

## BOOK REVIEWS

George V. Galdorisi and Kevin R. Vienna. *Beyond the Law of the Sea: New Directions for U.S. Oceans Policy*. Westport, CT and London: Praeger Press, 1997. xii + 229 pp., appendices, select bibliography, index. US \$65, cloth; ISBN 0-275-95754-3

After a decade of negotiation, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea was finalized in 1982. This Treaty establishes the constitutional framework for ocean law and politics that has guided countries for the last two decades and that will guide countries into the next century. The Treaty directs what ocean waters are national and international and what authority countries (including Canada) have over activities like fishing and marine pollution prevention in national and international waters. Thus, the 200-nautical mile national ocean zone is a creature of this Treaty and within this zone (but not beyond it) Canada has exclusive jurisdiction over living resources.

The constitutional balance in the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention is among: states desiring exclusive jurisdiction over resources (living and non-living) adjacent to their coasts; states not wanting to have this resource authority interfere with vessel navigational rights exercised either for military or trade reasons; and states demanding that mineral resources of the deep ocean floor not be subject to national jurisdiction but be part of the common heritage of humankind.

As a technical legal matter, not overly important regarding the Law of the Sea Convention, the Treaty only came into force in 1994 and is only binding upon those states which have ratified the Convention. The principal impact of entry into force of the Law of the Sea Convention has been the creation of institutions such as the International Seabed Authority and the Tribunal on the Law of the Sea. Non-membership to the Law of the Sea Treaty means non-participation in these institutions and a degree of disassociation from a stable ocean law regime.

As explained in this book, the United States was centrally involved in the development of the Law of the Sea Treaty. Many of the key concepts

and the careful balancing of navigation and national authority issues were the product of US initiatives. Nevertheless, in 1982 the Reagan Administration turned its back on the Convention. The United States formally rejected the Treaty and for a number of years actively conspired against the Convention.

In the early 1990s, renegotiation of aspects of the 1982 Treaty regarding deep seabed mining met with US approval and in 1994 the Clinton Administration recommended to the US Senate that American membership in the Law of the Sea Treaty regime was in the best interests of the United States. Under US constitutional law, ratification of such a major treaty must be signified by a two-thirds majority vote of the US Senate. As of late 1998, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Senator Jesse Helms, had not put the question of US ratification of the Law of the Sea Treaty on its agenda.

This book is a plea to Senator Helms and the US Senate to recognize the merits of the Law of the Sea Convention and to facilitate American membership in the Treaty regime. The co-authors are both senior officers in the US Navy. The position taken in the book is broadly reflective of that of the United States Department of Defense. The key concern for the Department of Defense has always been navigation rights and access to strategic minerals. These were the two principal arguments raised by the Reagan Administration against the Law of the Sea Treaty. The co-authors take the view that the Law of the Sea Convention creates no impediments on access to strategic minerals. More critically, the authors argue that the navigational regime established by the Ocean Convention, specifically regarding innocent passage rights through coastal waters and transit passage rights through straits used for international navigation, are in the best interest of the United States. More generally, the book argues that a stable, universal ocean legal regime with US participation is better than an international ocean legal regime that may become unstable and subject to unwelcomed unilateral activities because of US non-participation in the Treaty.

Canada is also a delinquent state regarding the Law of the Sea Convention. As a country which gained vast areas of ocean space on three oceans and with interests in fishing, trade, off-shore mineral extraction, and marine pollution prevention, Canada (along with the United States) is conspicuous by its absence as a formal member of the Law of the Sea Convention regime. Many of the points made by Galdorisi and Vienna have some application to Canada, although the strategic concerns are of less relevance.

The book is an excellent review of the history of US American involvement with the Law of the Sea Convention and a readable critique on why the United States should ratify the Ocean Treaty. Specialists will find this book of particular use. It is clear that the main audience is Senator Helms and it is equally clear that he has either not read the book or not been persuaded by its arguments and conclusions.

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L. Anatheia Brooks and Stacy D. VanDeveer (eds.). *Saving the Seas: Values, Scientists, and International Governance*. College Park, MD: Maryland Sea Grant, 1997. xxviii + 480 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, figures, tables, chapter notes. US \$30, cloth; ISBN 0-943676-62-2.

Building on earlier efforts to "save the whales" and stop oil pollution at sea, the general environmental movement has increasingly turned its attention towards marine issues, successfully drawing both the public and political decision-makers towards a broad agenda of "saving the seas." When allied to the widespread failure of fisheries in the 1990s, the results have included a suite of international treaties, revised national laws and policies, the declaration of 1998 as the "Year of the Ocean" and so forth. All this has been accompanied by an outpouring of published material, spanning every available medium.

What this development has lacked, however, is a solid discussion of what it means to "save a sea," why we (as increasingly-urbanized land-dwellers) should wish to do so and what challenges we will face in pursuing that objective. The International Center for the Environmental Management of Enclosed Coastal Seas (EMECS)

was established in Kobe some years ago to encourage inquiry into such matters, in part by sponsoring a series of conferences. The substantial and weighty tome under review is based on papers presented at the second EMECS meeting, held in Baltimore in 1993. It certainly goes a long way towards laying the conceptual foundations for "saving seas."

The editors provide an introductory outline of the issues, while there are eighteen other chapters by twenty-six contributors, mostly from the environmental or political sciences. Mark Sagoff opens the book with a thorough discussion of the ethics and issues of "saving seas," to which Stephen Kellert adds an account of the different values that people place on the coastal environment. Robert Nelson then examines some aspects of modern environmentalism as theological concepts. Other authors look at the output or the nature of scientific inquiry: Frieda Taub examines the real, non-linear behaviour of complex ecosystems, Richard Ambrose tackles the thorny issue of what it means to "restore" degraded ecosystems, Michael Thompson and Alex Trisoglio draw out such complexities as instabilities, uncertainties and socially-constructed conclusions, while Sheila Jasanoff adds a discussion of the nature of scientific knowledge and the inevitable lack of consensus that it involves. All turn their attention to the implications of their observations for the use of science and scientists in public decision-making in the environmental arena.

Later chapters focus more on the machinery for ocean governance, including case studies of the North Sea (J.-P. Ducrotot), the Baltic (R. Serafin and J. Zaleski) and, curiously for a book on "saving seas," the North American Great Lakes. Chapters by Craig Murphy and Stacy VanDeveer enter the rarefied air of international law, state sovereignty and inter-governmental cooperation. Other contributors touch on the roles of business (V. Haufler), citizens (J. Rosenau) and scientists (P. Haas and R. Lipschutz), along with the structures that best employ their varied talents in "saving" coastal seas.

The book is firmly grounded in academic principles and pleasantly free of the activist propaganda that too often pervades discussions of environmental issues. Indeed, it is sufficiently "academic" that it often can be heavy-going for the reader – besides the density of the text, the

chapter endnotes total over seventy-five pages, while even the list of abbreviations and acronyms runs to more than two! Like most multi-author works derived from conference papers, this is more a source of challenging ideas than one of well-rounded conclusions. Moreover, as might be expected from a book focused on concepts in the environmental arena, many of the chapters lack the solidity and realism that would come from practical experience managing ocean issues. (That experience *is* lacking, world-wide, outside of a few specializations such as fisheries or oil pollution.) Such criticisms notwithstanding, this is an important book which should be carefully studied by all those working in oceans policy – not read once only but repeatedly dipped into for inspiration and guidance.

It must be said, however, that *Saving the Seas* employs an unusual definition of "sea." To the editors' credit, it does not discuss "saving" the great oceans – despite frequent alarmist ranting, those are beyond our power to harm or to save. Rather, the focus is on "enclosed and coastal seas," in which categories Brooks and VanDeveer include such obvious examples as the Mediterranean, Baltic and North Seas as well as smaller water bodies – Chesapeake Bay, Puget Sound and the Seto Inland Sea for example – that barely merit the status of "sea." As noted above, they even include the North America Great Lakes, despite the radically different environmental and legal issues surrounding bodies of freshwater from those in marine areas. If it is primarily such urbanized puddles that need "saving," the wider marine environment must be in quite good condition after all.

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Steven G. Davidson, Jay G. Merwin, Jr., John Capper, Garrett Power and Frank R. Shivers, Jr.. *Chesapeake Waters: Four Centuries of Controversy, Concern, and Legislation*. 2nd ed.; Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publications, 1983, 1997. xv + 272 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, figures, notes, selected bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87033-501-4.

The Chesapeake Bay is an amorphous entity, as hard to define as it has been hard to regulate and

protect over the last four hundred years since Europeans arrived on the scene. Physically, it can be considered a bay, a giant estuary, a concatenation of estuaries, a giant multiple river delta, or the world's largest tidal pool. Its depths and boundaries shift radically with erosion, changing water levels, and mutating weather patterns, making it a cartographer's nightmare – indeed, this work points out that, even today, there is no accepted definition as to its overall length, where it begins and where it ends. Similarly, its ecosystem is equally hard to define and changes catastrophically (in the mathematical sense) with sometimes seemingly small changes in water salinity, invasion of predatory creatures from major to microscopic, and even momentary weather changes. Its shifting sands and fluid contours drive an equally elusive biology, which often defies even the most astute scientific analysis. Throw in an invasion of millions of people, with competing and conflicting interests, who use the Bay for a transportation network, a sewer, a major food source, and a recreational playground, among other things, and you have the makings of sheer chaos. Then go ask someone to administrate all of this. Want the job?

Many people *have* taken on that job over the centuries, singly, in committee, and in sweeping administrations, with varying degrees of success, and that is the ambitious subject of this book. Despite my fourteen years living on the shore of the Northern Neck, smack in the middle of the Bay, and much hands-on contact with it both above and below water, the authors gave me some refreshing new ways of looking at it both physically and historically. Anyone sailing the Bay, for instance, knows it is shallow, but perhaps not how phenomenally shallow it is, compared to its breadth. It really is little more than a giant puddle; this profoundly affects all its interactions with man and nature and accounts for its alternating fragility and robustness.

On the historical side, one begins to wonder why anyone ever settled here, considering the unavailability of good fresh water and the suitability of the environment for harbouring plagues of cholera, yellow fever, and malaria the moment sizeable settlements were established. People will do a lot for tobacco, fishing, and commerce. Throughout, Bay-dwellers have alternately sunk into their own mire and then pulled themselves

out by hard-fought political and scientific battles designed to bring the life-giving waters back to stability and relative natural purity.

Given this context, the much-taunted final miracle of the "Save The Bay" movement of the 1960s and '70s (the book was written in 1983, but the positive trends established then have continued) seems just another great heave upward to snatch temporary sanctuary once again out of the jaws of ever-looming decay. By an evolving set of political struggles and societal growth, the regulations to keep the Bay viable have grown from *ad hoc* local ordinances to bureaucratic federal legislation – with oyster wars, border disputes, unconscionable pollution, hurricanes, economic booms and disasters, plagues both over and under the water, greedy corporate villains and courageous ecological crusaders as mileposts along the way.

It has been an adventure, and considering its extremities, it is a miracle that the Bay is still viable. It may never again have the wondrous variety of fish and wildlife that John Smith described, nor the pristine waters the pre-European inhabitants respected, but only four years ago, when I saw porpoises sporting under my bow at the mouth of the Rappahannock River, and a shoal of skates scudding off to starboard, I knew that all is not lost. For now, the balance between the human inhabitants and the rest of life on the Bay has been salvaged. This book does an admirable job of chronicling this noble endeavour.

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Christiane Villain-Gandossi, Louis Durteste and Salvino Busuttill (eds.). *Méditerranée, Mer Ouverte*, 2 vols. Paris: Commission française d'histoire maritime, 1998 [order from: CFHM, Archives Nationales, 60, rue des Francs-Bourgeois, 75141 Paris CEDEX 03, France]. 942 pp., maps, figures, tables, photographs, illustrations. paper; ISBN 99909-983-0-2 (Tome I) and 99909-983-1-0 (Tome II).

The Mediterranean is not an open sea as the title of this collection asserts. Were it not for the Straits of Gibraltar it would be a chain of lakes, albeit the largest in the world. Rather than denying geographical reality, however, the title encap-

sulates the ambition of the organizers of a conference held in 1995 at Marseille to open windows, to break through the all too frequently psychologically closed, inward-looking minds of those living along the Mediterranean's shores, especially when they turn to view the world around them. Today, after the former naval masters of the Mediterranean have either withdrawn or have little left to do beyond roaming at their leisure (or is it in search of leisure?), a new unified Europe faces major challenges from the tens of millions of people living on the south side of the Mediterranean who want to migrate to the lands on the north side. The pressures are real and growing. The openness referred to in the title contains a recognition that new flows of technical aid, cultural cooperation and capital investment across an "open" sea in order to stem the tide of south/north migration and to kindle hope for a better future among those living along the south shore is necessary if the new Europe is to flourish. This collection of seventy papers spanning five centuries, from the end of the fifteenth to the dawn of the twenty-first, gathered into two volumes, does not meet the organizers' challenge and poses a daunting challenge of its own to the reviewer.

The editors are not to be faulted except perhaps for their decision to include all the papers delivered at the colloquium. A single volume containing a selection of the best papers would have been preferable and probably more effective. The editors have arranged the seventy papers chronologically in two volumes, the first covering the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and the second dealing with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Within each volume they have successfully preserved the three major themes of the colloquium: states or state power, the sea, and people. Whether in the sixteenth or the twentieth century the Mediterranean has been both a prize and a theatre of operations for the Ottomans, Spain, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and the United States of America. About one third of all the papers fall under the theme of state power's response to the challenges posed by the Mediterranean. Included are several that focus on certain points, areas, or regions at specific times: e.g. Cyprus, Malta, Suez, Tripoli, Gibraltar, Toulon, the Aegean, and the Adriatic. Two sub-topics are dealt with under the second theme, the Sea, subjects that are

properly maritime and those that are technical. Both sub-topics are largely confined to the time-frame of the first volume. Unfortunately, while several papers may interest specialists, such as Eric Rieth's on the early manner of employing curves to design ships in the Mediterranean, they are lost here. The third theme, the one dealing with the human dimension in the Mediterranean, is well covered in both volumes. Nineteen papers are gathered under the rubric, "sociétés et cultures," but once again the topics are so varied, ranging from *ex-voto* paintings in the basilica of Notre Dame-de-La-Garde, Marseille, to nineteenth-century colonial migration from Algeria to Minorca and the development of modern nature tourism in the Mediterranean, that the theme's coherence appears extremely artificial.

In view of the ambitions of the organizers, surprisingly few papers deal with the recent past. Philippe Querel treats the French Navy, the Mediterranean and NATO before 1960, but no papers deal with the USSR-US post-war naval rivalry in the Mediterranean. Very little attention is paid to the history of commerce in the Mediterranean at any time. Among the most interesting articles are several that concern the Jewish presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, the perceptions and misperceptions between the Arab south and European north, and the need and opportunities for dialogue. Though they meet the organizers' aims they do not increase the coherence of the collection. Most of the papers are quite traditional in their approaches. All but three papers are in French; two are in Spanish, and one is in English. Some reflect deep learning but many do not. Several present general overviews, attempts at general synthesis, rather than reports on recent research, the results of examining a particular historical problem, or a singular analysis. No significant revisions are present. In short, this collection may repay consultation in a library by scholars searching for a certain something, whether on Hitler's ambitions or the Knights of Malta, but it falls short of its editors' ambitions.

Despite the themes and organizational arrangement, the papers cover too many topics and their quality is uneven.

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Shelley Wachsmann. *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press and London: Chatham Publishing, 1998. xii + 417 pp., photographs, figures, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$80, cloth; ISBN 0-89096-709-1 (Texas A&M), I-86176-068-X (Chatham).

This is a most valuable addition to the works of synthesis on the ancient seagoing vessels of the Mediterranean, and in particular on Bronze Age shipping in the eastern Mediterranean. J.S.

*Ships: 900-322 B.C.*, and the Morrison and Coates publication, *Greek and Roman Oared Warships 399-30 B.C.*, cover similar ground for the first millennium BC, but more narrowly. Wachsmann has assembled a wider ranging study on ships and seamanship for the second millennium BC. The book is divided into two parts. In the first the author describes the ships from the different geographical and cultural areas, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, Cyprus, Crete, the Aegean and Greece. In the second he deals, in some cases rather briefly, with related material, such as ship construction and propulsion, anchors, navigation, trade, sea laws, and maritime war and piracy. There is an excellent and extensive bibliography, and a glossary of modern nautical terms applicable to wooden sailing vessel hull construction, masts, rigging and sails. (For a glossary of ancient Greek and Latin nautical terms, one should consult the works by Morrison noted above.)

As with all scholarly works on ships and seafaring in the ancient Mediterranean, the author makes extensive use of iconographic evidence from tomb and wall paintings, graffiti, relief sculptures, seals, vase paintings, and the limited number of ship models. In dealing with the iconographic material Wachsmann introduces useful cautionary notes and discusses the serious possibility of misinterpretation from taking the pictorial representation as fact. For example, in much of the iconographic evidence the human figures are depicted at a larger scale than the ships. One is not looking at actual ships, but at artists representations of ships, with more or less detail. In this respect the Egyptian river boat models, with crews, masts, sails and oars or paddles may be more accurate representations of reality. Corn-

pared with the first millennium, the literary or textual evidence is limited and is often more concerned with peripheral matters, trade, cargoes and personal names, than with details of ship construction or seamanship. To date nautical archaeology has found only one Bronze Age wreck in the eastern Mediterranean with significant structural remains of the ship, at Ulu Burun off the Turkish coast. At the Cape Gelidonya wreck, much of the cargo was recovered, but practically all the ship's timbers had disappeared. At other sites there is material suggesting shipwrecks, but hull remains are absent. Material found includes pottery, pithoi, stone ballast, lead and copper ingots, scrap metal, and stone anchors. From Dashur in Egypt several small Bronze Age river boats were found in the 1890s, and more recently in 1991, twelve planked boats were found at Abydos. The most complete and largest Egyptian vessel ever found is the Cheops I funerary boat, 43.4 metres long with a beam of 5.9 metres, from a boat pit beside the Great Pyramid at Giza. A second vessel from the same area has been located, examined with a remotely operated camera, but for the present has been left *in situ*.

Wachsmann makes excellent use of all this varied and often fragmentary evidence to build up a clear overall account of Bronze Age ships and seafaring activities in the Levant. In a few cases, when it seems useful and appropriate, he uses more recent and modern ethnological comparisons. For example in discussing the problem of the apparent paddling of the larger ships from the Thera frieze, he draws parallels with the Chinese Dragon boats, which while originally seagoing, are today used only for "ceremonial" purpose, the Dragon boat races. As with any study synthesizing material from a wide variety sources, both ancient and modern, large amounts of the disparate pieces of information have of necessity been gathered from the publications of earlier scholars. Wachsmann's achievement has been to build up a coherent and reasonably concise picture for the area and time period described in the title of this book. In a significant number of instances he presents fresh and interesting interpretations of the evidence. The only other way to study the material he has collated would be to have access to the more than six hundred works he lists in the bibliography, and the time to sort and evaluate them. A few of the later chapters on special

subjects, such as navigation, are a little concise, but they are liberally supplied with notes and references to more detailed works. Expanding these chapters would have doubled the size of the book, which is already a substantial volume of more than four hundred pages.

This is an outstanding book, in both its contents and presentation. The text is clear and elegant, and is a pleasure to read. The illustrations and figures are well chosen, clear, and large enough to allow examination of the fine detail. The paper, printing and binding are of a high quality. The book should be in the personal library of anyone with a scholarly interest in ancient shipping and seafaring in the Mediterranean, but would also appeal to a wider group with an interest in the ancient Mediterranean. It would also be a valuable sourcebook for undergraduate courses, or graduate student seminars.

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Peter Marsden. *English Heritage Book of Ships and Shipwrecks*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1997. 128 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), maps, illustrations, glossary, suggested readings, index. £15.99, paper; ISBN 0-7134-7536-6.

One slim volume, three millenia of boats and ships in the British Isles: a sticky editorial wicket. The solution is a concise and fast-paced text, very good illustrations – and sketchy references. What I appreciate most in this archaeological history is its sense of periods in British ship history based on what archaeologists have found and observed. These periods not only serve to guide the text but also set up what archaeologists call a "seriology," that is an analytical typology of features from a common region but which varies over time.

For each period we find three or four examples of ship finds, each of them a milestone in British archaeology. From the Bronze and early Iron Ages we get sculpted craft without metal fasteners, such as dugouts and planked boats assembled with cleats and withy stitching. The period is well-documented from sites at North Ferriby, Brigg and Dover but we know nothing of the transition to Roman-age shipbuilding which contains a surprising mix of carvel planking, clenched iron nails and a "skeleton-first" con-

struction. Even in the Mediterranean, Roman-era ships did not have such modern features as are found in the Blackfriars, County Hall and Barlands Farm sites.

This is not the only typological rupture in the British archaeological record. For the early middle ages, characterized by the Sutton Hoo and Graveney boats, we encounter yet another type consisting of lapstrake planking and a variety of fastener styles including iron rivets, hooked nails and wooden pegs. While the author takes care to search for parallels among Germanic and Scandinavian ship finds, many conundrums remain in the seriology up to the middle ages.

The simplicity of the book's approach allows the academic reader to identify some hard research questions about the succession of maritime cultures in north-west Europe. For example, where did the distinctive Roman-era technology originate? Or, if the features commonly used to establish ship typologies (planking and fastener styles; assembly sequence of frames and planks) are so discontinuous within one region, then what elements, what regions should guide a true history of shipbuilding? Therein lies the scientific value of an overview such as we have here.

From the year 1200 on, British ship finds run parallel to the broad currents of northwest European and, finally, universal technology. The periods identified here correspond to the later middle ages, the sixteenth century, the age of global navigation and the nineteenth-century transition to steam power. For each period, including the earlier ones, we also have a treatment of cargos, routes and port facilities, which helps to knit this archaeological study into the maritime history of the British Isles.

