger-cargo vessel (*Awa Maru*) by the US submarine *Queenfish* (SS 393) in April 1945. Sadly, the *Awa Maru*, which had been sailing under a guarantee of safe passage provided by the Americans and was marked with large white crosses along her sides, sank sixty metres to the bottom of the Taiwan Straits a few miles off the south east coast of China, taking more than two thousand men, women and children with her. Only one man from this entire vessel, Shimoda Kantaro, was plucked from the sea to safety by the crew of the *Queenfish*.

Dingman sets about reconstructing the events of that most fateful and dramatic of occasions with commendable zeal and authority. His linguistic fluency is matched by his writing style which, although eschewing hyperbole, has a tempo and vivacity about it that carries the reader eagerly forward from one ill-starred coincidence to the next. This is yet another example of the old

maxim that nothing is quite as simple as it may at first seem. Apart from learning why the captain and crew of the *Queenfish* were blissfully and negligently unaware of the identity of the *Awa Maru* before she was torpedoed, the reader is made aware of the disturbing fact that the Japanese High Command had to some extent compromised the humanitarian aspect of the voyage of the *Awa Maru* (she had been carrying food and medicine to American and Allied prisoners of war) by loading contraband goods (rubber and tin ingots amongst other items) aboard her. This did not explain why the *Queenfish* sank her on that dark and sinister night but it certainly provided ammunition for those in American naval circles who wished to provide retrospective justification for doing so. Whether two wrongs made a right, however, scarcely seemed to matter to those who wished to whitewash the guilt of the accused.

It would be extremely difficult to sustain the pace and drama that is so evident in the first five chapters of *Ghost of War* for the rest of the book and not surprisingly perhaps the two chapters devoted to the diplomatic exchanges between the Americans and the Japanese in the post-war Occupation period are much less vivid than those which preceded them. Nonetheless, they too have the Dingman stamp of authority on them.

Two further chapters demonstrate very starkly how the two sides in this tragedy depicted the destruction of the *Awa Maru* in books and films or remembered it in institutional activities and/or devotional shrines. Interestingly, while extolling the virtues and heroic qualities of their submariners, the Americans have said relatively little about the fate of the *Awa Maru*, preferring to dwell on the "kills" that eliminated legitimate targets rather than exposing the sad truth that accidents or worse do happen in wartime. For their part the relatives of those that died on board the *Awa Maru*, and the Japanese writers and historians who took up their case, had no doubt who were the victims of human error or malicious intent and official connivance and disinterest in this case.

Dingman rounds off his study with two chapters on the salvage operations that various people sought unsuccessfully to mount before the Chinese government announced in March 1979 that the wreck had been found. In due course the Chinese would return what had been found of those who had perished that night in April 1945

to the Japanese authorities so that the hungry ghosts of the *Awa Maru* might finally be interred in their homeland.

Ghost of War is an admirable book by a superb historian. In this case the promotional literature is accurate — it is a compelling story and powerfully told.

Malcolm H. Murfett
Kent Ridge, Singapore

Dennis J. Cummings. *The Men Behind the Trident: SEAL Team One in Vietnam*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xvi + 270 pp., photographs, glossary. US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-139-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

For those interested in the day-to-day activities and training of a highly trained group of US Navy commandos active in Vietnam, 1963-1972, this book will be hard to put down. The verbatim reporting of interviews with twenty of the former SEALs should interest them very much. Most readers, however, will be disappointed.

Members of SEAL (US Navy Sea-Air-Land commandos) units all underwent rigorous Underwater Demolition Team training (UDT) before being selected for further extensive training in schools operated by the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. Whereas UDT activities were confined primarily to underwater sorties against enemy ships "in the middle of the night and get away undetected," SEAL missions included the "destroying of shipping, bridges, railway lines and other facilities in maritime and riverine elements." Their major task was the gathering of intelligence and information about the enemy, the Viet Cong, in the Rung Sat Special Zone and the Mekong Delta and other areas. Operations were clandestine and carried out in outmost secrecy. When in contact with the enemy they always tried to capture rather than kill so that prisoners could be interrogated by US Navy Intelligence. As one respondent explained, they primarily followed "sneak and peek" tactics, a reflection of the SEAL training which featured weapons handling, patrolling and insertion/extraction techniques. Another important SEAL task was the training of LDNN (Lien Doi Nguoi Nhai), Vietnamese SEALs as well as working with the Hoi Chanhs, (Viet Cong

who had surrendered and were prepared to fight against their former comrades).

While all of this as told by individual SEALs is interesting, as a non-US Navy member or non-Vietnam participant it is easy to become bored reading about the various sorties. I recommend that the book not be read "all in one gulp" but three or four interviews at a time. The SEALs' description of the sorties, ambushes and other skirmishes with the enemy in which they were engaged would undoubtedly be of interest to Hollywood film-makers; they contain all the ingredients that make wartime adventure films interesting. I would have preferred, however, had Cummings cast his first-class interview material within some type of analytical framework so that it would be more useful for training purposes or for understanding "what went wrong" in Vietnam or for understanding guerrilla-type warfare better.

Those interested in the wartime uses and capacity of small vessels to operate in deltas and rivers in confined jungle areas should find much material of interest here as the SEALs describe their adventures using twelve- and fifteen-foot Boston Whalers, PBRs (Patrol Boat, River), PCF (Patrol Craft, Fast), IBS (Inflatable Boat, Small), LCPL (Landing Craft, Personnel Light), "junks" and sampans. Likewise those interested in the uses and capacity in jungle warfare of various types of firearms carried by the SEALs will find much of interest in this book.

Given recent problems among highly trained members of the Canadian Armed Forces while "peacekeeping" in Somalia and Bacovici (former Yugoslavia) three aspects of this book which would be of considerable interest to social scientists are the role of individual attachment to the peer group (team) which enabled SEAL members to display considerable courage and to stand fast in the face of overwhelming odds, the role and function of individual identity with a specific unit (SEAL) rather than with the larger organization (US Navy), and the process of the acquisition of this binding identity.

All in all, while it is not entirely without merit, this book is not in the same league as J. Valerio Borghese's *Sea Devils: Italian Navy Commandos in World War II*.

Bruce A. McFarlane
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