In addition to its history of ship archaeology, there is a second and more topical element to this book. In the United Kingdom today, the state system of reporting and protecting ship finds is underdeveloped, underfunded and out of keeping with Britain's rich seafaring culture and widespread public interest in maritime heritage. I was surprised and pleased to find this message so clearly stated by Marsden: surprised because so few respected archaeologists have paused to articulate their ideas about the subject; pleased because I found myself agreeing. Moreover, he couches his opinions in a balanced and constructive way that allows us, in North America, to

think about the challenges facing our own public policy on submerged cultural resources and their archaeological study. While the mix of state, avocational, academic and private interest in shipwrecks is different in each jurisdiction, airing the English example is internationally salutary.

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David Cordingly. *Ships and Seascapes: An Introduction to Maritime Prints, Drawings and Watercolours*. London: Philip Wilson, 1997. 160 pp., photoplates (colour, b+w), figures, checklist of artists, bibliography, index. US \$65, cloth; ISBN 0-85667-484-2. Distributed in North America by Antique Collectors' Club, Wappingers Falls, NY.

Aimed at the novice collector of marine art, *Ships and Seascapes* provides a basic, non-academic (if somewhat bare-bones) introduction to the subject of maritime prints, drawings and watercolors. Cordingly himself notes in the Preface that his is a "personal and ... arbitrary" account. [8] However, with its historical survey of the genre, the book still tries to cover a broad territory, even as it disavows being a comprehensive survey. This schizophrenic approach and the conflation of thematic topics with historical chronology are, in consequence, a weakness in the book.

Due to its brevity, generalizing and suspect statements tend to creep into Cordingly's account, as when he states that the "art of America has made little impact on Europe" till Jackson Pollock. [122] So broad a statement ignores the important influence of several American-trained artists in Europe, including Benjamin West, John Singleton Copley, and the "adopted" American, John James Audubon, who brought to consummation a naturalistic style that had a significant impact on European drawing and print traditions.

At other times, Cordingly's "distilling" leads to inaccuracies: plate engraving developed almost simultaneously in the Netherlands (likely its source) and Italy, not only in Germany; Whistler began his art training in America (etching while with the US Geodetic Survey), not in Europe. And when Cordingly paints a rosy picture of the career of the artist, John Wilson Carmichael, he glosses over the fact that Carmichael suffered

great privations trying to break into the "bloated" London art market, and was reduced to turning out mass-produced marine "pot-boiler" paintings (much like marine artists in the art market of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic).

Given that *Ships and Seascapes* seeks to reinforce the positive "sales side" of the contemporary marine art market, it is perhaps not surprising that the negative or politically challenging aspects to the genre are largely ignored. Yet this creates significant historical omissions, as when one of the most famous and politically notorious marine images of the nineteenth century, Theodore Gericault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1818-19), is left out (though Cordingly documents major maritime art developments with other works in oils).

The technical chapters on "Drawings and Watercolors" and "Prints and Processes" do make up for some of these short-comings, providing a good introduction to these mediums. The "Print" chapter provides clear definitions and explanations, with excellent detailed enlargements to aid in identifying the various print processes. And *Ships and Seascapes* does have attractive, high-quality illustrations, with notable images by the artists Butterworth and William Daniel (though the prominent Newlyn School gets short shrift with only an image by Henry Scott Tuke).

Yet these excellent reproductions point to what is perhaps the greatest shortcoming of this book. The text does not live up to one of the author's aims in the Preface: "to show the variety of pictures which fall under the general heading of marine paintings or seascapes." [8] Cordingly's largely conservative images fail to challenge the narrow perceptions critics have of the genre (a critique of formulaic boats in formulaic compositions). And surprisingly, Cordingly ignores altogether one of the greatest marine artists of the early twentieth century in England, Alfred Wallis. Long recognized both for his unique imagery and his influence on artists like Ben Nicholson and Christopher Wood. Wallis (as with another ex-mariner/artist, James Dixon), imbued his paintings and drawings with a charged "naive" handling and deep psychological insights.

Wallis and Dixon inspired a dynamic generation of contemporary marine artists, including Margaret Mellis, Derek Nice and Graham Rich – none of whom are mentioned in Cordingly's too short section on recent marine art. It is these

artists who, following in the footsteps of Turner and Monet in the nineteenth century, challenged the genre's traditional and stifling stereotypes. They deserve mention by an expert like Cordingly, if for no other reason than the fact that they offer the neophyte a visually dynamic, and affordable, route into marine art.

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Ian Marshall; John Maxtone-Graham (commentary). *Passage East*. Charlottesville, VA: Howell Press, 1997. 159 pp., photographs, colour plates, illustrations, maps, index. US \$60, cloth; ISBN 1-57427-069-9.

*Passage East*, illustrated and written by Ian Marshall, with a commentary by John Maxtone-Graham, is a beautifully produced and informative volume. Its principal purpose is to make available to the public a selection of Marshall's paintings, sketches and drawings dealing with shipping and port scenes from London and Southampton to Southern Asia and the Far East. Marshall has created an inspired kaleidoscope of scenes from London to Yokohama.

The fifty-two works are particularly interesting and rewarding because of their success in capturing the atmosphere of the ports and locations in the Eastern trade, as well as the ships which served them. Marshall's eye for detail is extraordinary as befitting his academic training as an architect at the University of Capetown and The University of Pennsylvania. Yet his paintings never overwhelm the senses owing to his economy of line. One work which I found particularly memorable captures the *P. S. Euxine*, premier unit of the P & O, outward bound on her maiden voyage in 1848, as she thrashes her way past the Southampton docks. The vessel is alive again and the background superbly complements the subject in this historic departure. Another work of substance is a water-color of "Charing Cross Station, London (1864)" which captures the importance of the railroads and their great terminals as cathedrals of the industrial revolution. Marshall's own descriptions accompany every plate and, while minimal, set the stage for appreciating his subjects. The paintings are complemented by numerous contemporary photos, prints and maps which

make the overall effect intellectually enriching. The end result is to underline Marshall's position as one of the foremost interpreters of the maritime genre in the second half of the twentieth century.

John Maxtone-Graham already enjoys a well-established reputation as a maritime historian of considerable note from his full-scale works. In this volume his "Commentary" is in fact an essay on the development and character of the Southern Asia and Far Eastern trade over the last 150 years. Sandwiching Marshall and Maxtone-Graham together in the same book results in a highly effective combination of artistic accomplishment and literary skill. The Maxtone-Graham essay contains numerous contemporary photographs which convey a visual experience of what a voyage "East of Suez" must have been like.

Ian Marshall's *Passages East* is a work of consummate artistic skill in its illustrations and texts. The reader will find himself returning to its delightful pages on many occasions. In its own way the work is as great a tribute to the artist as a finely written autobiography and warrants serious consideration by the astute collector.

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Dover, Delaware

Stuart M. Frank. *The Book of Pirate Songs*. Sharon, MA: Kendall Whaling Museum, 1998. 144 pp., illustrations, appendices, transposition guide, bibliography, index of titles and first lines. US \$25, cloth; ISBN 0-937854-05-0.

In this very welcome book, Stuart Frank draws our attention to songs about pirates and piracy that were sung by both seamen and landsman. In so doing he gives us some well-researched commentaries on the actual songs and their history, and reminds us that these are an expression of the nature and history of piracy itself, placing pirates in their contemporary social scene and illustrating public attitudes to them. There was and is a certain allure in stories of the dashing nature of a pirate life and in the thought of treasure, which attracts public interest rather like the cult of horror films and TV programmes today. However, there was little that was romantic or pleasant in this. Pirates were a venomous lot and a criminal threat to trade, seafarers and their safety.

The text is organised into sections that reflect the history and character of the songs, which were published in different circumstances. For example in the chapter on Old Ballads the author touches on the enormous importance of the invention of printing in the history of music. He indicates how in the field of popular music, printing helped to preserve songs that were previously only known through oral tradition and which almost certainly would have disappeared from sight, had they not been printed and thus disseminated far and wide.

In the second section Stuart Frank highlights the ballads that were published in broadside, we might say broadsheet, style. Often these appeared as a quick response to some important event or disaster, which might be recounted at great length. Whilst there was a large number about seafarers, there were few concerning piracy. These printings sold very cheaply in the streets almost as newspaper articles, and were largely ephemeral. However they had some international currency and served as a medium for the transmission of maritime folk culture.

Whatever feminists might claim in today's society, piracy would scarcely seem to be an occupation for women. However this is disproved in certain celebrated cases in the past such as Anne Bonny, Mary Read and the outstanding Irish woman, Grace O'Malley. Despite their presence, the author has not been able to include any songs about female pirates. This situation is redeemed by a number of songs about seafaring women, of whom there were some notable examples. It is well known that women served unofficially in the bread lockers and similar places aboard ships of the Royal Navy and played a brave role in action. It is in this kinder and perhaps more heroic light that women are sometimes commemorated in nautical songs.

As is well known, before the days of watching television and playing video games or compact discs at home, many people learnt to play a musical instrument and sang songs either in solo form or in a choral group. To meet these demands music publishers produced large numbers of parlour songs, which were written specifically to suit the perhaps limited talents of the performers and to introduce them to subjects which might otherwise be unfamiliar to them. The author includes a selection and indicates how they often had a sentimental character. They were a very

popular genre, often attractively presented, forming collectors pieces today. There are not many about pirates, but a mention of them is an important note in the social history of music.

An important form of publishing popular songs was the songster, a pocket book with a selection of favourite songs. Early versions were concise, but later ones could contain the words for many songs. Often the music was not given in full, probably because it was more expensive to print, the publisher relying on the musical memory of the user. These collections were more for landmen than sailors, but were easily portable.

The sources for each song and its history receive thorough treatment, backed by a good set of references, a bibliography and index. Most useful is the inclusion of a "Transposition Chart and Capo Guide," to help performers select an appropriate key.

There is an understandable bias towards American musical history in this volume, but the author is fully aware of the international currency of songs for and about sailors and pirates in particular. Whilst little is known factually about pirates, the author has demonstrated very successfully how skilful use of important libraries and collections produces a fascinating and relevant selection of songs. He is quick to emphasise that none are thought to be written by a pirate, but they present a colourful picture of the life as far as anyone will ever know it. This volume also presents a further insight into the historical transmission of music and hence is a valuable contri-

A galley proof copy only was available for this review, but it is a very remarkable reference work for historians and performers alike.

David V. Proctor  
Rochester, Kent

Daniel C. Krummes. *Dining on Inland Seas: Nautical China From the Great Lakes Region of North America*. Traverse City, MI: Nautical Works Press, 1997. viii + 225 pp., maps, photographs (b+w, colour), illustrations, glossary, annotated bibliography, appendices, indices. US \$49.95 (+ \$4.75 p+h), hardbound; ISBN 0-9662221-0-5.

Ship's china has been avidly collected and cata-

logued for many years, especially pieces from deep sea vessels and passenger liners. Collectors, curators and historians can turn to any number of guide books to identify particular pieces and the shipping lines which created them, but until recently, there has been no such guide for the Great Lakes region. That has changed with the publication of Daniel C. Krummes' *Dining on Inland Seas*.

Inside the handsome colour covers, readers will find a very useful book. A concise introductory chapter explains what ship china is, how to identify it, who manufactured it and how to date it. The main body of the book is a guide to the china itself. It is prefaced by a brief history of Great Lakes ship china, a list of shipping line abbreviations, and a key to the comprehensive pattern descriptions that follow. Each description begins with the name of the shipping line and its nationality. This is followed by a pattern identification number assigned by the author, a pattern name assigned by the author, a rarity rating, the base colour of the ware, colours of pinstripes, lettering and logos, a full description of the pattern, the manufacturer, the date of manufacture, the distributor, and supplemental information about the line and/or its vessels. Each entry is also accompanied by a black and white photograph of the piece in question. The entries on individual china patterns are backed up by three indices, arranged by pattern name, design elements and distributor. The china pattern descriptions are followed by chapters on maritime-related china, unidentified patterns, spurious and reproduction patterns, other ship china from the Great Lakes region, souvenir and advertising china, a glossary and an annotated bibliography.

This is the kind of work that makes curators, librarians and others who must answer public research inquiries look good by putting a great deal of specialized knowledge at their fingertips in an easy-to-use format. It is impeccable in its organization and detail, and Krummes has done an excellent job of pulling together not only the patterns themselves but useful contextual information. The book is well designed and laid out, and the photographs of china pieces, most from the author's collection, are clear and readable. Sixty-four selected patterns are further illustrated by colour plates in the middle of the book. There are also photographs of shipping line ephemera,

such as tickets, schedules, posters and advertisements, as well as several very interesting photographs of less well known shipboard spaces, such as galleys and crews' dining rooms.

This book will be of greatest interest to collectors of ship's china and ephemera, but it also has value for those generally interested in Great Lakes maritime history. It is packed with useful information, such as an appendix listing operating dates and ownership changes for selected Great Lakes shipping lines. The thorough bibliography is annotated, adding greatly to its utility. *Dining on Inland Seas* will be a useful companion volume to such earlier but related works as LeRoy Barnett's *Shipping Literature of the Great Lakes: A Catalogue of Company Publications, 1852-1990* (1992). Altogether, this is a meticulously researched, well-produced and very useful volume. It will be of unquestioned assistance to those already interested in nautical china, and may well inspire others to take up the subject.

John Summers  
Etobicoke, Ontario

Victoria Brehm (ed.). *"A Fully Accredited Ocean" Essays on the Great Lakes*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998. 249 pp., illustrations, photographs, tables, figures, vessel index. US \$47.50, £31.50, cloth; ISBN 0-472-10709.

The title of this volume reflects its purpose: to raise historical investigation of Great Lakes maritime history beyond the preoccupation "of regional scholarship on the minutia of wreck identification, ship construction, and necrology." [5] It struck this reviewer as somewhat ironic that the quote was extracted from a larger passage from Kipling, where he wrote of Lake Superior: "...it engulfs and wrecks and drives ashore like a fully accredited ocean — a hideous thing to find in the heart of a continent." [4]

Brought together in this collection of essays are writers with a wide range of academic and working backgrounds: nautical archaeologists, folklorists, anthropologists, archivists, librarians, and professors of English, Political Science and Theatre Arts. Paul Trap was, at the time of writing, a PhD candidate in History, but apart from him the volume draws little upon the academic

discipline of History, or, for that matter, Geography or Economics. Still, it is a creditable cast of interdisciplinary scholarship. Those who track the patterns of citation and academic debate should be warned that the most recent references (outside the introduction) are over five years old, and that only in one essay. The oldest paper, by Patrick Folkes, was first printed in *Fresh Water* in 1986. Crisman's study of the brig *Jefferson* is based on field work between 1984 and 1989, where the only post-1989 scholarship cited is by Crisman. Others appear to have been completed between 1990 and 1993, and the introduction by 1994.

Since part of the volume's appeal is its attempt to present the Great Lakes as a region, how well do the authors succeed in transcending the international border? Perhaps unsurprisingly the Canadian authors, Folkes and Salmon fare especially well. "Cooks and Ladies' Maids" draws as much on US as Canadian material, while Salmon's study of investment in Canadian Great Lakes shipping is very much aware of the pattern of US investment and the flow of goods through ports on both sides of the border. Trap's Lake Michigan ferries worked for a Canadian subsidiary, the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad while Lafferty's "self-unloaders" have a Canadian as well as American market. Warner's steam tugs only operate in American waters, and perhaps most perplexing, Crisman's War of 1812 brig draws in no fashion on what has been learned of British shipbuilding during that war.

That said, there are some very strong essays here. Best among them are Salmon's "Prosperous Season," Lafferty's "Technological Innovation," and Tolson's "Fishing Craft." Salmon's work integrates a strong sense of the economic development of the continent at the turn of the century, with a discussion of bulk shipping requirements, and uses this to underpin a discussion of a variety of case studies of investment in lake shipping. Lafferty deals with an early variant in the development of the self-unloader, perhaps the most significant innovation in lakes shipping subsequent to the shift to steel bulk carriers. He combines a particularly thorough investigation of local sources with a broad knowledge of the continuum of development to provide as good a case study of innovation on the lakes as I've read. Tolson's work on the fishing craft of Isle Royale is a good example of the techniques of oral

history/anthropology within a solid technical and social context. If the conclusions are not startling, the documentation is top notch.

Of the other essays, if you haven't read Folkes on women in sail and steam before, the essay remains one of the few contributions to the subject. Crisman's article on the brig *Jefferson* and Lloyd's on "Fishermen in Court" are out takes on work that is better read under other covers (especially Lloyd and Mullen's award winning *Lake Erie Fishermen*). Trap's substantial work on the Lake Michigan Ferry also builds a strong case for an updated version of Hilton's 1962 classic *Great Lakes Car Ferries*, which Trap appears well qualified to produce. Finally, there is Warner's work on steam tugs in the nineteenth-century, written largely from the perspective of the sailing vessels requiring tows. It provides some new insights into a dimension of lakes shipping that needs serious attention from a number of other perspectives as well.

The University of Michigan is to be commended for producing a handsome volume. It is unfortunate that the only index to the volume is one to vessel names, useful to some extent, but rather along the lines of the "minutia" which the editor hoped the volume would transcend. I suspect that a geographer would have insisted that there be at least one general map of the Lakes that served the purpose of locating places in the collection of essays (the map appearing on p. 108 serves only the essay within which it is included.) It is to be regretted that the price was set so high. The demand for \$47.50 US for a volume of 249 pages with relatively few illustrations will limit both sales to academic libraries (who should acquire it) and to the individual scholars who would benefit from having it on their personal shelves. Nevertheless, it is a volume which will be cited for some time to come.

Walter Lewis  
Acton, Ontario

Walter W. Jaffee. *The Presidential Yacht Potomac*. Palo Alto, CA: Glencannon Press, 1998. xix + 204 pp., figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$40, cloth; ISBN 1-889901-06-7.

This is a handsome book, lushly supported with

photographs, about the *Potomac*, which served President Franklin D. Roosevelt for several years as his Presidential Yacht. The 165-foot, 337 gross ton *Potomac* began its career as the US Coast Guard vessel *Electra*, and had been designed to chase rum runners. However, it was not launched until 1934, a year after "American Prohibition" was repealed. No longer needed for its original purpose, the *Electra* began a new career in March 1936 when it replaced the more elegant yacht *Sequoia* as the Presidential yacht and renamed *Potomac*. The official reason for the new acquisition was that it could carry more passengers and Secret Service Agents than the vessel it replaced. Unofficially however, it was a more appropriate vessel for the depression years of the 1930s and, with some modifications, better suited to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's hobby of sport fishing. A few months before the United States declared war on Japan in 1941 it was no longer in use as the Presidential yacht and from 1946 to 1960 the *Potomac* was owned by the State of Maryland. Sold to a private owner, it was at Bridgetown, Barbados in 1961, its engines and most of its equipment unusable. In 1962, a California firm bought it with the intention of exhibiting the vessel at the 1962 Seattle World's Fair.

By the time it reached San Diego, California, the Seattle Fair was almost over, and over the next two decades, a succession of owners (one of whom was Elvis Presley) attempted to make the vessel into a money-earning memorial to President Roosevelt. In March 1981, while held by Customs at San Francisco Bay on suspicion of being involved in a scheme to smuggle marijuana, the hull was holed by submerged pilings and sank in thirty-five feet of water. Refloated, and needing extensive renovations, it was acquired by the Port of Oakland.

The "Association for the Preservation of the Presidential Yacht *Potomac*" under the chairmanship of James Roosevelt, President Roosevelt's son, was formed in 1981. With the backing of influential people of the San Francisco area, a campaign to match \$2.5 million in federal funds was begun. At a shipyard owned by the Port of Oakland the vessel was stripped of equipment and engines, placed on blocks and preliminary restoration work started. In 1988 the hull was moved to a shipyard at Stockton, California where major renovations were completed and the vessel's sea

trials were held in the summer of 1991. Public educational tours and cruises with trained docents on board to answer questions and explain the history of the vessel began in the summer of 1995.

The book has been well edited, with few errors in evidence, although, like a text-book co-authored many years ago by one of my university professors, one of them is in the first paragraph. The ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the American Constitution and the passage of its companion law, the Volstead Act, did not take place in 1913 but in 1919. Three pages further on the word "gun" appears as the numeral "23." And curiously, the dates when the keel was laid and the vessel launched are not given in Appendix A, "Specifications of the *Electra*." Nevertheless, this is a book that is sure to appeal to anyone interested in Roosevelt memorabilia or in the problems of restoring historic vessels.

David J. McDougall  
Lachine, Québec

Tom Gorman. *Working Scale Model Merchant Ships*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 184 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, index. US \$34.95, Cdn \$48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-942-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Gorman indicates that this book is intended to provide the best possible guidance into the building of working scale model ships which fall into the broad category of "Merchant Ships." This category includes tugs, tankers, tramps, liners, pilot cutters, oil rig support ships and fishing vessels, and, for the purposes of this book, all such vessels which are power-driven. In addition, he includes paddle-wheelers.

To provide the guidance necessary to build working scale models of virtually any merchant vessel in a 184-page book with a three-page introduction, twenty-four chapters, appendices and an index is, to say the least, ambitious. The chapters include Model Selection; Drawings, Scales and Interpretation; Researching the Chosen Model; Selection of Materials; Tools and Adhesives; Building the Hull: Detailing the Hull; The Moulded Hull; Running Gear; Electric Motors; Steam Engines; Decks and Hatches;

Superstructures; Masts, Derricks and Rigging; Deck Fittings; Lifeboats and Davits; Winches, Windlasses and Capstans; Radio Control; Auxiliary Working Features; Unusual Drive Equipment; Painting and Finishing; Ballasting and Sailing Trials; Building and Sailing for Competitions; Hints and Tips: Appendices covering useful Conversion Factors, Suppliers, Publications and Plan Services, and Radio Control Frequencies, followed by a two-page index.

Well designed and laid out, with superbly reproduced photographs of models and full-sized ships supported with clear, well-executed line drawings, the book, as planned, provides guidance not only to a new model builder but also to the experienced builder moving from static model building into radio-controlled models. Gorman uses photographs of his own models, those on which he and an associate collaborated, and many superb models built by British builders (including some models that earned major awards), and a few models built in the United States and Canada.

The book does not, nor could it, provide a detailed building process for any specific model, taking instead a more general approach, providing guidance but essentially leaving the "how-to" up to the builder. The exception is on hull building. Unfortunately, given that the newer builder is the intended audience, it is here that I have some serious concerns with the book. Specifically, I am concerned with Gorman's reference to the hull-building method known as "Plank-on-Frame," which begins on page 40. He is, in fact, describing "plank-on-bulkhead" construction, an entirely different matter. While a chrysalis becomes a butterfly through metamorphosis, plank-on-bulkhead construction does not become plank-on-frame construction simply by removing the centres of plywood bulkheads as Gorman indicates [40, 45]. He maintains that "At this point they will be bulkheads so the insides will have to be cut away." Thereafter Gorman refers to them as frames. In plank-on-frame construction the approach taken is to follow as closely as possible, albeit at a reduced scale, the framing, structural, planking, and fastening conventions employed in the construction of the prototype. This means building the frames to include floors, chocks, scarf-joints, futtocks, top timbers etc., as required, with the significant exception being the practices employed in the construction of Navy Board

models, which is an art unto itself. While I am well acquainted with many excellent builders, all capable of producing superb ship models employing the fully acceptable plank-on-bulkhead method of building, the approach promoted by Gorman is widely spaced plank-on-bulkhead construction where the spacing between the bulkheads can be up to three inches. When using light planking with such spacing, this approach is fraught with risk to the uninitiated and, apparently, to someone with Gorman's experience.

A review of Gorman's examples, reproduced in the clear construction photographs, between pages 41 and 43 and on page 90, reveals that he does not follow the advice he offers in the text with regard to fairing the bulkheads carefully to allow the planking to lie true. The overhead photograph of the hull of the *Arran Mail* [90] shows a hull with widely spaced plywood bulkheads planked with relatively light planking and clearly visible irregularities on both sides of the hull. These irregularities could have been avoided with more judicious fairing of the bulkheads and the use of longitudinal stiffeners let in at the sheer line, something he ignores. Gorman indicates instead that wood blocks glued between the tops of the bulkheads will support the deck.

The book includes a very high level of photography, reproduced on excellent paper and recording details of many beautifully built models, including some using GRP moulded construction. It is therefore unfortunate that some illustrate what is clearly a less than satisfactory approach to hull construction, reminiscent of that seen in all too many ship model kits aimed at the unwary novice. Where Gorman used photographs, techniques or material provided by other builders and shipping industry representatives, giving credit fairly where he does so, it is also unfortunate that one of his construction methods should flaw what could have been an outstanding book. In the area mentioned above he has fallen far short of providing "the best possible guidance into the building of working scale model ships."

Since newer builders may desire more construction information than is provided here, anyone thinking to buy the book should study a copy first to see if it meets their specific needs.

N.R. Cole  
Toronto, Ontario

Charles Dana Gibson. *The Broadbill Swordfishery of the Northwest Atlantic: An Economic and Natural History*. Camden, ME: Ensign Press, 1998. xii + 139 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, figures, tables, notes, bibliography, index. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-9608996-7-7.

Despite its grandiose title and splendid cover, this is an extremely modest, if not skimpy, book. Excluding photographs, maps, and appendices, the text comes in at about a hundred pages. There are three chapters, or parts: the first, an expanded version of an article that appeared previously in *American Neptune*, reviews the industry's evolution from the early nineteenth century to the 1990s; the second recounts the experience of the Massachusetts-based Chilmark Fleet Co. during the 1960s; and the third is a natural history. It is an odd arrangement, since surely the natural history ought to have come first. But then, this is a book full of oddities.

The natural history is by far the strongest part of the book, as befits an author who himself participated in the swordfishery and who, therefore, had to know his prey. Likewise, Gibson provides very useful detail on technical advances in the capture of swordfish, notably the transition from harpooning to the use of longlines in the early 1960s, which ushered in the industry's boom period. Otherwise the book raises more questions than it answers. In an economic history one supposes there will be a discussion of markets and market forces, but except for the occasional mention of prices, the market is an enigma here. From Gibson's account we could only conclude that the industry was driven solely by technical improvements in catching methods.

The book ought to have been titled *The New England Broadbill Swordfishery*, since this is its actual subject matter. The Canadian industry gets some consideration, usually when Canadian-caught swordfish gains the upper hand over the American product in that nebulous place, the market. There are passing references to international swordfishing vessels in the northwest Atlantic, but little sense of who the most important players were or of the scale of their output. Nor is there any discussion of the impact of the implementation of Canadian and American 200-mile limits in 1977. Even where the American industry is concerned, the picture is sketchy. The extension of

the American fishing effort into more distant regions such as the Flemish Cap, the Caribbean, and the mid-Atlantic – which seems to have taken place in the 1980s – is presented without any explanation as to why it occurred. The chapter on the Chilmark Fleet Company is also something of a puzzle. Gibson tells us that he includes it because of "the lessons it provides," [65] but do we really need eighteen pages of tedium to learn that it was not profitable to tie up capital in vessels that lay idle for three or four months of the year?

To compound matters, the book is marred by the absence of any sign of an editor's pen. Typographical errors abound, the maps are of very uneven quality, and the prose is tortuous, if inventive. As but one example, surely "Summarization" [120] should be "Summary"? In short, while this book may have some value in contributing to our understanding of a neglected subject in the field of fisheries history, as a general history it leaves very much to be desired.

James E. Candow  
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Marc G. Stevenson, Andrew Madsen and Elaine Maloney (eds.). *The Anthropology of Community-Based Whaling in Greenland: A Collection of Papers Submitted to the International Whaling Commission*. Studies in Whaling No. 4, Occasional Publication No. 42; Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, 1997. xvii + 277 pp., maps, tables, figures, photographs. \$40, cloth; ISBN 1-896445-05-5.

The nine papers collected here have been pared down, some from much fuller reports to the International Whaling Commission, in order to focus on the continued community and subsistence basis of whaling by Greenland Inuit. The many tables, taken alone, offer a detailed history for the two decades past, and the earlier background is sketched in. The papers date from 1981 to 1994 and are arranged (after two introductory essays) chronologically. While several more general treatments deal with much the same materials, redundancy is minimized. Differences of perspective reflect the date, writer, and project. As a new voice turns to an already familiar idea or pattern we generally get the sort of repetition with-a-difference which adds a nice brushstroke. There

are ample bibliographic notes to aid the comparative scholar (armed, especially, with Danish or the near equivalent) who would add Greenland to our still-growing list of well-reported Northern North Atlantic coastal studies. Fully half these reports to IWC are local settlement ethnographies. The social value of food sharing is a central theme.

The net result is a holistic "anthropology" of the people, focused on adaptation to a uniquely polar maritime ecology. The guiding strategy of the book is to set Greenlandic hunting apart from the global industry of marine harvesting and the uncontrolled overkills which brought the international monitoring agency into existence more than two decades ago. Counting only calories, whaling is less important to these hardy coastal communities than sealing, yet without both activities the future is blank for a self-supporting Inuit population and the "Fourth World" subsistence culture which is its sole geographic rationale. A second central concern is the impact of science and technological change. Thanks to its holistic attention to the biochemistry and sociological context of one marginal people's contact with modern ecological politics, the broader significance of the book goes beyond Greenland and the IWC.

As for the difficult matter of basing world policy on the "best before tomorrow" laboratory science and statistical information of the day, the historical review which emerges from a run of papers on the Davis Strait and East Coast whale hunts is at once sobering and reasonably encouraging. The research teams have scrapped hard to represent the ground for Inuit claims to a voice in Commission decisions affecting the destiny of this Inuit people. The evolving agencies of government in Denmark-Greenland have brokered the case with some success, establishing policies both hunter and commission can live with. But for expert representation "from the field" it is unlikely that policy outcomes would have been as positive. The deep problem, as always when local-and-marginal communities want to be heard by an elite international committee, was countering the overweening global-and-mainstream concerns of major players. A small voice can too easily be politely heard and swept aside.

The other broad matter this book brings into focus is the question of allocating "rights" to members of the human and other animal species. Though rights hardly exist if rarely respected, the

clamour of voices from "animal rights" and interest groups hardly suggests agreement on priorities is near at hand. The Greenlanders' case is made unequivocal by the circumstance of virtually total dependence on the sea-mammal resource and the absence of realistic alternatives whether for keeping them in their long-settled coastal communities or for "relocating" them. A policy of relocation, given that all Greenlanders alike live in small coastal communities, would be tantamount to deportation. The survival of cultures among hunter peoples parallels the survival of species among the creatures they hunt. The sole view of "animal rights" which does seem to command respect in the world is the "right" of a species to persist. Pursuing the parallel, it appears the ICW has endorsed the notion that culturally integral human communities might be allocated a similar collective right.

George Park  
Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island

Donald Denoon (ed.); with Stewart Firth, Jocelyn Linnekin, Malama Meleisea and Karen Nero. *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. xvii + 518 pp., maps, figures, glossary, bibliography, index. £60, US \$79.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-44195-1.

The first thing that struck me about this marvelous addition to the Cambridge History series was the title. There have been many excellent histories of the "Pacific Islands" but this is the first, to my knowledge, consciously to make Pacific *islanders* its focus. More than thirty years ago, James Davidson launched an attack upon conventional histories that treated islanders as, at most, bit players in the drama of European imperial expansion. This spurred a debate that continues unabated over what an islander-centred history should look like. In Chapter 1, Jocelyn Linnekin provides an insightful essay on the sometimes acrimonious disputes that have erupted between historians, anthropologists, nationalists and others as they have sought in their own ways to connect ever-diversifying pictures of the past with a turbulent present. The editors and contributors draw insights from these debates but nevertheless adopt a moderate stance. They do not attempt a

radical break with former treatments. Instead, they nudge our understanding of Pacific islands history in new directions by including more indigenous voices (significantly more of them female) and by giving sensitive attention to indigenous cultures, innovations and initiatives, as well as reactions to invaders. Readers familiar with the colonial history of the islands will find much of value here that enhances rather than discards older understandings. Newcomers to Pacific history are in for a treat.

The twelve substantive chapters are arranged in rough chronological order. The first juxtaposes different styles of portraying "prehistory" – oral traditions, archaeology and historical linguistics among them – in an account of the original settlement of the Pacific islands. Expressing a theme that runs through most of the essays, Chapter 3 reviews pre-contact productive systems and exchange networks to demonstrate that Pacific islanders were not as insulated from each other as has been commonly assumed. All the same, Pacific islanders faced a supreme challenge to their cosmologies and social systems when European intruders began to appear upon their shores. Threats as well as opportunities expanded as more Europeans arrived, bent on exploiting the natural resources of the area, expanding empire or saving souls for Christianity. In the early stages of contact, islanders took the lead in reshaping their societies in the face of the challenge. Chapter 5 discusses early social and economic adjustments; while chapter 6 looks at innovations in indigenous political structures. As the European powers increased their presence, informal linkages were replaced by more constraining colonial laws and economic systems, usually to the detriment of islanders. The colonial impact varied tremendously across the islands, as shown in Chapter 7, ranging from severe population declines and dispossession of land in settler states like New Zealand and Hawai'i, to situations as in Papua or the New Hebrides where the colonial management was much less direct and most islanders retained control of their lands and a considerable degree of local autonomy. Chapter 8 considers the guiding ideologies of the colonial states and the reach and limitations of their programs. The authors show that, even in the most repressive situations, islanders continued to shape their own histories.

The second part of the *Cambridge History* deals with modern Pacific history from the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, triggering the Pacific war. Areas in which the fiercest fighting took place were devastated, but as Chapter 9 shows the war had significant ideological and political consequences even for those most insulated from the battles and privation. One consequence was a stepped up military presence in several areas and the associated nuclear testing programs, explored in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 attends to the accelerating integration of Pacific island economies into the world economic system and the consequences of this both for those territories well-endowed with marketable natural resources and those without. The war triggered shifts in relations between Pacific islanders and the metropolitan powers, leading to decolonization in most places; adjustments elsewhere where the colonial powers had continuing military interests; and, in the case of Irian Jaya, the substitution of an old colonial master for a new. Chapter 12 investigates the challenges of nationhood for the emerging class of political leaders as well as for ordinary islanders who often retain strong loyalties to local customs and traditions. Chapter 13 looks at the diverse linkages and movements across the region today and questions whether islanders should be perceived as emerging from an insular world or instead be understood in terms of their deep historical linkages with each other and the outside world.

Given the complexities of Pacific island history, the editors of this volume faced a daunting task of balancing a comprehensive treatment of regional variations and more focused narratives developing particular examples to make more general points. Wisely, I believe, they tend to favour the latter. As a result, most of the chapters avoid the encyclopaedic quality so typical of this genre. The editors have done a superb job of melding contributions from a large number of scholars into a narrative that is mostly lively, interesting and free of academic jargon and pretensions. Each chapter ends with a short but comprehensive bibliographic essay providing expert guidance for those who wish to delve deeper. Maritime themes permeate the book, although they do not form the focus of any chapter or sub-section. The history gives especially good treatment of inter-island trade and migra-

tion, before and after colonization, as well as the impact of industrial fisheries.

John Barker  
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Glyndwr Williams. *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters 1570-1750*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997. xv + 300 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$37.50, cloth; ISBN 0-300-07244-9.

Glyndwr Williams has written an excellent account about English voyages of exploration in the Pacific from Drake's entry into that ocean until the eve of Cook's first voyage. It is a period overshadowed by Cook's great achievements, and therefore often overlooked. This is unfortunate, for not only does it provide the foil against which Cook's achievements glitter more brightly, but it is also replete with its own share of colourful figures and interest. The period includes the age of piracy, men such as Dampier, Anson's historic voyage, and the fiasco of the South Sea Bubble. This phenomenon of public gullibility is itself reviewed over three chapters.

Williams characterizes English interest in the Pacific as an "obsession," [xiii] one driven in no small measure by the quest for riches, either by plunder or trade. Perhaps because it was an obsession, the contradictions of the motives of the various enterprises went largely unnoticed. For example, the development of harmonious trading arrangements with Spanish colonies depended on the ability of friendly diplomatic relations to overcome the Spanish embargo on foreign trade. Yet this functioned at cross purposes with the intent of piracy which, if not publicly acknowledged, was never far from the surface. We also discover that the "teflon" quality of "total deniability" may be English in origin, for any official sanction of their voyages into the Pacific would have upset Anglo-Spanish relations, but some ministers of the crown, and even Elizabeth herself, seemed reluctant to deny themselves the opportunity afforded by private investment of sharing in the spoils of capturing the Spanish treasure galleon. And yet, in some voyages, for example Dampier's, alongside these two goals was also the objective of science. Throughout his accounts of these voyages Williams makes exten-

sive use of the contemporary and sometimes rival published accounts. (The citation of these in the bibliography will provide future students a convenient starting point.)

The voyages described are not all real. The obsession with the Pacific was very much in the public imagination, so fictitious accounts of travel also sold well, as Defoe, amongst others, found. Williams shows what today's reader may not know, that Defoe was able to base his *Robinson Crusoe* on a real event. Another form of fiction was that of map making. Some of the maps were the product of what ought to be there, what was thought to be seen, or where the navigator thought he was, all of which could be in error. Dampier, who has enjoyed a reputation as a navigator rather than as a captain was clearly not without his difficulties in that area, as one contemporary critic records. However the discussion of maps also shows what many familiar with Cook may not have known, namely the extent to which the west and north coasts of Australia had been traced by Dampier and others.

Many books have been written about Pacific exploration, piracy, or epic voyages. This superb work combines all English endeavours under these heads, along with a careful analysis of achievements placed within their context. This combination provides an understanding of events, a backdrop for Cook's voyages, and insight into the shift of government policy to support his focused and purely scientific work. With a style that is accessible to the amateur and enthusiast, this book deserves a place on the shelf of every serious student of maritime exploration.

William Glover  
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Edward Duyker. *Nature's Argonaut. Daniel Solander 1733-1782; Naturalist and Voyager with Cook and Banks*. Carlton South, Victoria: The Miegunyah Press of Melbourne University Press, 1998. xx + 380 pp., maps, plates (b+w, colour), glossary, appendix, notes, bibliography, indices. AUS \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-522-84720-X.

It may seem strange that the biography of a botanist should be reviewed in a journal devoted to maritime history, but Daniel Solander was no ordinary botanist. Though he had his detractors

who accused him of laziness, he was, by the evidence of this volume, an exceptionally diligent collector of specimens not only botanical but also zoological and geological. By birth and training Swedish, a favourite pupil of the great Linnaeus, Solander came to England in 1760, never to return. He was able to establish himself amongst the scientific community and became the founder of the British Museum's natural history collections. Eventually and more to the point, he was Banks' companion as a naturalist on Cook's first voyage, where, in contrast to some of his successors in such positions, he proved himself both able and agreeable to all, and, it seems, became something of a confidant of the captain, who may have consequently benefited from Solander's scientific outlook. Not only did the voyage lay the foundations of the study of the flora and fauna of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Isles, but it enhanced the scientific reputation of both Banks and Solander, so that they were able to establish the Linnean system for the classification of plants. Apart from an expedition to Iceland with Banks in 1772 Solander did no more voyaging, but continued to occupy an important position in the scientific world.

Turning more particularly to the book under review, its author is described as "an independent historian," which underplays his hand, as he is evidently also well acquainted with the natural sciences. He has written books on Pacific exploration and their discoveries, as well as admitting to a lifelong interest in the work of Linnaeus. It was therefore natural to move to a study of Solander, as Linnaeus' great pupil, and he became co-editor of Solander's correspondence, from which the surprising lack of a full biography was no doubt too obvious, and the present biography is the consequence.

The result is a straightforward, well-organised book, which forms, as a result of Solander's wide contacts and the author's wide reading, a valuable insight into the scientific world of the eighteenth century. Duyker has also retraced Solander's footsteps, with much advantage, for topographic ignorance is too common a fault with some writers. Inevitably, with such a subject, there must be some "botanising", which will be useful to the true scientist – there are both botanical and zoological indices – but it does not interrupt the flow of the text unduly for the ordinary

reader. The book is excellently produced, with numerous colour and black-and-white illustrations of good quality and judiciously selected.

As the result of various mischances, much of Solander's work was never published under his name, but Duyker shows that it was diffused largely by his helpfulness to other students and by Banks' (his patron) similar generosity after Solander's death. His real contribution has therefore only gradually been realised, and it is to be hoped that Duyker's biography will go further to establish Daniel Solander's importance.

A.W.H. Pearsall  
Greenwich, England

Stephen Haycox, James Barnett and Caedmon Liburd (eds.). *Enlightenment and Exploration in the North Pacific 1741-1805*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press for the Cook Inlet Historical Society, 1997. xii + 220 pp., maps, illustrations, index. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-295-97583-0.

This nicely crafted small anthology publishes selections from papers presented at a symposium held in Anchorage, Alaska, in 1994, commemorating the bicentennial of George Vancouver's survey voyages of 1792-94. The book, as is often the case with collaborative scholarly efforts, tends to be somewhat uneven, with some contributions surpassing others in strength of argument and stylistic excellence. But each of the contributions is valuable, offering relevant insights on maritime exploration and related matters in the North Pacific at the end of the Age of the Enlightenment. The authors are drawn from a variety of academic disciplines (history, art, anthropology) and from the ranks of scholars outside the academy (including doctors, lawyers, and retired naval officers) and include names well known to those familiar with the literature of exploration and discovery and the history of cartography. In general, the blend of academic and non-academic expertise proved to be a happy mixing of talents and the book is a welcome addition to a small but growing literature on the exploration of North-western North America that includes James Gibson's more recent works, the reawakening interest in the transcontinental journey of Alexander Mackenzie evidenced by Barry Gough's fine

biographical treatment, and Richard Mackie's excellent analysis of the western Canadian fur trade in prior to the settlement of the Oregon Question in 1846.

The primary focus of *Enlightenment and Exploration in the North Pacific* is well-explicated by the title of the book but with some differences from what readers familiar with the literature might expect. For many historians of discovery, the words "enlightenment" and "North Pacific" appearing together has often signaled yet another work on the voyages of Captain James Cook. But, with the exception of a discussion in the opening chapter, the great British navigator is virtually absent from this volume, relegated to only a few passing mentions. What this means is that, for many readers, the material in this book will be fresh and new. Indeed, one suspects that some of the key figures in this book will be scarcely known to all but a few specialists in regional or exploratory history. That makes the appearance of this book – along with other recent works – welcome indeed for it tells a story every bit as important and fascinating as that played out in the western interior of the continent in the early nineteenth century or, for that matter, in North Atlantic waters during the search for the Northwest Passage from the east.

The work begins with a splendid short essay by James Barnett, establishing the time and region in the context of the grand imperial struggle between Great Britain, France, Spain, Russia, and – arriving late in the game – the United States. The remainder of the work is divided into three sections that echo the organizing principles of the 1994 conference. In the first of these sections, four papers by Iris Engstrand, Glyndwr Williams, Robin Inglis, and Phyllis Herda are devoted to the exploratory objectives and motives of Spanish, French, and British explorers in the region, driven by desires as different as the search for a Northwest passage and the observing of newly discovered indigenes. The second section contains five papers by John Naish, John Kendrick, Alun Davies, Andrew David, and Carol Urness on the contributions of new science and technology to European exploratory success; most of these, as might be expected, are devoted largely to cartography but others stretch from discussions of the health of British seamen to the science of shipbuilding. The third and final

section contains five important papers by J.C.H. King, Kesler Woodward, Anthony Payne, Stephen Langdon, and Robin Fisher on a topic that can be ignored no longer, the impact of European contact on the region's native peoples.

The publication of papers from specialized symposia are not always notable occasions. This handsomely-illustrated, well-written, and admirably conceived small volume is an exception and should find ready acceptance in the libraries of those interested in exploration, maritime or otherwise.

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Robert M. Bryce. *Cook and Peary: The Polar Controversy Resolved*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997. xviii + 1133 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, bibliographies and source notes, index. US \$50, cloth; ISBN 0-8117-0317-7.

You would think that Arctic exploration provided more than enough physical excitement and high drama in itself. Yet as Robert Bryce's monumental study reveals, the North Pole became the focus of fierce rivalry, counter-claims, accusations of fraudulence, slander, and bitter politics. The book's subtitle, "The Polar Controversy, Resolved," defines the issue exactly, and presents it in an exhaustively researched book that is as massive as its theme.

The author is a research librarian at Montgomery College, Maryland, which may account for the wealth of his material and his meticulous use of it. Bryce draws on many previously unpublished records, original documents, ships' logs, diaries, private letters, and personal recollections, as well as contemporary newspaper accounts and court records. Through them, he takes us every step of the way to the North Pole, and the stressful events that followed the dramatic announcement of its discovery in 1909.

It is difficult today to grasp just how fascinated many people then were by exploration. The news of reaching the North Pole caused enormous public excitement, world-wide, coming as it did at the end of the great era of exploration in the nineteenth century. Interest in the achievement quickly changed to controversy, when two Amer-

ican explorers each separately claimed to have reached the Pole before the other. The contenders for the honour were Commander Robert E. Peary, an officer in the United States Navy, and Dr. Frederick A. Cook, a rival explorer. Though Peary was the first to make his announcement of success, Cook quickly and loudly challenged him.

There is something much like the media wars of today in how the conflicting claims were played out in American newspapers in 1909 and for years afterwards. Overshadowing even US national pride in the planting of the Stars and Stripes at the Pole, soon the focus of attention turned to the personal quarrel that developed between the two men. Other than their common determination to explore Arctic wastes, the claimants were widely different in personality; one an austere naval officer, the other a flamboyant self-promoter. Bryce does a thorough job of examining each man's family origins, and the youthful influences that set them off to challenge the harsh climate of the last unknown area on earth.

Mariners will enjoy Bryce's details of shipboard conditions in Arctic seas. He describes how ships played crucial roles in the Polar quest, enabling the explorers to travel as far north as possible in relative ease. Vessels and their captains were chosen carefully for their ability to avoid the barriers of pack-ice so as to put men and dog-sleds ashore well north. These intrepids included many striking personalities and eccentrics. Among them, was Peary's wife, Josephine, a remarkable adventurer in herself. Gently born, with a strong aversion to dirt and discomfort, yet she insisted on accompanying her husband on two of his Arctic expeditions. She braved storms at sea, crowded ship quarters, polar bears, bitter cold, and disease. "Jo" particularly abhorred what she considered the crudity of many of the expedition members and the squalor of igloos.

The controversy of who was really first to the Pole dragged on for a decade, and ultimately caused personal despair for both explorers. Though Commander (later Admiral) Peary's claim became certified by the National Geographic Society, he died early, embittered by the struggle to be believed. But the most tragic victim was Dr. Cook. Always a driven man, constantly trying new ways of making quick money, Cook lost his family, was sentenced to jail for mail fraud, and died a litigious old man in 1940, soon

after a Presidential pardon. In writing what is surely a definitive work, Robert Bryce also presents dozens of photographs that show how it was to brave Arctic seas and frozen expanses to first discover the North Pole.

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Harding McGregor Dunnett. *Shackleton's Boat: The Story of the James Caird*. Cranbrook, Kent: Neville & Harding, 1996. x + 150 pp., maps, figures, illustrations, photographs, appendices, £20, cloth; ISBN 0-948028-02-5.

This book will give much pleasure to those who already know and admire the Antarctic explorer Sir Ernest Shackleton (1874-1922). For those who do not know him, it will provide an excellent introduction. And if you want to help someone discover the Golden Age of Antarctic exploration, *Shackleton's Boat* would make a great gift idea.

The heart of the book is its account of the voyage of the 23-foot whaler, *James Caird*, from Elephant Island to South Georgia. This 800-mile journey across one of the most boisterous oceans in the world is considered a display of seamanship and courage ranking with Bligh's boatvoyage to Timor after the mutiny on the *Bounty*.

The *James Caird* was named in honour of the Dundee millionaire who sponsored Shackleton's 1914-1916 Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition. It was one of three boats belonging to the Expedition's ship, the *Endurance*. When the *Endurance* was crushed in the ice in late 1915, the expedition members, after a few miserable months camped out on the ever shifting and fragmenting ice-floes, made their way to Elephant Island in the three boats. From there, on 24 April 1916, Shackleton and five others set off in the *James Caird* to sail to the Norwegian whaling station on the island of South Georgia. There lay the only hope of rescue for them, and for the twenty-two men left behind. South Georgia was reached on 10 May 1916. Then, some days later, Shackleton and two others crossed the snowy and mountainous island to reach the whaling station. It was the first time the arduous journey was ever accomplished. The men on Elephant Island were all rescued on 30 August 1916.

Dunnett's account of this epic journey is

based on published sources and on the log kept by Frank Worsley – a remarkable feat considering the cramped and punishing conditions endured by those aboard. It can be difficult to tell a dramatic story to readers who know how it all turns out. Dunnett surmounts this challenge by focusing on the immediacy of the experience of the men aboard, who knew that the South Atlantic could swallow them up in a second. Their sheer physical wretchedness is emphasized – Worsley's contortions as he attempted to sight the sun, the icy necessity of working the pump in the chilling water every two to four hours. Then there are the hair's-breadth escapes – the AB, J. Vincent, managing to grab the mast just before shooting off the ice-slick canvas, the discovery, after enduring a hurricane which had lasted for nine hours and sunk a 500-ton steamer, that the pin holding the mast clamp had almost worked its way off. "Had it fallen out during the hurricane," Worsley later wrote, "the mast would have snapped like a carrot, and no power on earth would have saved us." [66]

The numerous illustrations (193 in all) add to the dramatic impact. The expedition had both a photographer, Frank Hurley, who managed to save 150 of his glass plate negatives, and an artist, George Marston. The illustrations are spread throughout the text, an effective strategy, as it compels the reader to look at them attentively. Among the most telling of the photographs are two of the *Endurance*, a new ship specially built for work in the ice, and made by the ice to look like a kite mangled in a tree, [53-54] Shackleton while camping on the ice, looking both strained and resolute, [63] and a view of the *James Caird* setting off. [91] To look at this photo is to share some of the emotions of the men who saw her go, knowing that this was their one, faint hope of escaping death by starvation. Neither Hurley nor Marston took part in the *James Caird* voyage, but this too is illustrated with starkly evocative paintings done after the fact (although I could not discover who painted them).

The second career of the *James Caird*, as a relic, began as soon as the first had ended. One would think that on the whole Norwegian whalers are not easily impressed, yet some of the men on South Georgia were impressed to the point of tears by what Shackleton and his men had done. Sailing around the island to retrieve the other

crew members, they made a point of rescuing the *James Caird* as well. Brought back to England in 1919, the boat has had a variety of homes (it was once displayed on the roof of Selfridge's department store) but for most of the time, apart from a long stint at the National Maritime Museum, it has been housed at Shackleton's old school, Dulwich College in southeast London. In 1994 it was loaned for display at a boat show at Earls Court where it became apparent how much power it had to attract people to Shackleton's story. That year The James Caird Society was founded "to bring to the notice of the general public, world-wide, all aspects of the expeditions made by Sir Ernest Shackleton (1874-1922) to Antarctica, and related aspects of Antarctic history."

Most of the famous relics of polar exploration bring to mind images of pathetic gallantry. But Shackleton is not admired for how he died, or for what he did or failed to do. He is admired for what he was in action as a man and a leader. It is fitting that he should be memorialized by a boat, which is a living thing, and by a boat which has become a symbol of courage and seamanship.

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Paul C. van Royen, Jaap R. Bruijn and Jan Lucassen (eds.). *"Those Emblems of Hell"? European Sailors and the Maritime Labour Market, 1570-1870*. "Research in Maritime History," No. 13; St. John's: International Mari

362 pp., tables, maps. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-9681288-1-5.

Contributors to the conference held in Leiden in October 1994 were asked to discuss the number of sailors engaged in the different maritime sectors, their mobility between the sectors as well as between the same sector in different countries, government policies, and the culture of sailors. Some of the participants used the available data and counted sailors as best they could, while others limited their analysis in geographical or temporal scope. Still others (most notably Gordon Jackson) thoroughly discussed the nature of their sources, thereby outlining the main features as well as the dynamics of the local and national seafarers community. Together the contributions

to this volume provide us with reasonable guesses about numbers and, more importantly, about trends in developments. This makes them a very good starting point for further analysis.

Let me point out a few of the results that should be kept in mind: during all of the period under scrutiny national differences were striking, sometimes even becoming more marked in the course of internationalisation processes. Yet there also existed some more or less common general features. Most sailors were the sons of sailors and were born within sight of the sea. Several contributors suggest that the choice of a maritime occupation usually was prompted by the fact that alternatives were rare; none point to the fact that local and family traditions also seem to have played a decisive part. On the development of separated labour markets for short and for long hauls respectively, opinions are not unanimous. Whereas T.J.A. LeGoff identifies a rather clear-cut divide for France, Gordon Jackson found that in Scotland, inhabitants of the tiny villages not only moved easily between crofting, fishing, whaling and seafaring, but also between short and long voyages. This of course begs the question whether these movements occurred during the span of a year or two or in the course of a life cycle. Seasonal switches were fairly common between fishing, whaling and farming in a number of cultures, most notably so perhaps in Iceland. There, farm work and winter fishing were so intertwined that farm workers were sent off to fish by their employers, the latter even receiving the pay their hands had earned at fishing.

Yet peasant seafaring was also quite common. In Finland peasant shipping in the 1860s and 1870s even grew faster in tonnage than did urban shipping. This peasant fleet was sometimes partly manned by ordinary farm hands. Yrjö Kaukiainen is not sure whether they should be considered "proper seamen" at all (219). However, some of the contributors to this volume show that even these part-time were not totally excluded from the practice of international labour migration. At some periods and in some countries the percentage of foreigners in maritime occupations (including some national navies) was astonishingly high. Perhaps more work is needed on the changes in the interrelationship between Italy and the southern French fleet or between Scandinavia, some German regions, and the Dutch fleet.

I would also suggest that in future, we should not only try to determine more precisely the push and pull factors of labour migration but also go in search of sources which would shed light on the "management" of international crews.

Whereas foreigners were most often restricted to the lower grades in a ship's hierarchy, seldom moving up to the position of petty officer, there was sometimes an import of foreign masters. For instance, the engagement of foreign masters in Finland or Danzig was rather frequent in the eighteenth century. Yrjö Kaukiainen states that in Finland, foreign masters were responsible for introducing methods of discipline hitherto unknown in local seafaring. This seems convincing, but should not be taken as proof of the fact that in other European countries the language of strict discipline which we find in maritime codes of the period had also been translated into actual practice aboard ships. Instead we should keep in mind that new forms of discipline were made necessary by the simple fact that masters whose national origin was different from that of their crews had to rely on formal codes of discipline.

This brings us to the question of labour relations aboard ships of the merchant fleets. Where seamen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were already wage labourers in the modern sense, should they then be considered proletarians? Most historians are uneasy about the daring hypothesis put forward by Marcus Redicker and taken up by Marcel van der Linden in the present volume. Peter Earle, for instance, holds that up to the eighteenth century there existed "a culture of conformity" aboard ships which differed from capitalistic labour relations. [88] This, of course, leaves us with the task of deciding upon the criteria which define the structural transformation. If it is to be assumed that in 1870 labour relations aboard ships were thoroughly capitalistic and that in 1570 they were not, then their structural transformation must have occurred somewhere in between. No analysis of the maritime labour market between 1570 and 1870 fails to tackle this question. Yet only Gordon Jackson advances a criterion. He holds that capitalist-labour relations were not fully developed as long as the shipping business had not yet been separated from seafaring. In fact, this separation most often forced masters to neglect the well-being of "their people" by acting as the

agents of the economic interests of their shipping firm. Though aboard ships there always remained a common interest in a safe journey, this certainly enhanced differences between captains and crews.

Nevertheless, separation of the shipping business is not sufficient to describe the transformation of labour relations aboard merchant ships. I would suggest two further criteria. First of all we should take seriously a point which has been mentioned in several of the contributions. In the eighteenth and in some places even in the nineteenth century crews possessed the privilege of "føring" (Norwegian), "pacotilles" (French), or "Führung" (German). This private trade should not simply be considered as a means to increase (often considerably) one's income, but also as an aspect of the social status of the crew. The privilege of using part of the ship's carrying capacity for the transport of goods for private trade so rt of put "the people" of a ship on an equal footing with anybody else whose freight the ship was carrying. In traditional seafaring this privilege included the right to leave the ship in a foreign port long enough to further one's own commercial interests as well as the right to participate in decisions on the course of a voyage. If we want to find out when it was that sailors were made into proletarians, we should, first of all, find out at what time private trade was efficiently – and not simply by the wording of a marine code – abolished or transformed into a supplement of wages.

This, however, is only one aspect of the transformation of labour relations. There is also the social form of the labour process to be considered. Wage labour in itself is no sufficient criterion for the characterisation of capitalist forms of labour aboard ships. The latter only emerged when crews were expropriated their collective skill to sail a ship. As long as the relevant skills, including traditional methods of navigation, were acquired on board, sailors, however they were enumerated, were not yet made into mere instruments for the profits of the transport business. The art of bringing a ship over the ocean had long been organised along traditional patterns of artisanal labour: There was a hierarchy of rights and duties acquired by the length of one's seafaring career, which, it was assumed, produced also a hierarchy of skills. Moving up a step or two not only meant higher pay but also an enhancement of one's honour. If we look more closely at the

collective protests which have been recorded we most often find that crews not only defended their economic interests but also their honour as seamen, that they expected not to be treated as "slaves" and to have their opinion (for example about the safety of a ship) respected. In order to establish capitalist labour relations aboard ships the concept of honour had to be thrown overboard. Processes like these are not easy to detect but historians of seafaring should not only try to integrate their discipline into the general discourse of social historians but also endeavour very clearly to analyse the specific features of maritime labour.

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Piet Boon. *Bouwers van de Zee: Zeevarenden van het Westfriese platteland, c. 1680-1720. [Builders of the Sea: Seafarers of the West Friesland Countryside, c. 1680-1720]* Den Haag: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks [Postbus 95904, 2509 CX Den Haag], 1996. x + 276 pp., bibliography, notes, appendices, maps, index, English summary. ISBN 90-72627-18-0.

The maritime history currently being written in the Netherlands in some ways is surely the most exciting in the world. I would certainly argue that on balance it is the most consistently impressive national body of work being produced today. That this is so is in large part testimony to the influence of one of the towering figures of maritime history in the last three decades, Professor Jaap R. Bruijn of the University of Leiden, who has supervised almost forty PhD theses in maritime history, most of them excellent pieces of historical scholarship. Piet Boon's study quite ably continues this tradition. It is a marvellous piece of work, fully worthy not only of a doctorate but also of a wide readership. Unfortunately, unless a much higher proportion of maritime historians learn to read Dutch than is the case at present, the fact that it is written in that language is going to restrict seriously its readership outside the Netherlands.

Boon's book examines the role of shipping and seafaring in the rural areas of West Friesland between 1680 and 1720. This in general terms was a period of decline for regionally-based

maritime activities. If the decline of merchant shipping owned in the area only became apparent after 1700, the proportion of sailors among the economically-active population began to fall much earlier. This paralleled a decline in the proportion of skippers who came from the region. Yet when West Friesland's share of captains began to rise again after 1710, the number of seamen did not keep pace. This has led a number of earlier historians to try to explain the decline of the regional fleet in terms of a shortage of maritime labour. As Boon shows, it is easy to understand how historians could come to this conclusion, since the decline in the number of seamen was real.

Yet the fact that the absolute and relative number of seamen declined does not prove that a labour shortage caused the decline in shipping. Indeed, Boon does not subscribe to this argument, in large measure because after 1700 — the period in which the merchant marine declined — the number of mariners actually stabilized. This leads him to take a different tack, pointing to the impact of exogenous factors, especially war, as triggers for the decline. The impact of war was great, especially on merchants in urban centres like Hoorn and herring operators in towns like Enkhuyzen. For Boon, this is significant, for he contends that declining numbers of merchants and herring boat owners were no longer able to sustain such a large merchant fleet. It is this fact, Boon contends, that largely explains the decrease in the size of the West Friesland fleet.

I find his arguments convincing. They are based both on painstaking research in a variety of local sources and some subtle yet logical arguments. It is hard to see how this argument is going to be challenged in the near future. At the very least, his careful work in the sources should dispel once and for all the notion that it was a labour shortage which led to the decline of maritime industries in West Friesland.

If the book has a weakness it is in a lack of international comparisons. Boon has done a good job of comparing the West Friesland experience with trends elsewhere in the Dutch Republic, but his bibliography is almost totally bereft of non-Dutch materials. One result of this is that he cannot see just how unusual West Friesland was. For example, there can be few places in the early modern period in which between twenty and

thirty percent of the working populace was engaged in shipping, even considering the seasonal nature of much of this employment. Yet by focusing solely on the Dutch experience, Boon is unable to draw this conclusion. This lessens the utility of the book slightly.

But these criticisms could be levelled at most maritime historical writing and does not apply to Boon's work in particular. Piet Boon has given us a superb local case study of Dutch maritime enterprise in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. My most fervent hope is that he will attempt to secure funds for an English translation so that this important work will find the much larger audience it so richly deserves.

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David Jacoby. *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*. Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, Hamps. & Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1997. x + 340 pp., illustrations, figures, maps, index. US \$98.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-620-X.

This is a collection of twelve scholarly articles reprinted from various journals published between 1985 and 1994. Each covers a specific subject over a particular time span. Seven of the studies are written in English while the other five are in French. This volume is the fourth in a series of collected studies published by Ashgate Press under their "Variorum" and deals with different aspects of the European expansion and its relationship with Byzantium, the Crusader states in Levant and the Muslims. The particular focus of this this tome is on the economic relations and interaction which were major components in the expansion process that took place during the medieval period.

As pointed out by the author in the Preface, some of the issues must be revisited in order to take into account the number of publications devoted to the traffic of merchants, commodities and ships in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea during the period under consideration. The author bases his analysis on both published and unpublished primary sources placed within both their contemporary context and a comparative framework. The scope of his research allows for the

clarification of misunderstood or overlooked aspects, permitting new interpretations and revealing new light on different matters. A brief look into each of the articles is in order.

The opening study constitutes a good lead because of its wide scope. It represents an overview of the mobility of two groups: one, the mercantile class, was made up of a wide variety of people in related trades and other occupations, all of whom must be considered merchants. The other group included skilled and semi-skilled workers who exercised their trade in a regular fashion. In this study, Jacoby features both groups as demographic, economic and social phenomena. Because of the extent and disparity between the two groups and their impact on the framework of economic expansion, the author merely suggests new directions for future research on the subject.

Five of the studies that follow are related, insofar as they could be considered a description of the political implications of doing business in Levant and at the same time a reference to the impact of the maritime powers and the Crusaders on the East, particularly, in Acre. The presence of the Italian maritime powers in the Byzantine Empire represented power and profits for each, depending on their trade privileges and concessions. At the same time the maritime powers and the Crusaders gained or lost ground in their respective endeavors, and a reciprocal impact was noticeable in their demographic, social and economic significance in the cities they occupied. This impact is examined in the articles devoted to the urban development of Acre and how the Italian communes and the military orders occupying that city affected it. This is mostly perceived in the political gains and the acquisition of property in and around the city. As their power grew, the demands to impose the rule on their own people increased.

The combined studies suggest how the nature and extent of the privileges to do business were used to the advantage of setting up long-term presence and permanent settlement. This situation in turn was related to the continuity of trade in a substantial volume of goods. The mari

through their home city on their own ships and extending a measure of control over foreign activity to benefit their own economy. On the other

hand, this impact of the foreign powers on the city of Acre led to the decentralization of urban planning and a significant transformation of the original Arab village. The major effect was felt in the development and enlargement of its port facilities to handle the growing volume of trade.

Five other studies may be combined to signify the extent and the impact of particular products related to the European expansion. Sugar, silk and alum are probably among the major products of trade in the Middle Ages. These five studies demonstrate, to some extent, the complexities of the production, the trade and the markets encompassed by these four articles of commerce. In "Silk in Western Byzantium," Jacoby demonstrates that the evolution of the city as a silk center cannot be reconstructed unless its connections with the provinces are understood. Using the documentation from one city, a hypothetical reconstruction is imagined as to the development of the industry in other urban centers. The important fact derived from this investigation is that the imperial silk factory in Constantinople did not control the industry, but that many private manufacturing concerns were also involved. The state control was engineered by its involvement in the supply of certain raw materials required and its demand for certain types of high-grade textiles and vestments. The state had no control in the spreading of silk technology and design. Another conclusion reached by the author is that the silk industry was closely related to the urban concentration of manufacturing.

In a study about silk production in the Frankish Peloponnese, the operation of the industry is examined within the economic sphere as seen through the vision of those who originally gathered the information. It includes details as to the people or the labor force involved, the taxes paid, the seasonal nature of the industry, the cost of the raw materials and the method of cultivation. Curiously, little information is revealed in those documents about the trade with the commodity.

"The Raw Materials for The Glass Industry of Venice" presents the evolution of this industry during the thirteenth century as determined by economic processes, technological advances and governmental interference. This last factor had as the objective to further the growth of the local industry by protecting it from foreign competition. In "L'Alun et la Crète venitienne," the

author reports on the efforts to exploit the mines on the island of Crete through the concession of licenses for periods of ten years; however, the efforts to develop the alum industry were not successful, in part because of the discovery of Tulfa mines within the Pontifical territories in 1462. The study concludes by stating that some of the sources confirm that the exploitation of the alum mines in Crete in reality never got underway. "La Production du Sucre en Crète" represents another futile effort to develop the sugar cane industry on the island. This time not only the climatological conditions were inappropriate, but as well, the feudal lords objected to having someone owning a monopoly on the island. These factors, joined by the exportation of sugar from other royal domains and from Crusaders' territories, closed the doors on the possibility of developing the sugar industry on the island.

The volume closes with a brief study devoted to the business of the rental of anchors during the thirteenth century. This apparently insignificant object carried in ships was not only required in the operation of ships but was regulated by various governmental bodies. Anchors were described in most maritime contracts and chancery documents. The significance of this study is that it places in perspective the meaning of the other studies in the book; that is, an amazing amount of trade, commerce and shipping was taking place during a period of history which many people today tend not to regard as commercially vigorous. This volume is a great scholarly contribution not only to the study of the specific periods and products with which it deals but also to how these small pieces from the jigsaw of history fill in the spaces in the overall view of the Middle Ages.

Wilfredo Geigel  
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K.S. Mathew. *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1997. viii + 307 pp., illustrations, appendices, select bibliography, index. Rs 550, cloth; ISBN 81-7304-137-7.

The theme of Professor Mathew's new book, never made explicit, is the lack of a middle class of merchants and financiers in Portugal in the sixteenth century. Among the reasons for this are

persecution of the Jewish population, and an overly large, even stifling, role for the king in economic matters. As a consequence, in order to handle the influx of spices from their activities in the Indian Ocean area, the rulers had to turn to others, mostly Italians and Germans, for expertise in commercial matters, for their European distributive networks, and for their financial resources. One of the groups most prominent in coming to the aid of the Portuguese, albeit in order to make profits for themselves, was the Fugger family of southern Germany. They had a particular advantage in that they controlled to a very considerable extent production and trade in copper, a commodity much in demand in the Indian Ocean area at the time. Thus they were able to trade copper for pepper, and do much better from Portuguese trade with Asia than did the Portuguese themselves.

Within this broad theme the book under review provides much detail of interest. However, it suffers from a rather strange organization. It takes the author a long time to get to the ostensible topic of the book. Rather we get copious background, and very little new hard data on their activities in the Indian Ocean area and the redistributive trade in Europe. After a brief introduction, the second chapter provides a broad overview of trade in the Indian Ocean region prior to 1500. There follows a discussion of Portuguese activities in the area in the sixteenth century. All of this is very familiar already, and has been done better in several recent books. The relevance of these pages to the theme of the book is unclear. Similarly, the fourth chapter locates the Fuggers in their European context, but again the discussion is based on a few familiar secondary sources, and contains little that is new.

Only in chapter five do we get to the central matter, the role of the Fuggers in Portuguese trade to Asia in the sixteenth century. For a time they did very well out of exchanging copper for pepper in Europe, and distributing spices from Antwerp. They also sent their own agents and ships to the Indian Ocean under Portuguese auspices. From 1521 they abandoned this trade, apparently as they hoped to get access to the actual production areas of spices in the Molucca islands, working now under Spanish patronage. No detail is provided of this interesting, and obviously unsuccessful, attempt. [154-5] In the 1580s they returned to trade with India through their participa-

tion in the pepper trade, which the Portuguese (since 1580 also Spanish) crown had decided to contract out. Mathew shows how mixed was their success here. Nevertheless, it is a major disappointment that while we are told that the Fugger archives are very rich indeed [vii, 22-4] their contents seem to have contributed almost nothing to this book. Another is the author's occasional ill-advised ventures into "theory" [e.g. 30-32, 236]; if he wants to do this he should first decide what he means by "capitalistic."

The final chapter is again almost totally unrelated to the Fuggers, for it is a brief and poorly organised account of the trade in animals between India and Europe by Michael Gorgas. Again the detail is familiar enough, and there is a bit of a mystery here anyway. Mathew tells us that "The present work is, by and large, the outcome of a joint venture with Dr. Michael Gorgas" [25] but this rather obscure statement is nowhere expanded on so that we can tell which author was actually responsible for what.

Despite these critical comments, Mathew as usual is an assiduous collector of empirical data, even if on the present occasion much of it is familiar enough already. I regret having to write such a critical review. Mathew has done valuable detailed work in the past, and it is to be hoped that his future work will be more focused on the topic in question, will present new information, and will eschew vapid "theorising."

M.N. Pearson  
Lennox Head, Australia

Carmel Vassallo. *Corsairing to Commerce: Maltese Merchants in XVIII Century Spain*. Valletta: Malta University Publishers, 1997. xxvii + 378 pp., tables, illustrations, maps, appendices, glossary, bibliography, index. Lm 10, £18, US \$30, 4.500 pts, paper; ISBN 99909-45-04-7.

This book consists of six chapters. The first two are essentially introductory – an account of Maltese traders in Spain before 1750, and a general overview of the main period covered by the book, which is the second half of the seventeenth century. The remaining chapters are thematic – an account of the shipping that was used; a description of the way in which Maltese firms were established in Spain, followed by a chapter

on how that initial penetration developed into Maltese merchants cornering the market for cotton in Catalonia; the final chapter deals with the social history of Maltese migrants in Spain.

Vassallo's book is a revised version of his doctoral thesis, and it is an extremely detailed and careful account of a period and a subject of which little is known in detail. That the Maltese were great traders across the Mediterranean in the eighteenth century has always been clear enough, but the mechanics and the extent of this are revealed here for the first time. The title, though, is a little misleading: the book does not really document the shift from corsairing to commerce, but begins after the corsairing trade had begun to decline. The reasons for this are not well explained, but Vassallo makes it clear how the decline of corsairing provided the basis, both in men capital and ships, for the rise of a peaceful trade. Nevertheless, the picture he paints of Maltese entrepreneurs shows that they lost none of their dynamism in the transition, or indeed their disrespect for awkward legal obstacles. As well as being legal traders, they seem to have been enthusiastic smugglers, although that is harder to document. The particularly useful chapter on the ships that they used makes it clear that these legal Maltese traders not only sailed in the same sort of ships that they had used for corsairing, but that they also maintained many of the organisational practices of corsairing, including the ways in which ships were fitted out and the finances were accounted for, although it generated considerably more capital than the old fighting trade. By situating the transition from corsairing to legitimate commerce as an economic question Vassallo helps to underline the essentially economic character of Maltese corsairing itself. Nevertheless, corsairing did continue, on a much reduced scale in the eighteenth century, and it would have been interesting to explore how the old and new trades interlocked, if indeed they did.

The last chapter, on the social history of the Maltese in Spain is also very intriguing. The numbers were quite startling: in the mid-eighteenth century over forty percent of the adult males were away from Malta: even at this early date the island was dependent on migrant earnings. Yet although so many were abroad, they did not melt into their host communities. They made up an impressive percentage – nearly one in ten –

of all foreigners in Cadiz, but even there, they kept their separate identity. To be sure, nearly fifteen percent of them married Spanish women, but that was a far higher figure than the smaller Maltese communities in Malaga, and a much smaller proportion than the foreign communities of Frenchmen and Genoese.

There are some tantalising references that unfortunately Vassallo does not (perhaps cannot?) follow up. For instance, in his useful list of Maltese merchants that he puts in as an appendix, one Francisco Cini, a merchant in Barcelona is mentioned as "being the agent for Agi Yune Ben Yunes of Tunis in the sale of cotton." It is a pity that Vassallo cannot provide more information on this trade between North Africa and Spain. It may simply be that there is no more information than that, of course – around the same time there seems to have been a Moroccan trading community in Cadiz, but the details are sketchy.

In short, this is a most useful and detailed book, and will be of interest to people working on the history of maritime trade in the Mediterranean and in the end of corsairing.

Richard Pennell  
Parkville, Victoria, Australia

Hugh Thomas. *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870*. London: Picador and New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. 925 pp., maps, illustrations, photoplates, appendices, bibliographical note, notes, index. £25, US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-330-35437-X.

At first glance, Hugh Thomas' long and detailed account of the trans-Atlantic slave trade appears to be timely and useful. The author draws on an extensive literature and an impressive amount of primary materials to examine the origins of trans-Atlantic slavery and its development into a major, world system of production and trade. He demonstrates that this multi-national, complicated trade was central to the development of the modern world, and for this reason, general readers will find the study a necessary correction to the usual Anglo-centred study of slavery and the slave trade. For example, his treatment of Hispanic and Portuguese involvement in the early trade will provide readers with a convenient summary of this important but often neglected dimension.

Similarly, the numerous descriptions of how people became slaves will certainly expose many people to aspects of the trade that are little known and often misunderstood.

The wealth of detail in the book is considerable, and when Thomas has his facts correct, much of this detail is not only interesting but very useful. The study is divided into six books and thirty-six chapters. There are numerous illustrations and plates and several appendices on the number of slaves who crossed the Atlantic, slave prices, and accounts of individuals whose life stories reflect the slave trade. Yet Thomas' efforts to summarize the debate over the number of enslaved Africans who were transported to the Americas is out of date, even at publication. The W.E.B. Du Bois database of over 27,000 slaving voyages, recently published by Cambridge University Press as a CD-ROM, supersedes Thomas' discussion, and the extensive research currently underway in connection with the UNESCO initiative to study the "slave route" is already revealing considerable documentation to which Thomas has not had access. Thomas cannot be criticized for being unaware of these fast-breaking developments but readers should be aware that there is much more currently being done than is suggested in this book.

Moreover, the book has serious problems which further neutralize its usefulness. The text is riddled with factual errors too numerous to list. While Thomas took pains to eliminate any "Americanisms" from his prose as "barbarisms," it should be noted that the American Declaration of Independence, not the US Constitution, declared that all men were free and equal with inalienable rights. The care taken to conform to some "orthodoxy" in the English language obviously did not extend to factual details that many American school children could have corrected. More seriously, perhaps, Thomas confuses details on the African side, which school children and adults alike may very well not know. Thus, he confuses New Calabar with Old Calabar, wrongly thinking that they were somehow related historically. While both ports were and are located in the Bight of Biafra, there was no connection between them, and certainly settlers did not move from Old Calabar to found New Calabar, as Thomas asserts. In fact New Calabar, or more accurately Elem Kalabari, was an Ijaw town

located in the Niger delta, while Old Calabar was an Efif town founded on the Cross River by Ibibio settlers from the interior, probably in the early seventeenth century, after Elem Kalabari had already been settled. This kind of error matters because readers cannot be sure of using the information in this book for references. In the eighteenth century, Old Calabar became one of the ten or twelve most important slave ports on the African coast, while Elem Kalabari was eclipsed by the neighbouring port at Bonny, which became one of the two or three most important shipping points for slaves in the eighteenth century.

These numerous errors suggest that Thomas relied too heavily on research assistance and too little on a careful reading of the sources and secondary literature that was undertaken by himself. Certainly efforts to check facts that should have been undertaken in editing this book seem to have failed miserably. Unfortunately, there is a danger that this book will become an "authority" on the topic of the slave trade for general readers, who are unlikely to know about other, more important work. Many interesting stories and details will fascinate the general reader, but for accuracy, scholars will have to look elsewhere.

Paul Lovejoy  
Toronto, Ontario

Cathy Matson. *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. x + 458 pp., maps, illustrations, appendices (tables, graphs), notes, essay on sources, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8018-5602-7.

Dr. Matson's prodigious study of New York's merchants from the time of settlement up to the outbreak of the American Revolution is the most thorough study of that seaport's commercial history ever written. It is based on a careful re-reading of a remarkable quantity of public and private records. The result is a definitive treatment. Matson examines virtually every trade and every twist and turn in the history of colonial economic policy while trying to trace the social history of New York's merchant crowd in some detail as it evolved in the political-economic

context of the day. Indeed, she gives the reader no quarter in her attempt to tell the whole story, so that it is unlikely that *Merchants and Empire* will find an audience outside the ranks of colonial specialists.

Of course, colonial merchants in general have not lacked their historians, and the history of trade and politics in New York is hardly untrod-den ground. One might well ask why the subject deserves yet another study. Matson argues, however, that business historians have tended to focus "too much of their attention at the coterie of individuals at the pinnacle of economic success in the province," [2] especially during the last decade of imperial rule. She suspects that traders did not constitute a coherent interest group, let alone a class, and that below the nabobs of New York society there existed a group of "lesser' or middling merchants" [4] whose businesses and political views did not necessarily resemble those of their wealthier neighbors. Matson is not the first to argue that traders were a heterogeneous crowd; others have cut the group into smugglers and fair traders or into dry goods and provisioning dealers in order to make better sense of their business dealings and political beliefs. In some ways, the distinction she draws, hinging as it does simply on wealth, is a cruder one; but since wealth (or capital) was the basic tool of the merchant's trade, simplicity makes sense.

Matson makes this distinction because she believes that smaller traders played a significant role in promoting economic liberalism throughout the colonial period. In general, they tended to be less enthusiastic about mercantilist regulation, quicker to support local development policies, and bolder about trading with the enemy than were the greater merchants. This was only a matter of degree, of course, and the author is very careful to point out the many instances when the interests of all New York businessmen coincided. But if any group of merchants were a little more likely to see the advantages in a loosening of mercantile regulation and eventually even political independence, it was those of lesser means.

Although intuitively the argument seems plausible, it is often difficult to judge from the evidence presented. Too frequently the text is vague about who and how many middling traders did this or claimed that. Phrases such as "lesser merchants believed..." or "some of them ech-

oed..." [231] without names mentioned or proportions calculated do not give the reader much confidence that such opinions or actions distinguished them from anyone else. Curiously, after reading about these colonists through several hundred remarkably dense pages, this reviewer was left with a less than adequate feel for precisely who these people were and what made them different from other colonists. Thus, while Matson should be applauded for not stretching her evidence to make bolder claims than she can defend, the arguments she does advance are not as persuasive as they might have been. The determined reader will gain a better handle on the commercial economy of colonial New York here than in any other book I know of, but whether Dr. Matson will end up changing people's minds about the significance of lesser traders in the business and politics of the seventeenth and eighteenth century remains to be seen.

Daniel Vickers  
St. John's, Newfoundland

Thomas N. Layton. *The Voyage of the Frolic: New England Merchants and the Opium Trade*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997. xvi + 227 pp., illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8047-2909-3.

Archaeological exploration, which often provides maritime scholars with invaluable historical information from recovered artifacts, also can serve as an impetus to revealing hitherto obscure events through its associated archival

undertaking, such a project can head in entirely unanticipated directions, and Thomas Layton's thorough study of the voyage of the brig *Frolic* demonstrates just how extraordinarily a line of inquiry can diverge from the expected path.

In 1984 Layton, an archaeologist at San Jose State University specializing in the prehistory of native Americans in California, uncovered fragments of green bottle glass and Chinese pottery that had been worked by Porno Indians who had lived on his site. His search for the origins of these remains and the route they traveled to reach Northern California led him into wholly unexpected and unfamiliar territory — opium produc-

tion and distribution in India, the American trade in the drug to China in the 1840s, Baltimore shipbuilders and the yards that built their famous clippers, the early impact of steam on Far Eastern commerce, and China traders participation in the California Gold Rush. He also uncovered a fascinating cast of participants in this story, some central to the narrative, such as the Dixwell family and Edward Horatio Faucon, *Frolic's* commander, and others more peripheral, including Frederick Douglass, who was an apprentice at the yard that later built the brig, and Richard Henry Dana, who described his earlier service under Faucon in *Two Years Before the Mast*.

The heart of Layton's work is his study of the American opium trade with China in the years following the First Opium War and the Treaty of Wanghia in 1844. He vividly describes the production of the drug in India, the competition between the British East India Company's Patna and the Bombay Parsees Malwa, the highly developed opium trade between India and China, the product's distribution on its arrival, and the proceeds earned from these ventures. Several important points emerge clearly: the debilitating impact of the drain of treasure on the stability of Chinese society and government; the significant role of commission business in the success of American firms; the importance of fast ships and aggressive, canny captains; and the extent of American involvement in this illegal trade. While it contains little analysis, this section of the book forms an excellent primer on this commerce.

While Layton does justice to the period after 1844, he is on shakier ground when describing the previous forty years of American involvement in the opium trade to China. He notes, correctly, that direct imports by US vessels were largely of Turkish opium until the late 1830s, but he fails to mention that American firms played a major role as consignees and distributors at Canton for the Indian drug from the mid-1820s. He therefore underestimates the extent of earlier American involvement in this commerce by such bastions of Bostonian respectability as Thomas Handasyd Perkins, John Perkins Cushing, and Robert Bennet Forbes.

Layton's final chapter, "Who Owns the Past?" is an important contribution. He emphasizes that each of the communities of interest involved in the story of the voyage of the *Frolic*

brings its own perspective to recounting this tale. Any adequate presentation of the story requires the inclusion of all these viewpoints to be fully intelligible. Layton's description of the processes leading to the creation of *Frolic* exhibits in Mendocino County (and now in San Francisco) should serve as a model for all of us who seek to put our discoveries before the public.

Notwithstanding its few limitations, *The Voyage of the Frolic* is a useful addition to the literature on American involvement in the opium trade. It includes a solid survey of the history of this commerce, provides an excellent case study of the operation of a single vessel within the trade, opens up fresh perspectives, provokes new ideas, and, above all, is both intelligently and entertainingly written. This is a book both to read and to use.

Paul E. Fontenoy  
Beaufort, North Carolina

Niels Peter Thomsen. *Voyage of the Forest Dream and Other Sea Adventures: A Memoir*. Vancouver, WA: The author, 1997 [order from: Capt. Niels P. Thomsen, 19222 Olympic View Drive, Edmonds, WA 98020, USA]. xii + 168 pp., glossary, photographs, addendum (maps, figures, documents), index. US \$25, paper; ISBN 0-9631232-6-2.

At first sight, this is yet another autobiography for family consumption about experience in sail as a young man, written many years later during retirement. It was only after getting well into the text that it became apparent that there was much more about this book: the author was, unusually, offering two (for some aspects three) accounts of events in 1925-26 aboard the American masted barquentine, *Forest Dream*, which forms the main section of this account of the author's first eight years at sea. By doing so the reader is presented with a reminiscence version to set against the contemporary diary kept by a shipmate on the same voyage. Differences are acknowledged but there is no attempt at reconciliation.

Part one, an interesting record of the impact of social and cultural confusion, chronicles the period from the author's birth in Denmark in 1907 to 1925. Fostered as a toddler, he was to experience three Atlantic passages and an educa-

tion partly in America (Fresno, California) and partly in Denmark, his "parents" having emigrated, then returned to Denmark before finally settling in America. Towards the end of his secondary schooling, he confronted his parents about his origins, and promptly ran away to San Francisco, eventually finding a berth as a cabin boy in a coastal steamer, followed by a deep-sea voyage in a tanker and further experience in coastal steamers. Thus he was able to ship in *Forest Dream* as an AB at the age of eighteen.

The ship was loading in Victoria, British Columbia for Mauritius. The experience was to turn out to be a throwback to the age of coffin ships. Grossly undermanned through the provision of a donkey engine which never worked, a polyglot crew, traditional victualling (salt meat, ship's biscuits, dried peas), contraband, drunken bullying mate and master, dubious navigation, serious rudder damage — all the elements were there for a classic Hollywood maritime epic. A route across the Pacific Ocean and south of Australia had been selected, contributing partly to a passage of some two hundred days (including a call in Australia to repair the rudder), such that the ship had been given up as lost. After endless delays in Mauritius, *Forest Dream* (a misnomer if ever there was one) made her way back to Newcastle, Australia, where the ship was sold and crew discharged to the care of the American consul, without receiving the bulk of the thirteen months wages due to them.

The story depicts the worst of merchant ship operation, in a period when it might have been thought that American social regulation should have put a stop to such circumstances. The juxtaposition of the sections of the two accounts plus a supplementary reminiscence from a third member of the crew, is at times confusing. An example is the repetition of the *dramatis personae*. However the nature of the writing is different, the diary section coming from the hand of Malcolm Chisholm, a graduate gentleman adventurer with a journalistic bent. Perseverance is certainly justified, and a careful comparison of the accounts might well provide insights into the nature of recollection.

The final section of the book recounts the author's experiences tramping on the SS *Chincha*, two voyages on coastal passenger liners, another on a tanker, and a period on the Arctic fur trading

schooner, *C.S. Holmes*, culminating in his passing the examinations for his second mate's license. A delightful interlude here is his story of twice stowing away on the same coastal steamer, and managing to pass himself off as a first-class passenger.

A block of twenty-eight black and white photographs depicts members of his family, some of his ships and scenes on board. Three rather pensive poems by the author, "Life," "Requiem for a Sailor" and "Sailor's Lament," express some of the emotion he felt. Finally there is quite a lengthy addendum reproducing correspondence, newspaper reports, documents and maps, which are part of the author's research evidence. The short glossary is for the benefit of the non-seafaring reader.

While it must be recognised that the arrangement is unusual, even idiosyncratic, and that in some respects this is a compilation, and not an academic work, there is much of a considerable interest here to the maritime social historian. Certainly studies of American merchant sea life in the 1920s and 1930s should include this book amongst their sources.

Alston Kennerley  
Plymouth, United Kingdom

Pamela Stratham and Rica Erickson (intro. & eds.). *A Life on the Ocean Wave: Voyages to Australia, India and the Pacific from the Journals of Captain George Bayly 1824-1844*. Carlton South, Victoria: The Miegunyah Press of Melbourne University Press, 1998. xvii + 364 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, photoplates (b+w, colour), appendices, glossary, bibliography, index. AUS \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-522-84761-7.

There is no form of writing concerning the sea that has more immediacy than the personal account: the log or journal of a voyage, or a lifetime, spent at sea. George Bayly spent twenty years at sea and compiled an articulate, often amusing and always informative record of that career that Pamela Stratham and Rica Erickson have edited into a handsome and well-detailed volume. The art in editing such work is to preserve the language and spirit of the writer, and in this tidy assemblage of Bayly's journals nothing

is lost of his narrative and much is provided in explanatory material. The design and execution of the book by the publisher are of commendable quality, and there is a civility to both Bayly and his editors that is evident and charmingly unself-conscious.

Bayly's career began in the *Almorah*, which transported female convicts to Sydney, and even writing in the most discrete of language he paints a picture of the woman's distress and pluck that evokes sympathy even as it chronicles young Bayly's developing seamanship in a vessel full of women rather than bereft of them. Later, his language again describes with emotion and care the plight of settlers taken out to the disastrous Swan River colony, with deft and perceptive character sketches that leave one to wonder at the courage and spirit of such people in risking everything upon a voyage to so strange a shore, with virtually no hope of seeing former homes again in their lives. Bayly's efficient accounts of wind, weather and seamanship problems during the voyages are balanced by poignant and occasionally hilarious stories of how the close-packed passengers struggled to cope with the heaving tumult of a ship at sea, and how unexpectedly kind and solicitous the behavior of the crew toward them proved.

Bayly's voyages took him across the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and he rose to invest in and command one vessel, the *Hooghly*, in many adventures about the East Indies, including a frustrating period of time under charter to the Royal Navy during the dubious Opium Wars. His observations of this experience, of the varied and many ports he came to know, of the peoples and islands that fell under his jibboom, are literate and sensible, and are added to by carefully selected artwork – including some of Bayly's own – and illustrations. One sees it as a useful companion to Hughes' *The Fatal Shore*, presenting as it does the early days of Australia in the restrained but articulate language of that era. For students of the history of the Australasian Seas, and the developing years of Australia, Stratham and Erickson have prepared a useful and well-executed tool in this compilation of recollections from a literate and admirable seaman.

Victor Suthren  
Ottawa, Ontario

G. Allen Mawer. *Most Perfectly Safe: The Convict Shipwreck Disasters of 1833-42*. St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1997. xiii + 192 pp., maps, figures, illustrations, glossary, endnotes, sources, index. US \$24.95, paper; ISBN 1-86448-186-2. Distributed in North America by Paul & Company, Concord, MA.

For nearly a hundred years Britain transported convicted prisoners to swell the population of Australia. Three quarters of the 162,000 felons were sent between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and 1867. They were carried in chartered transports or converted merchantmen. The transports tended to be larger, better vessels hired by the ton at a monthly rate and frequently utilised on their return voyage to ferry troops. The merchant vessels were smaller – around 400 tons – and chartered only for the outward voyage at a flat rate irrespective of its duration. They could accommodate two hundred prisoners, forty guards, and their dependants and a crew of forty. It was up to the owners and masters to balance their books with a cargo for the return voyage.

Drawing extensively on contemporary records and diaries Allen Mawer provides the reader with an account of the administration of the movement of convicts from the United Kingdom to Australia. In view of the hazards of voyaging under sail the majority of passages were surprisingly uneventful, with anything between twelve and twenty departures a year. Despite the cramped conditions the Surgeon-superintendents responsible for the well-being of those being carried used their powers wisely in the interests of their charges. Once at sea, captains preferred to avoid landfalls until the journey's end with the result scurvy often became a problem. By and large, conditions aboard for convicts were better than for the sailors and the discipline less harsh than for the soldiers acting as guards. In the very nature of things, however, from time to time something went wrong. Detailed accounts of a series of unrelated shipwreck disasters between 1833 and 1842 form the bulk of the book.

In 1833 the *Amphitrite* sailing from London with 106 female prisoners ran into a severe storm and was stranded on the coast near Boulogne on 30 August. By midnight, on a rising tide, with heavy seas the vessel broke her back and only three of the 136 souls on board were saved. 1835

was the worst year for the loss of convict ships. Nearing Hobart, the *George III* hit an uncharted rock in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel. Of the 294 people on board only 161 were saved. A month later, in May, the *Neva* 125 days out from Cork struck the Harbinger Reef off King Island in the Bass Strait. Some 227 people perished. In the same year the *Hive* ran ashore under full sail to the south-west of Cape St. George but in this case there was only one fatality. Seven years were to pass before the next disaster when in August 1842 the *Waterloo* anchored in Table Bay, Cape Town. In hurricane force winds the ship's cables parted and she was driven ashore; 188 lives were lost, 143 of them prisoners.

Enlightened prison reform, the manpower needs of a rapidly expanding industrial society at home and the growing resentment of the developing Australian community at being used as a dumping ground for undesirables led to the abolition of this form of punishment. *Most Perfectly Safe* with its detailed references and sources can be recommended as a useful and readable introduction to the subject of transportation.

Norman Hurst  
Coulson, Surrey

Frank Broeze. *Island Nation: A History of Australians and the Sea*. St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1998. xii + 291 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, figures, endnotes, select bibliography, index. AUS \$24.95, US \$24.95, paper; ISBN 1-86448-424-1. American distributor, Paul & Co., Concord, MA.

The island nature of Australia and the great distance the first colonists had to sail from Britain meant that the sea would always play a vital role in Australian history. The surrounding oceans became the only means of communication with the outside world, a major source of employment, the highway on which imports and exports were moved, and the first line of defence against foreign invasion. Australians still prefer to live near the coast, and the beaches and offshore waters remain a favourite leisure-time playground. The sea has thus impacted on all aspects of national life. Yet the closeness of the association is not generally acknowledged in Australia, a situation this publication seeks to amend.

The book begins with a brief discussion of the aboriginal settlement of the continent, followed by a description of some of the more important voyages of maritime discovery by European explorers. The reasons behind the initial European settlement of Australia in 1788 are considered, with Broeze coming down on the side of those who believe the decision to establish a colony in New South Wales was a part of Britain's imperial expansion, and not just a desire to reduce the numbers of prisoners in English gaols.

The role of the sea in defence is considered through a brief history of the Royal Australian Navy. Defence policies and regional alliances that influence naval decisions are also covered, in particular the post-World War II shift in orientation from UK/Europe to USA/Asia. A feature of the latter change has been the emergence of Japan as Australia's main trading partner, and Asia as the chief source of immigrants.

The importance of ports and port cities in Australian history is given due acknowledgment. All the state capitals expanded outwards from their ports, and this association with the sea helped them to grow larger and faster than inland communities. Recent technological changes have resulted in a reduction in the size of modern port precincts, but their economic importance remains significant, and continues to evolve, through developments such as containerization and the construction of new specialised ports to handle bulk mineral exports.

A departure from traditional maritime history is a chapter on the "Culture of the Sea" in Australia, and its expression in the visual arts, literature, water-sports, beach life, and the Australian dream of owning a house with a view of the sea. Another chapter deals with the maritime workforce and the rise of labour unions on the waterfront. Post-war technological change has dramatically eroded the numbers involved in traditional maritime activities, yet organised labour on the waterfront remains strong, as a major stevedoring company recently discovered when it tried to de-unionise its workforce. Among the many other topics covered are sections on shipbuilding and the change from sail to steam and wood to steel in ship construction, the struggle to create a national shipping line, new aqua-culture projects, shipwrecks and government maritime policies.

The author's aim to integrate his nation's

maritime history more fully with its general history, and to explore new ways in which the maritime history of the port of Fremantle is a unique and valuable one. The Australian national stereotype is that of the bushman hardened by life on the land, not a mariner shaped by the sea. The decision to explore the subject thematically rather than chronologically offers a fresh approach and allows new insights on the subject, but it also leads to a certain amount of repetition, with some events discussed a number of times in different sections. A disclaimer in the introduction says the book is not comprehensive, yet there seem to be very few major issues not covered. As a description of the many ways Australians have interacted with the sea, the book has much to commend it.

Mark Howard  
Melbourne, Australia

Malcolm Tull. *A Community Enterprise: The History of the Port of Fremantle, 1897 to 1997*. "Research in Maritime History," No. 12; St. John's: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1997. x + 334 pp., figures, maps, tables, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-9681288-2-3.

The "start date" of this history might be thought an odd choice: it is not the beginning of the port, nor the beginning of its improvement, nor the completion of the first phase of its improvement. 1897 was when the first ocean-going vessel entered the inner harbour, effectively terminating many years of politicking and establishing Fremantle as the principal port of Western Australia. A year of destiny, one might say.

Many an engineer has despaired of port authorities, but only Fremantle actually drove its Chief to suicide. (To be fair, he did have other responsibilities as well.) Because Gentlemen did not commit suicide, C.Y. O'Connor has remained underrated and it is good to see him reinvestigated and appraised. What is lacking is any account of exactly *how* the works were undertaken and by whom: Tull seems content with the traditional engineer's weasel words, found in reports in any port anywhere in the world, something to the effect that "the excavations are proceeding."

Tull has been working on the subject matter of this book for over fifteen years, which suggests

that no better author could be found on the history of Fremantle. What it does not mean, unfortunately, is that he is immune from the dangers of self-plagiarism. We all know we should not do it, but somehow memory gives out and we forget that we have used that bit somewhere else. Then along comes some bloody-minded reviewer who remembers that particular turn of phrase.

What nonsense. The number of ports, worldwide, which have a seriously researched and insightfully written history is small, and the assembly of a definitive account is a long and lonely business. I would defy anyone to get it perfect: what matters is that Tull has got very close.

And matter it does. Like Tull, I have spent years trying to get the history of one port right. In my case there are years still to go before I have it sorted to my satisfaction. Yet the histories of many of the world's ports have, at best, been the part-subjects of some of Frank Broeze's excellent portmanteau papers or of Gordon Jackson's acerbic overviews. Many others have made it only so far as local "port heritage" leaflets.

We need, therefore, to thank the Editorial Board of the IJMH for providing a vehicle which gave Tull his head. The *Research in Maritime History* series has defects of graphic design and binding technique which some reviewers have seen fit to castigate, but the fact is that it publishes work which would by normal market rules be unpublishable and it does so at an astonishingly low price. The only serious problem with this volume is that some of the graphs are too small fully to convey their message.

There is an element of universalism in what Tull writes, especially when examining the subject of port labour. Half-way through my writing this review, clashes between Australian dockers and riot police in several ports were reported in the British daily press, which is scarcely noted for its depth of coverage of Australian affairs. Not long before, some Liverpool ex-dockers were trying to get the Australian dockers to "black" ships from Liverpool. Both port authorities would have claimed that by 1995 at worst they had consigned such problems to us, the historians. Yet the problems of port labour are simply those of ports as a whole: if the port authority's customers (and *their* customers) can get away with paying less than they should for the facilities they use, then the Port Authority has to save money some-

where, and the "unskilled" labourers were a fairly typical target in most places.

We need more books like this.

Adrian Jarvis  
Liverpool, England

Walter Kennedy. *Shipping in Dublin Port 1939-1945*. Bishop Auckland, Durham: Pentland Press, 1998. xiv + 149 pp., photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. £15, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-539-0.

This slim volume contains the transcribed information, originally recorded in the author's diaries, of all the ships which were berthed in the port of Dublin during World War II. It is arranged like a diary in chronological order, day-by-day, though not all days have entries. The details recorded are the ship's name, its gross tonnage, the company which owned it, the particular quay at which it was berthed, and the cargo it usually carried. There are also occasional comments on ships sunk, the Irish navy, and other wartime incidents added from different sources.

There is no real attempt to analyse this information; the author is content to provide the raw material for others to use as a source. He calculates that there were about 2000 ship arrivals during the war, of which 1300 were British and 600 Irish, so truly foreign arrivals accounted for less than five percent of total ship movements. There is also a list of ships which called at Dublin arranged by the owning company. This allows us to calculate there were about 430 ships making the 2000 ship movements, so, the average number of appearances per ship was about 4.6. Of the companies represented, those fielding the largest number of ships were William Robertson of Glasgow and Zillah Shipping of Liverpool. This of course tells us nothing about importance, as we need to know the tonnage of the ships and the frequency with which each arrived in Dublin to calculate that. The date could be extracted from the information in this book, but has not been done by the author.

My main criticism of the book is that I would have liked the author to have analysed and commented on his data much more. Perhaps this is unfair as he is not a historian but an enthusiast. The impression given is that Anglo-Irish trade

was dominant, the main commodity was coal, and that coasters predominated in this trade. It is reasonably well written, though tending to "telegraphese" as one might expect in a diary, and there are occasional comments on the crewing of ships, the progress of the war, and various precautions taken by skippers, to lighten the listing of ships arrived. Its usefulness to the maritime historian is limited, but it will act as a source book and the assiduous number cruncher could say *something* about the wartime trade of Dublin by analysing the entries in this book, but I am not sure it would be worth the time or effort required. Whoever wrote the blurb on the dust jacket should be keelhaunched as it is wildly inaccurate and ungrammatical.

John Armstrong  
Ealing, London

Brian Hoyle. *Ports, Port Cities and Coastal Zones: Development, Interdependence and Competition in East Africa*. Brussels: Royal Academy of Overseas Sciences, 1997 [orders to: Rue Defacqz 1 boîte 3, B-1000 Brussels]. 67 pp., figures, maps, tables, references. 270 BEF, paper; ISBN 90-75752-08-9.

Brian Hoyle's name has become a household word over the last three decades or so for everyone interested in port and port city studies. He has published numerous monographs, articles and chapters, both within his original hunting grounds of the port cities of Kenya and Tanganyika and beyond. Alone or in collaboration with colleagues he has also produced a good number of edited volumes, often with a greatly international cast of authors. His contribution to the cluster of disciplines pivoting around economic, transport and human geography has been immense. No wonder that the Belgian Royal Academy for Overseas Sciences awarded Hoyle its General Manager Fernand Suykens Prize for Port Studies, and that the "memoir" which brought this well-deserved honour to Hoyle was based on his work on the seaports and development of East Africa.

This booklet is a slightly revised version of that "memoir." It offers in a compact form an account of some of the major issues Hoyle has addressed over the last thirty years in his many studies of East Africa's ports and port cities and their role as mediators between the political and

economic development of their hinterlands, on the one hand, and the maritime transport revolution, on the other. The consideration of these questions is organized around the discussion of three major themes: the changing port city in modern East Africa; the relationship between the modern port city and its coastal zone, based on a detailed examination of Mombasa; and, finally, the competition of ports and hinterlands in East Africa. In each chapter Hoyle, as has been his trademark over the years, takes care to assess his themes and findings in broader global and thematic frameworks, so that their significance transcends the confines of his chosen region.

In the first chapter Hoyle traces, from a satellite's perspective, the transformation of the East African port city over the centuries by focussing on the spatial relationship between port and city. He uses his well-known diagrams – which in the eyes of some critics are almost too reductionist to be useful – to identify and summarize the five historical stages of development: precolonial port/city; expanding port/city, corresponding with the maturing of the agricultural colonial economy; modern industrial port/city, in the late colonial and early independent period when the harbour became a focus for port industrialization; retreat from the waterfront, when during the 1960s to 1980s new areas were dedicated for specialized maritime transport (bulk carriers and later also container ships) and the related maritime-based industrial development; and, finally, overlapping with the previous decades, the beginnings of waterfront redevelopment. For such a vast theme, the few pages this chapter offers are patently insufficient. It offers little more than a most basic introduction, with useful references to the existing historiography.

The same comments can be made about chapters two, about changing balances in the relationship between Mombasa and its coastal region, and three, on inter-port competition and changing port systems: a rich menu of issues is being discussed in a short space and most readers will regret being pushed through the material at such speed. Traffic figures of the main East African ports (which now are almost entirely monopolized by Mombasa and Dar es Salaam) are offered up to 1993. They illustrate not only the continuously higher levels of trade in Mombasa (say, about 8 million against 4.5 mil-

lion tonnes overall), but also that in dry cargo Mombasa's domestic role is much greater than that of Dar es Salaam. In the latter port transit trade consistently exceeds domestic trade, which is vying with the through-traffic with Zambia to be the individually highest sector. Containerization has progressed significantly less in East Africa than elsewhere.

Hoyle finishes the booklet with a short but elegant conclusion, in which he demonstrates how the experiences of this particular part of the world can be used to understand situations elsewhere in the developing world. The overcrowding of existing cityports is stressed, but it would have been interesting to see to what extent decentralization has been successful elsewhere, if only to put the long-standing idea to develop Manda Bay into some sort of perspective. Readers who are familiar with Hoyle's work will recognize much of it in this booklet; for newcomers it offers a neat introductory summary.

Frank Broeze  
Nedlands, Western Australia

Mark H. Goldberg. *American Passenger Liners of the Interwar Years, Part I: The "502"s*. Kings Point, NY: The American Merchant Marine Museum, 1996. xii + 646 pp., photographs, plans, notes. US \$39.95, softcover; ISBN 1-879180-1-11. Distributed by North American Maritime Books, Baltimore, MD.

This is the fifth in a series of volumes by Mark Goldberg about ships of the US Merchant Marine. Each book gives thorough coverage of the ships and their operators, as well as individual histories of each ship. Already published in the series are volumes on the "Hog Islanders," C3 Cargo-Passenger ships, banana boats and ships built by the Submarine Boat Corporation.

The knowledge the author brings to bear on his subject, together with the enormous amount of research evident in this volume, makes it a welcome addition to the history of the seven ships of this class. The book gives readers a clear picture of the itinerary and schedules of these ships, which provided an around-the-world service under the US flag between the two World Wars. The book also documents the five-year period when the ships were owned by the United States

Shipping Board and chartered by five companies which operated them in various services until they were all sold to Robert Dollar in 1924.

Goldberg stresses the role of the ships in carrying passengers, and a number of the photos show the passenger spaces characteristic of all seven ships. Yet surely, considering that cargo generated much more revenue than passengers, it would have been nice to have had a few close-up photos of the equipment and operations related to cargo. All had an enormous amount of cargo handling gear at the eleven hatches serving the cargo holds. Yet the treatment of the cargo-carrying role of these ships is disappointing. Not until page 160 is there any description of what cargo operations entailed, and only a few pages are devoted to a description of the cargo gear and the log of the cargo operations of one ship on one voyage at two ports. Moreover, the only description of the hatches and cargo gear [53] is incomplete and incorrect, and should be completely revised to give a clear picture of the layout of the cargo holds, cargo hatches and cargo booms. The reference to eight cargo holds and `tween decks followed by information that there were "six cargo holds forward and four abaft the engine spaces" should confuse almost anyone since there were in fact eight cargo holds – five forward of the engine spaces and three abaft.

The crew quarters in these ships lacked much in the way of creature comforts for those who had to live (or exist) in them. The problems these presented are adequately described in a number of pages. Yet in contrast to the excellent deck plans of the passenger areas, there are no plans to show where the crew quarters were. Without some rough plans to follow, the more than six pages of text about the engine crew quarters on *President Harrison* are difficult to envisage.

The next volume of the series, now in preparation, will be on the sixteen "535"s and will complete Goldberg's coverage of the troopers built too late for World War I but which gave useful service in World War II. Maritime history lovers await it eagerly. Let us hope that Goldberg will greatly expand on the cargo gear, holds, hatches, and cargo operations in this next book. It would also be wise to have some assistance from someone with firsthand knowledge in this area.

Finally, we are informed at the beginning of the book that there will be a cumulative index for

the entire series in the final volume. That is well and good for those very few who will buy the entire series, but it is frustrating to have to search for information that the reader knows is in the book and is unable to find. It is unlikely that this decision will be appreciated by most readers.

Eugene Harrower  
Portland, Oregon

Deborah Dempsey and Joanne Foster. *The Captain's A Woman: Tales of a Merchant Mariner*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xi + 269 pp., photographs, glossary. US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-164-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This, an ethnographic study of the seafaring career of Capt. Deborah Doane Dempsey, is interspersed, chapter by chapter, with the experiences of co-author, Joanne Foster, during a voyage with Dempsey as the ship's master. Although both aspects of the book are interesting, this unusual presentation tends to interrupt the continuity of both narratives. In addition, the Naval Institute Press has uncharacteristically turned out a less than superior product. The *sans serif* font is not easy to read, and the binding is shoddy. The spine of my copy, despite careful handling, cracked between the first and second signatures before I had completed the first chapter. Perhaps this individual book escaped the quality control inspection, but I doubt it.

Nonetheless, Dempsey's career history, told in the first person, is fascinating. The opening chapter, "Girl Loves Ship, Girl Saves Ship, Girl Loses Ship" tells the saga of the *Lyra*, and how Dempsey, heading a skeleton crew, saved her from destruction in a storm whilst being towed to a refit. Needless to say, this opening gambit in the first person, instantly grips the reader's interest. It was amusing, too, that a congratulatory letter from the President of the United States after this feat began "Dear Debbie" rather than "Dear Captain Dempsey."

Succeeding chapters "go back to the beginning," as Dempsey (then Doane) delivers yachts and enrolls in Maine Maritime Academy, studying to become a merchant marine officer. Her successful graduation and subsequent career with

Exxon and then Lykes Brothers is chronicled in detail as she "upgrades her ticket" step by step, culminating in an unlimited Master's licence. She is now a Columbia River Bar pilot. Dempsey's career is scrutinized with care, but personal aspects of her life are touched only briefly in passing.

Dempsey has been a pioneer – the first woman graduate of a US maritime academy; the first woman regular member of the Council of American Master Mariners. She was one of the first US women to achieve licensed command of a foreign-going cargo vessel in this century, and the only female of nine ship captains honored, during the Gulf War, with the US Navy's Meritorious Public Service Award. Her incentive, however, was not feminism, but that same love of seafaring which drives most of those men who have adopted a career in merchant shipping. Her superb performance in tests, both official and unofficial, won her not only her professional credentials, but also the respect of her shipmates and colleagues.

Interspersed with Dempsey's biographical history is the "Landlubber's Log" of co-author Joanne Foster, her journal of a six-week voyage with Dempsey on the *Charlotte Lykes* in early 1994. This is germane to the general theme of the book, describing the day-to-day routine followed by the captain at her work, both at sea and in port, but there are a number of extraneous "Irish pennants" that might well have been bypassed. It seems a strained effort to make the book a "travelogue" for the nautically ignorant as well as rewarding to the cognizant. This bifurcation of narrative is the work's major weakness. Although both themes create interest, the constant fluctuation from one to the other disrupts the reader's concentration.

I found only one specific criticism of the text. There is a reference to a "lash ship," with no clarification or elucidation of the term. At the very least, it should have been rendered "LASH" and given equal importance with "breakbulk" and "container," both of which terms appear in the brief "Glossary." Nevertheless, and provided one can overlook its physical deficiencies, this is an interesting book, and well worth reading.

Morgiana P. Halley  
San Luis Obispo, California

Stephan Dubreuil. *Come Quick, Danger: A History of Marine Radio in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing, 1998 [mail orders to: Canadian Government Publishing, PWGSC-CCSB-ICA, 47 Clarence Street, Suite 300, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0S5; VISA or MasterCard, fax 1-800-565-7757; <http://publications.pwgsc.gc.ca>]. ix + 136 pp., photoplates, select bibliography. \$21.95 + s&h, payable to the Receiver General of Canada [in Canada; US \$21.95 in other countries], paper; ISBN 0-660-17490-1.

This outstanding volume represents a carefully researched and well-documented history of a remarkable success story – the phenomenal growth and continuity of marine radio in Canada from its beginning at the close of the last century until the present modern era. It is a daunting task, but author Stephan Dubreuil has achieved excellence in presenting an illuminating account of this complex subject. His material is organized skillfully and is supported by over a hundred photographs.

Essentially, *Come Quick, Danger* is a compendium that traces, with clarity and fluency, the development of wireless telegraphy (marine radio) from Marconi's initial experiments and vision of the future through the major changes of this century to modern-day communications provided by the INMARSAT (International Maritime Satellite) system. As well, it presents the reader with insight into the early contribution of marine radio to safety at sea, beginning with the wireless distress traffic that resulted in saving many lives in the accidental loss of three majestic ships, the White Star Liners *Republic* (1909) and *Titanic* (1912) and the Canadian Pacific Liner *Empress of Ireland* (1914). An awareness of the significance of marine radio and its role in providing safety and rescue at sea prompted two conferences early in the twentieth century – the London Radiotelegraphic Conference and another conference on Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS) – in which strict wireless procedures were identified. These included the licensing of radio operators, installation of the Automatic Alarm, a designated calling and distress frequency, silence periods, the use of International Morse for signaling and adoption of the Q Code. SOLAS also called for an international ice patrol and weather warning

system, adequate lifeboats to be carried, improved ship design and stability, with added emphasis on marine communications.

*Come Quick, Danger* is arranged in seven chapters that describe the establishment and development of marine radio stations, together with the services they performed, and channels the reader's interests through a vast and sweeping network located in the Laurentian, Newfoundland, Maritimes, Great Lakes, Arctic and Pacific regions of Canada, embracing an era that extends from telegraphic to voice transmissions. Chapter One describes the establishment of Canada's first commercial marine radio coast station at Fame Point (1904) on the Gaspé Peninsula, followed by coast stations like Cape Race NCE, in Newfoundland. Generous coverage is given to Nova Scotia with emphasis on the importance of the marine radio coast station VCS, constructed in 1905 at Camperdown, located at the approaches of Halifax Harbour. Dubreuil notes the wartime staffing of Point Grey/VAI on the Pacific Coast with women radio operators, though it is unfortunate that he did not elaborate on the important contribution that was made by these same women after their release from wartime service at the coast station. Possessed of the same qualifications and certification as their male counterparts, these women later served as Radio Officers in postwar merchant ships. It would also have been well to note that one of Canada's foremost World War II sailors was a young Ontario woman who served as Radio Officer in the merchant navy. Presented to Royalty and acknowledged for valiant service, this intrepid lady made seventy-eight transatlantic crossings during the Battle of the Atlantic and only terminated her illustrious sea-service when hostilities ended. Hers was an exceptional contribution in the field of marine radio.

As marine radio coast stations disappear, and the once awe-inspiring fascination of wireless fades away, *Come Quick, Danger* recognizes the history that Marconi gave us, the electronic link that brought safety and rescue to mariners. Stephan Dubreuil has captured and recorded the nature and history of this subject, his book is very readable, genuinely absorbing and of inestimable historical value. It belongs in every library.

R.F. Latimer  
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Staffan Fischerström. *Statens Isbrytare Under 80 Ar*. Falkenburg: CB Marin Litteratur, 1997. 320 pp., illustrations (b+w, colour), charts, plans, statistical data. English summary and article by J. Leather. Skr 450, ISBN 91 970700-92.

Commander Staffan Fischerström, Royal Swedish Navy, has served at various levels of command in Swedish icebreakers for forty years. He is thus well qualified to write the history of the Swedish Maritime Administration's icebreaking service, which began seventy years ago. This fine and interesting book about those very special types of ships has some twenty-eight chapters, of which thirteen contain technical descriptions and general arrangements plans of each icebreaker built for the Swedish Maritime Administration's service beginning with *Atle* in 1926 and ending with *Oden II* in 1989. These chapters also include accounts of each vessel's more unusual winter convoy cruises. The book also includes an excellent summary in English and an article by John Leather, C. Eng. FRINA entitled "An International Outlook."

The book begins with a short chapter about icebreakers in the Baltic and Baltic approaches before the Maritime Administration Service's establishment in the 1920s. In 1871, Hamburg, following sixty days of shutdown due to the Elbe's freezing authorized the construction of the first icebreaking vessel. Its constructor held that icebreakers should have strong hulls, powerful engines, and a bow that enables the vessel to mount and crush the ice. As well, the hull should not be "wall sided" and ratio of length to beam should be 4:1. The constructor also held that the underbody should resemble half an eggshell. This resulted in a vessel that rolled heavily in a moderate sea. Nevertheless, the acceptance of "half eggshell" underbodies for icebreakers built for Sweden has lasted until recently.

There were other problems with the Hamburger-type vessels. They had difficulty in going astern, yet this ability was essential for their function. Nor were they able to operate in pack ice. In the United States, however, in 1888, the American train ferry *St. Ignace* began service in the Strait of Mackinac with a single propeller in bow and stern, giving it superior handling in ice. That system became the model for the first Swedish-built icebreakers.

In 1890, Swedish naval constructors gave the gunboat *Svenskund* a bow with sharper concave lines that proved to be superior in ice to the Hamburger bow. In 1915, Kockums delivered *Isbrytaren II* (now museum ship *St. Erik*) to the city of Stockholm. The coal-burning steam vessel fitted with single propellers fore and aft and equipped with a concave bow was to be the only Swedish icebreaker capable of operating in open waters until 1926. Meanwhile, debates in the Swedish parliament had begun in 1913 (and continued for eleven years) about building an icebreaker to keep Bothnian ports open. In 1924, funds were finally authorized to build one icebreaker capable of operating in open water. The 2400-ton *Atle* with 6000 hp. reciprocating steam engines and single screws fore and aft was completed by January 1926 and began operations immediately. By 1929, when *Atle* grounded during operations, it was clear that a second icebreaker was needed if winter navigation was to be maintained. The Crown in 1931 therefore authorized the construction of *Ymer*, the world's first diesel electric icebreaker and named after the Nordic giant, the originator of all things. Displacing 4330 tons, *Ymer* had twin propellers aft and one bow propeller, as well as two heeling tanks each holding two hundred tons, giving the vessel a heeling time of about three minutes.

All icebreakers built for the Swedish ice breaking service following *Ymer*, with one exception, have had diesel electric propulsion, and all-welded hulls, enclosed bridges, and landing platforms for helicopters. The demands of northern Swedish industry for continuous shipping operations in the Gulf of Bothnia as far north as Lulea has brought about the building of ever-larger and more powerful icebreakers. Canadians will be particularly interested in the *Oden II*, 11800-ton delivered in 1989 by the Arendal yard and built to comply with Det Norske Veritas rules for polar icebreakers, class 2. The yard had entered into a licence and co-operation agreement with the Canadian Canmar Concern for the design of the vessel. *Oden II* went on to become the first surface vessel to reach the North Pole.

Fischerström's fine book covers the uses of aircraft reconnaissance, differences between in-shore and open water ice, the icebreaking shore organization, manning, maintenance, cost of operations, and anecdotes about life on icebreakers. In

his final chapter, "Future Icebreakers," the author contends that any future icebreakers should have dual purposes that would provide year round employment. For instance, a new hull form with bilge keels developed in Finland enables the icebreakers *Fennica* and *Nordica* to have summer employment with the Norwegian "Ugland Off-shore" Company.

A series of tables providing technical data and operating statistics complete the book. Commander Fischerström's book with its excellent English summaries and illustrations has much for readers interested in icebreakers.

Dan G. Harris  
Nepean, Ontario

Bill Long. *Bright Light, White Water: The Lighthouses of Ireland*. Rev. ed.; Dublin: New Island Books, 1997. 224 pp., map, illustrations, photographs, colour plates, appendices, glossary, index. US \$29.95, paper; ISBN 1-874597-64-2. Distributed in North America by Dufour Editions, Chester Springs, PA.

Lighthouses hold a distinguished position in Ireland's maritime history, having guided mariners along the island's coastline since the fifth century when a light was first shown by monks at Hook Head, County Wexford. In 1997, the tradition of lightkeeping came to an end in Ireland with the de-staffing of the Baily Lighthouse, near Dublin. Lights in the republic and Northern Ireland now operate automatically and are only periodically visited by service personnel.

Originally published in 1993, Bill Long's *Bright Lights, White Water: The Lighthouses of Ireland* is the story of lighthouses, their builders, and their keepers. The book was written over a period of four years while the author lived as a guest of the keepers of the Baily lighthouse. In 1997 a revised softcover edition was published, coinciding with the completion of the Commissioners of Irish Lights' automation program.

Long begins with a very brief history of world lighthouses, tracing the development of guiding beacons from the open fires maintained by coastal-dwelling monks, to the evolution of the lighthouse administration system in Ireland. The remainder of the book is divided into seven sections, six of which cover lighthouses along the

Irish coast in a clockwise fashion, beginning on the east coast at Carlingford and ending at St. John's Point, County Down. Part seven looks at the vessels used to supply Irish Lights, lightships, administration and automation. Appendices contain a list of Commissioners of Irish Lights officials, the names of 701 lightkeepers, and a glossary of lighthouse terms.

*Bright Light, White Water* is not a comprehensive account of Irish lights but it does provide enough history of the lighthouse service and insight into the lives of the keepers to illustrate their importance in maritime Ireland. Lights such as the isolated Skellig Michael and the famous Fastnet are covered in some detail, while minor beacons are often described in one or two paragraphs. The centre section of colour photos illustrates well the diversity of location and architecture of Irish lights, complementing the black and white images found throughout the book.

Long records some of the changes which occurred through the years at Irish lightstations, including the evolution of lighting apparatus and fog signals at individual lighthouses. There are accounts of the building of stations in isolated, exposed locations, of shipwrecks, and of family life on the lights. Tragic events marked the history of some stations like Tuskar Rock, where eleven men died during the light's construction and one keeper lost his life during World War II when a mine hit the rock and exploded. On the lighter side, there is the account from the same lighthouse about two lightkeepers who stored and then drank enough contraband brandy that they were not able to operate the light at dusk.

*Bright Light, White Water* is a sizeable book and Bill Long has attempted with some success to explore the history of the lighthouse service in Ireland and the more than eighty lights he has included. Unfortunately, the book has been poorly edited; much of the reading is marred by incomplete sentences and Long's gratuitous use of commas. Within some chapters half pages are often blank, giving the book an unfinished feel. These technical problems tend to distract the reader from the interesting subject matter. Part seven does not effectively conclude the book, meandering through brief accounts of lighthouse tenders, lighthouse administration, and automation. No details about the chronology or comprehensiveness of the appended list of 701 lightkeep-

ers have been given, other than to state that it is a keeper "roll call." [207]

Despite such technical faults, *Bright Light, White Water* is an interesting read. The author has attempted to present the histories of a large number of lighthouses and has at least succeeded in recording elements of a service that was once essential to the safe navigation of all vessels in Irish waters.

Chris Mills

Ketch Harbour, Nova Scotia

Helen A. Hodgson. *A Saga of Sable Island 1800-1830: The Story of Edward Hodgson, A Governor of Sable Island*. Sault Ste. Marie, ON: Tyro Publishing, 1997. xii + 212 pp., appendix. \$21.95 (+ \$3 p&h), paper; ISBN 0-921249-01-2.

The idea for this book was born from a visit to Halifax during World War II to visit the author's husband's relatives and from her interest in genealogy. According to family folklore, they were related to Edward Hodgson (1765-1831) who lived on Sable Island intermittently from 1801 and continuously from 1803 for twenty-seven years and served as Superintendent of the Humane (generally not called the "Governor of the Lifesaving") Establishment from 1809 to 1830, succeeding James Morris, the founding superintendent. She began to collect "historical tidbits" on Hodgson on various visits to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS) from her home in Ontario. This research was often interrupted by family duties, children, and the loss of her husband, but she was driven by a desire to get "all this information together into some sort of a story form" for her children and grandchildren. The story has now been self-published some fifty-five years after the idea was born.

Hodgson notes in her prologue that "All names, dates and places mentioned in this story are true, as reinforced by the Archives sources" but adds that "where I could not prove the facts I had to let my imagination take over." This, however, makes it impossible to separate fact from fiction. There are no footnotes so we never know whether Edward Hodgson's dialogue is invented or drawn from his reports, correspondence or other documents. Hodgson carefully acknowledges several PANS staff as well as some second-

ary sources but fails to credit a single primary source, though she used up to eighty documents taken from more than a dozen such sources. There is neither a bibliography nor an index.

I was quite intrigued by the book's title when I saw it advertised in a Halifax newspaper. This period (1800-1830) represented a gap in the Sable Island record. In coming upon a large number of Edward Hodgson's various reports written from Sable Island back to the Commissioners of Sable Island and to the legislature in Halifax, Hodgson has shown the way to close, if only in part, a sizeable portion of the data gap in the Sable Island record. She therefore performs a real service for Sable Island historians. (Through correspondence with the author I was able to determine that while she has a significant collection of copies of pages of Hodgson's reports, she did not have the specific PANS references. Armed with this information, I was able to locate the material in the PANS.) Only one previous Sable Island writer had cited the Hodgson material and the PANS is now updating its "Sable Island" index entries to better include the Hodgson documents. What is not yet clear is whether the author found any of the original journals of Edward Hodgson or what primary material she used in the 1820-1830 period, if any.

Hodgson's book with much of its invented dialogue centres around Edward's wife Mary Hodgson (née Kidder). One suspects that Jean Hodgson has superimposed her own fear of the isolation of Sable Island on Mary; "Why would anyone want to go to such a place?" This theme appears incessantly throughout the volume.

The "story" is probably best suited to teenagers. Historians will find the book useful only as a brief review of the contents of Edward Hodgson's correspondence and reports, and of some of the thirty-five wrecks which Hodgson had to address (and 1,050 persons saved) during his tenure. The wrecks begin with the *Union* in 1803 through *Stark Odder*, *Dolphin*, *Fortune*, *Hard Times*, daring rescues of the crews of *Adamant* and *L'Africaine*, and end with the loss of the *Hannah* where Edward Hodgson's son Jamie perished while successfully rescuing a crew member. Jean Hodgson attributes the beginning of Edward Hodgson's long decline in health to a night out in a storm after the grounding of the *Elizabeth* in the fall of 1826 and an injury during the salvage of

the *Melrose* in 1827. Edward Hodgson died in February 1831 at age 65, just four months after returning to Halifax and leaving his son William in charge on Sable Island.

The superintendents' records from Sable Island are now known to be about 80 percent complete from 1801 to 1913. The real gap is in the modern record after 1913 where, at present, no journals or correspondence of significance are yet known to have been preserved.

Alan Ruffman  
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John Wilson Foster. *The Titanic Complex: A Cultural Manifest*. Vancouver: Belcouver Press, 1997. 92 pp., photographs, notes, references. \$10.95, £5.99, paper; ISBN 0-9699464-1-4.

As a book too short and as an essay too loose, in form this challenging work might best be described as an extended *pensée*. Assuming considerable knowledge and given to frequent digression, it requires careful reading. This begins with the title, which itself is a play on words. Thus, literary scholar, John Wilson Foster, delves into the *Titanic Complex*. At points, this is presented as a psychological fixation shared by those obsessed with the intricacies of an "incipient religion" or cult. [27] More often, however, the complex discussed is that dense cluster of wildly diverse cultural phenomena now encrusting the sunken vessel, layer upon layer. Here, Foster's goal is to rescue *Titanic* from simple stereotypes, groundless myths and, above all, from the "unmoored" wordplay of post-modernism. [17] Where the latter is concerned, the author is no untutored or unsympathetic critic. He does, however, object to some post-modernist excesses that obscure, rather than enhance, our perception of an all too real human drama.

That drama, Foster acknowledges, has a universal appeal. Accordingly, he offers a guided tour of the art, literature, music, dance, films and even the jokes inspired by *Titanic*, as successive waves of interest turned the ship into a global cultural icon. From Thomas Hardy and Joseph Conrad, through E.J. Pratt to the Tragically Hip, we see how, over eight decades, the liner took on board an enormous tonnage of symbolic baggage. Clearly delighting in much of the creative energy

unleashed by the disaster, Foster demonstrates how readily the tale has been moulded to suit the conventions and preoccupations of various eras. He is, however, deeply concerned by the tendency for fictional elements to take precedence over real ones, until "any story, any canard about *Titanic*, is as good and as serviceable as any 'fact'." [31] Thus, he is drawn into the second phase of his endeavour, an effort to locate *Titanic* squarely in the culture of its birthplace, Belfast.

At this point it becomes clear that the author is himself on a voyage as deeply personal as it is academic. Raised in the shadow of the shipyards, in his youth Foster rejected the industrial culture of Belfast as something synonymous with philistinism, provincialism and sectarianism. Looking back from Canada in middle age, he claims now to see more clearly. Thus, he contends that, far from being provincial, Belfast in 1912 stood at the very crossroads of international modernism, with *Titanic* standing as one of its finest, if ill-fated fruits. The ship, moreover, was no clumsy offshoot of a mindless machine culture but in her lines, her unity of form and function was the superb expression of a genuine marine aesthetic. The aesthetic aspects of the vessel, furthermore, were understood and appreciated by all who had a hand in her creation, people who, for all their limitations, were rather more than a coarse gaggle of sectarian bigots. Indeed, for Foster, the real hero of a lived (not imagined) drama was master engineer and *Titanic* victim, Thomas Andrews, who symbolized the virtues of a society too often stereotypically remembered only for its vices. In the end, the author emphasizes the achievement as much as the loss that the ship represented.

There is, all told, much to admire in Foster's agile ruminations. There are also, however, several problems. The text as a whole is over-written and lacks clarity. Moreover, critical of post-modernist wordplay, one wonders what the author had in mind when he wrote, in a curious inversion of events, that survivors in the lifeboats must have felt that *Titanic* was "faithlessly abandoning them" as she slipped beneath the surface. [10] After all, with one exception, those same boats steered clear of those with only lifebelts to support them! More seriously, Foster might well be right in saying that *Titanic* lies deeply imbedded in the Ulster psyche, a submerged but powerful element in Northern Irish culture, differently

apprehended by the Unionist and Nationalist communities. But he does little to document or draw out this potentially fascinating theme. Indeed, a scant twenty pages are devoted to his quest to locate *Titanic* in the complex history and culture of Northern Ireland. One suspects, finally, that he has taken on too much in what amounts to an intriguing but rambling excursion that could so usefully have been extended.

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Andrew Saunders. *English Heritage Book of Channel Defences*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1997. 128 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), maps, illustrations, glossary, suggested readings, index. £15.99, paper; 0-7134-7595-1.

It was long an axiom, perhaps best summarized in Lord Salisbury's famous reference to Britain's "splendid isolation," that the island kingdom was very largely protected from the military turbulence that erupted with tedious frequency on the continent by the English Channel. The problem, of course, was that while the sea was a barrier, it was also the highway which carried most of the world's commerce and could equally well transport an invading army. British defence against foreign aggression and coastal attack inevitably rested primarily on the Royal Navy. Henry VIII, having established an effective central government, was also the first monarch to perceive the need to create a second line of national defence to protect the navy's dockyards and shore establishments and to resist enemy landings on the beaches and attacks on coastal towns and ports.

During the next five hundred years until the abolition of coastal defence in 1956, many structures were built to protect Britain's coasts. A wide variety of physical remains survive, some on a large scale, others more ephemeral. This delightful and highly readable little book is an attempt to identify those structures built along the south and southeast coasts of England from the Isles of Scilly in the west to the approaches to the Thames and Medway rivers in the southeast and sometimes as far as Harwich, to put them into their broad historical and topographical context, and to describe some of their more significant components. It is not a history of the fortifications as

such but, rather, "a review of the impact that fortification has had on the historical landscape and shoreline of the Channel coasts ... and a description of many of those sites which can be visited today." [10] It also addresses the very useful questions of why forts and batteries are where they are, how they functioned, and how they changed to meet new forms of attack.

In tracing the evolution of coastal fortifications, Saunders necessarily briefly outlines the periods of crisis and summarizes British naval policy, pointing out how the structures often show continuity of purpose as well as change and modification over time. He also notes how the landscape in which they were built has changed over the years, so that the Kent and Sussex coasts are no longer where they were. Thus, for example, the old harbours of the Cinque Ports either no longer exist or have ceased to have any maritime significance as a result of shifting sands and silting rivers, and martello towers now sometimes serve as traffic islands amid housing estates.

This book was written not as a technical study for specialists but for the general reader with an interest in military history, and is part of a major series of volumes on similar topics being published jointly by English Heritage and the Batsford publishing company. As a former Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings for English Heritage from 1973 to 1989 and president of the Royal Archaeological Institute, Andrew Saunders is eminently qualified for his task. The book includes several excellent illustrations, many in full colour, as well as maps and drawings. There is a useful glossary of technical terms, an annotated list of coastal fortification sites which may be visited by the public, and a bibliography. This book is highly recommended, particularly to anyone planning to visit the Channel coastal fortification sites.

Brian Tennyson  
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Frank Kitson. *Prince Rupert: Admiral and General-at-Sea*. London: Constable, 1998. 336 pp., maps, figures, b+w plates, bibliography, index. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-09-475800-X.

General Kitson's life of Prince Rupert of the Rhine as a military commander, both on the

continent and in England up to 1646, appeared in 1994. Now we have from him this second study, covering the remaining thirty-six years of the Prince's life. During those years, in the two wars with the Dutch of 1665-67 and 1672-73, Rupert proved himself a valiant and determined naval commander against highly professional adversaries: he had served an invaluable apprenticeship to sea command when, against overwhelming odds, he tried to represent the desperate Stuart cause on the high seas.

This book has the strengths of its predecessor. There is no fresh archival evidence, but it is lucidly written as becomes a field-officer, it is as accurate as may be in its treatments of the great engagements with the Dutch, and, blessedly, there is good coverage of geographical location and weather conditions. Both books can take a respected place among the preceding biographies. Rupert has certainly not lacked biographical attention over the past century. He was a Stuart through his mother and a Netherlands/ Rhineland-er through his father. Indeed, for a few months in 1630, until the birth of the future Charles II, Rupert was third in line of succession to the British crown and, later, brother-councillor to Sophia of Hanover, heir to Queen Anne. Yet his allure as biographical subject must also be largely owing to a fascinating elusiveness: though he was personally compelling and a proven leader of men in battle, Rupert remains resistant, even to an incisive treatment such as Kitson's. For all his royal blood, the blows Fate struck at him conferred on Rupert a peripheral status only. He knew this, and it surely helps to explain his prickly temper with colleagues and the distance at which he held them. While his personal story would hold any man in thrall, an exceptional technical grasp equipped him for trenchant criticism of lax planning and fallacious strategy. But despite a certain *froideur* the Prince could take a man's measure, as vital, perhaps more vital, in making dispositions in the heat of the moment in a sea-fight than in an engagement on land.

In any attempt at a final analysis, we have to place this exceptional man in his riven century, the seventeenth, which witnessed the ravaging complexities of the Thirty Years' War (and which permanently marked Rupert's life), the truncation of the authority of the Austrian Habsburgs, the near-collapse of the Spanish, the novel repute of

French statecraft, and the phenomenal resilience of the Dutch Republic. In the arts of war, especially at sea, great advances were made, and scientific enquiry was such that soundly educated men (and Rupert was an alumnus of Leyden) knew few bounds to their thought. But political dislocation was endemic, and it may well be that the key to Rupert's *political* importance in Britain, his well-loved adopted country, lies in his contribution to the restored crown's ability after 1660 to live with the past. Here, perhaps, he has yet to be given his due.

No author could have tried harder than Kitson to project the details of an astonishing fighting life. But to this reviewer there seems to be a dimension which escapes him and perhaps his predecessors. It is not so much that Rupert was almost exactly contemporary with the technocrat Colbert and the colonial adventurer Shaftesbury, whose concerns reflected some of Rupert's. It is that his world was that of Wallenstein, of Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, of the Marshal-Duke of Schomberg, with whom the Prince was once associated, of *malgré-lui*, George Monck, erstwhile foe yet King-Maker and Comrade-In-Arms. Rupert of the Rhine was of their company: he was a *condottiere*.

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Judith Beattie and Bernard Pothier. *The Battle of the Restigouche, 1760* (also available in French as *La Bataille de la Restigouche*). Ottawa: Parks Canada, Canadian Heritage, 1978, 1996. 48 pp., maps, illustrations, notes. \$9.95, paper; ISBN 0-660-16384-5.

General histories often give the impression that the struggle for control over North America between Great Britain and France during the Seven Years' War ended at Quebec City in 1759 on the Plains of Abraham. This was not the case; limited fighting continued in Canada on land and sea for some two more years and ultimately ended in 1763 with a "noble peace," the Peace of Paris.

With this book Beattie and Pothier chronicle a modest naval battle, the last between France and Britain in the North American theater, and it is an interesting story. It concerns an attempt by France to reinforce Montreal by sea and river after the

fall of Quebec City. This half-hearted attempt ended with the defeat of a small French fleet on the Restigouche River, which forms part of the boundary between the Gaspé Peninsula and New Brunswick and flows into Chaleur Bay.

While the authors ably relate the background, evolution and results of this battle, their interpretation of the thinking behind decision making of each force is of special interest. The French had suffered a number of defeats, both in Canada and throughout the world and were despondent. As they hoped that the war would end soon and were anticipating defeat, their attitude was defensive at best, defeatist at worst; merely retaining their present territory was enough. This unhappy frame of mind was exacerbated by the treatment they had received from their superiors in France. On the other hand, the British had enjoyed a number of successes, were well supplied and were very aggressive.

These attitudes are reflected by the tactics employed by both combatants in a naval battle that was fought on an unfamiliar and uncharted river. The British commanded superior firepower; the largest French vessel was of 500 tons and twenty-eight guns and she faced, with a number of lesser ships, a force led by three Royal Navy line of battle ships. In restricted bodies of water large ships are not necessarily advantageous but the British did manage to advance up the narrow channels of the heavily silted river, while the French built shore batteries and sank some of their ships as barrier defenses. But the French outnumbered the British and the authors suggest that if French morale had been better the outcome of the action might have been different.

This modest yet well produced publication is well worth reading. Sources that give a first-hand insight to the attitudes among military commanders, European settlers and Indian inhabitants are liberally quoted throughout the work. The modern and contemporary maps it contains are helpful in understanding the tactics employed in a naval action fought on a confined river and the source references will be a great asset to those interested in further research on the subject.

A number of ships were lost during this engagement and it would be interesting to know what remains of these vessels in the silt of the Restigouche River. Perhaps this, the book's second printing, will prompt archaeological in-

vestigation of the Restigouche sites.

John McKay  
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J. Worth Estes. *Naval Surgeon: Life and Death at Sea in the Age of Sail*. Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 1998. xii + 266 pp., maps, figures, illustrations, tables, appendices, index.. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-88135-194-6.

J. Worth Estes, M.D., Professor of Pharmacology at Boston University, set out to learn all that could be uncovered on the life and career of the naval surgeon Peter St. Medard (1755-1822) with particular reference to the Mediterranean cruise of the US frigate *New York* in 1802-03. St. Medard's medical case records as ship's surgeon on that cruise during the war with Tripoli constitute the earliest reasonably complete medical history known to survive for any United States warship. Estes, an acknowledged authority on eighteenth-century medical practice, has published earlier studies of St. Medard and this voyage; he is the logical choice to author an authoritative full-length study of the important, almost wholly neglected, theme of health at sea in the navy of the early Republic. Indeed, Estes has produced a very readable narrative, both sympathetic as a biography of St. Medard and expert in explaining medicine and pharmacology to a lay audience.

St. Medard, born on the Ile d'Orléon, began his surgical career in French slavers in 1773 before a propitious capture by the British Navy in 1778 and subsequent prisoner exchange placed him in Boston at a time when his skills were in demand by his soon-to-be-adopted country. In 1779 he entered the US Navy as surgeon's mate on the *Providence*, was promoted to surgeon in 1780 (on the *Deane*), and eventually served on the USS *Constitution* in 1798-1801 during the Quasi-War with France, before joining the *New York* in September 1802 for what would be his final cruise. Already, as a half-pay officer during the extended periods between conflicts, St. Medard had established a private practice in Boston, married, and produced offspring. He subsequently held the post of physician to the Boston Almshouse and acted as an examiner of naval recruits during the War of 1812. St. Medard emerges as a fairly typical, reasonably prosper-

ous, eighteenth-century naval surgeon, knowledgeably conservative (and perhaps increasingly out-of-date) in his medical practice.

St. Medard's probable typicality enhances the value of his unique medical case records, because the paucity of comparable evidence permits Estes little opportunity for comparisons. Instead, we enter into the themes of life and death at sea in the early US Navy through a very exact, fascinating, reconstruction of the medical history of the *New York* from 2 September 1802 to 9 December 1803. St. Medard had under his care some 370 officers and men (plus a small number of prisoners, passengers, and female dependents) for an extended period in a semi-sealed environment (with little shore leave or personnel changes). This in itself is not entirely typical for the US Navy, and it would be unwise to extrapolate uncritically from the levels of morbidity recorded for the crew of the *New York* to the Navy as a whole. Moreover, the non-specific information on nutrition aboard the *New York*, and the certainty that the medical data under-reported health problems for at least some officers and in all instances where incapacitation did not occur, restrict a full analysis of important topics. The central value of Estes' medical reconstruction lies in the consideration of the nature of health problems experienced at sea, and the reasons why they were treated in the ways they were. Here, St. Medard's practice was clearly not atypical. Treatments which could never have cured the diseases experienced at sea (and on land) continued to be practised by St. Medard, his contemporaries, and their successors because they were shown to be efficacious: the intended results were produced and, through the natural restorative capacities of the human body, the vast majority of patients improved. The 240 men and women of the *New York* under his care (sixty-four percent of the subject population) produced 487 admissions to the sick list; 6.6 percent of these cases terminated in death and only two percent led to medical discharges.

This is an expert examination comprehensible to a wide audience. It is recommended as an authoritative exploration of an important theme within the social history of seafaring.

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Dudley Pope (intro. Christopher McKee). *The Black Ship*. "Heart of Oak Sea Classics"; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998. xxi + 376 pp., map, tables. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-8050-5566-5.

1797 was a memorable year for the Royal Navy with the great victories of St. Vincent in February and Camperdown in October. However, sandwiched between were three mutinies, events which no navy would wish to remember. In home waters April and May saw the mutinies of Spithead and the Nore which have been variously described more in terms of justifiable demands for an improvement of pay and conditions. On the other side of the Atlantic, in the warm waters of the Caribbean, a third drama was enacted in September with the bloody and brutal mutiny of HMS *Hermione*. This is the story which Dudley Pope sets out to tell in *The Black Ship*.

Pope has a good story, he tells it well and the reader is taken along at a good pace. The use of court martial transcripts and the letters and despatches of many of the protagonists gives an immediacy to the text, a feeling of being on board the *Hermione*. In *The Black Ship* various threads interweave — pointers are given to the character of Captain Pigot with the relating of the incident with the American Captain Jessup, Pigot's relationship with his commander becomes apparent from the way the Admiral deals with the American's complaints, and finally the gathering of the crew of the *Hermione* when Pigot appeared to pick with unerring accuracy his future executioners, the antecedent incidents and the mutiny itself. A second story then begins to emerge with the fate of the mutineers. Rejected by the Spaniards they scattered over the world, to be picked up in ones and twos by the Royal Navy. In all, thirty-three went to trial and twenty-four were executed. Finally, Pope relates the more glorious events of the recapture of the *Hermione* by a daring and courageous cutting out expedition by HMS *Surprise*, commanded by Captain Edward Hamilton.

Captain Hugh Pigot was regarded by other Royal Naval officers as a cruel and harsh officer and it is his capricious and inconsistent punishments and behaviour that Pope identifies as the cause of the mutiny. It was as true then as it is now that good leadership, albeit with firm disci-

pline, achieves more success than oppression and fear and there are many examples of just this to be found in the 18th century. The picture drawn in *The Black Ship* is of a man who is anything but a good leader. He appears to be lacking in self confidence and this leads him to demand responses from his men that become more and more unacceptable. This lack of confidence, when combined with a singular inability to judge the true worth of the men he chose as his followers, created a situation in which the traditional order and loyalty of a ship's crew exploded into the anarchy of a vengeful and bloodthirsty mob.

*The Black Ship*, then, is a compelling read in which the central character is an anti-hero. Pigot was a man used to authority but one who did not understand it. Pigot sold his life bravely and dearly when attacked in his cabin by the mutineers, yet it is hard not to feel more sympathy for the crew than for the officers. Though contemporary material is used throughout, the book is more an historical entertainment than a definitive work. In seeking to write a flowing narrative, connecting passages and background commentary sometimes reflects more the imaginative creativity of the novelist than the objectivity of the historian, political judgements, for example about Lord North and the King, no longer represent current historical thinking, and the validity of some of the documents is not sufficiently questioned.

At the level of an exciting and compelling read this is a book which well deserves its reissue in the "Heart of Oak Sea Classics" series. There will be many of a new generation of readers who may well wonder whether they have any connection with those mutineers who escaped that final meeting with the noose and the yardarm.

Kenneth C. Breen  
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Bryan Perrett. *The Real Homblower: The Life and Times of Admiral Sir James Gordon, GCB*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 160 pp., maps, figures, b+w plates, appendix, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-697-3. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is a curious book which tries to accomplish two things. The first, presenting the life of a

worthy yet obscure officer, is done in a creditable manner. The second, attempting to prove that Gordon was the model for Forester's fictional Hornblower, while mildly intriguing, is less satisfying.

Conventional wisdom has held that Forester drew on incidents and individuals in numerous Royal Navy careers as inspiration for Hornblower. Perrett argues that while this is partially true, it was Gordon who provided the major source. The evidence might strike some as slim, but the case does merit attention, assuming the question is worth a book. Forester, of course, was a naval historian very familiar with the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. He was also a novelist who formed the idea of a fictional character in the Royal Navy during those wars. When it seemed a market demand was very real, a series was born. Hornblower was not a swashbuckler but a human with frailties, though his professional skills and dedication to duty more than compensated for a little social awkwardness.

The case for Gordon, briefly stated, is that his professional advancement exactly parallels Hornblower's: both entered as midshipmen in 1793, and both mounted the promotion ladder in the same years. Some events have rough parallels in both lives: the use of bomb vessels against fortifications, the difficulties of leading small squadrons in shallow inland waters, the fact that Gordon's wife was named Lydia, which was also the name of one of Hornblower's ships, and each became Admiral of the Fleet. The most contentious bit of evidence involves Perrett's claim that Forester deliberately obscured Gordon's service record in his histories to disguise the source of the Hornblower stories. In his *Age of Fighting Sail* on the War of 1812 Forester gives Gordon's services in conducting a diversionary raid up the Potomac, and the taking of Richmond, during the capture of Washington, rather short shrift. This included the unusual (for him) description of this officer as "Captain Gordon, R.N.," when his usual practice was to give full names and a brief biographical sketch. Perrett's view is that Forester was deliberately obscuring Gordon to discourage enquiries which might reveal him as the Hornblower model. At that time Hornblower was in the Baltic, and Forester was once recorded as saying it was a good thing, else his hero might have been

lobbing shells into Baltimore, with unfortunate affects on American book sales.

In the final analysis, one feels the case is still somewhat open. There are indeed parallels between the two figures, though there are differences as well, such as Hornblower's lack of service in the War of 1812, and his eventual peerage; and there are similarities with other real naval figures, most obviously Cochrane's dashing frigate exploits on detached services, which could be taken as equally significant. Two troubling questions remain: first, was this issue really worth a book, or would it have sufficed as an intriguing article? And second, what are we to make of Forester's ethics if the above assumptions are true? If a historian deliberately chooses to fudge the record even a little with an eye to increasing book sales, as Pen-ett claims was done with Gordon's service in the Chesapeake, it raises serious questions of professional conduct. The biography of a worthy yet obscure officer is welcome, but readers will have to exercise their own judgement on the value or accuracy of the Hornblower issue.

Paul Webb  
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Priscilla Napier. *Henry At Sea: Part One of the Life of Captain Henry Napier RN, 1789-1853*. Norwich: Michael Russell, 1997. 352 pp., figures, maps, select bibliography, index. £19.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85955-230-6.

Henry Napier was a spirited, ambitious and hard-to-please member of the gentry set who sought early promotion in the Royal Navy. In all of these things he was typical of his breed. This first installment of a biography of his life is based upon his entirely self-conscious letters home, especially to his mother. They reveal a liberal, reformist sentiment about the Senior Service, and contain many comments about a virtually unreformed navy of the age of fighting sail. Henry disliked the brutality of the service, especially flogging. He had a sharp eye for the ways of ships, and by virtue of the fact that he spent much of his early career on the North American and West Indies Station he has some useful discussion about activities of the fleet during the War of 1812 and after.

Much of Henry's life was spent waiting for something to happen. Doubtless this was the case for many young officers who aspired to flag rank. But Henry hardly ever saw the enemy, and the duties of patrol and of blockade were tedious and dull. Once he got his own command, HMS *Jaseur*, he found himself in a pickle, for the Sackville pilot who was said to know the waters of the Bay of Fundy put the sloop on the rocks. A court martial gave Henry back his sword, which was right in the circumstances.

If the first part of the book deals with his baptism into the perils and horrors of the navy, the second deals with the American adventure of 1812, when Henry was in and out of Halifax on a regular basis. He has some pleasant things to say about the females of that city. From time to time he comments on matters of command, and of those who had that command. One would have liked to have had a more sustained narrative about the various doings of HM ships on these stations. The author would have found Admiralty In-letters in the Public Record Office of great value for a better, more comprehensive understanding of Henry's ship-proceedings and of his Admiral's requirements for all ships "on station." As it is, we have a lovely picaresque tale based on some wonderfully spritely letters, for Henry was never at a loss for a lovely turn of phrase or for fetching details. We can look for a second volume to complete the tale of a prominent naval officer, and this, taken with the first, will nicely cover not only the French and Napoleonic wars but the War of 1812 and the early years of *Pax Britannica*. Had Henry got into the navy earlier he would have risen more quickly.

Barry Gough  
Waterloo, Ontario

Chester G. Hearn. *Admiral David Glasgow Farragut*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xxi + 382 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US \$37.50, Cdn \$52.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-384-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

David Glasgow Farragut (1801-1870) conqueror of New Orleans, victor of Mobile Bay and the first admiral of the United States Navy, is not

without biographies. His son began the process in 1879, relying on the family archives, while Mahan's short study of 1892 combined personal knowledge with a naval officer's perspective to provide a case study in leadership for the officers of the newly revived United States Navy. Twentieth-century biographies have added little to our knowledge or understanding of the man. Earlier works are conditioned by the ambitions of the authors, the era in which they wrote and the need for American naval heroes. Chester Hearn was well equipped to write this new life, having already written on *The Capture of New Orleans*, Mobile Bay, General Butler's occupation of New Orleans and the career of Farragut's adoptive brother David Dixon Porter.

Hearn begins with a discussion of Farragut's early life, as the son of Minorcan and Irish immigrants, his meeting with David Porter, who took him into the US Navy at the age of ten, adopted him and carried him through the War of 1812 aboard the frigate USS *Essex*. At Valparaiso in 1814 midshipman Farragut had his first opportunity to display his courage when the *Essex* was knocked to pieces by the superior long range gunnery of HMS *Phoebe*. His later career, while less dangerous, exposed him to the vagaries of a heavily politicised service, an issue that Hearn passes over too quickly, in view of the impact it had on his service in the Mexican War. Farragut witnessed the French attack on Vera Cruz in 1838, gaining first hand knowledge of the effect of shells on old masonry fortifications. He built on this experience while directing artillery experiments, and proved his administrative capacity establishing Mare Island Navy Yard.

When the war broke out Farragut, although born in Tennessee and long resident in Norfolk, Virginia, had no hesitation in adhering to the Union and moving north. His elevation to command the Gulf Coast squadron, with orders to attack New Orleans, was the result of the active and effective lobbying of his adoptive brother David Dixon Porter, an extremely ambitious lieutenant, who saw in Farragut's elevation a golden opportunity for his own advancement. Farragut, despite the disloyal, and dishonest, secret correspondence between Porter and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus Fox, seized his opportunity. In command his solid professionalism, pre-war experience, and calculating leader-

ship quickly marked him out as the most able naval officer available. In action Farragut was aggressive, resolute and inspirational. In council he was careful. He had the ability to select and use good subordinates, and was able to surmount difficulties and set-backs without self-doubt or misplaced criticism of others. His greatest command weakness was poor eyesight, a defect that led him to climb into the main shrouds during his battles.

Farragut was a thoroughly professional officer who lived to serve his country, a quality that enabled him to surmount the problems created by "political" generals like Benjamin Butler and Nathaniel Banks, who had Presidential opportunities and personal gain on their minds. This book would have benefitted from consulting a wider range of secondary sources, notably Tamara Moser Melia's book on American Mine Countermeasures, Donald Canney's study of Civil War warships and Bill Still's *American Sea Power in the Old World 1865-1917*. A more ambitious approach to Farragut's standing among his contemporaries, and his success in mastering the impact of technical change on offence and defence at sea would have been useful. However, this is a solid, reliable and effective biography.

Andrew Lambert  
London, England

William N. Still, Jr.. *The Confederate Navy: The Ships, Men and Organization, 1861-65*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. ix + 262 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, figures, appendices, sources, index. US \$59.95, Cdn \$84, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-128-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

*The Confederate Navy: The Ships, Men and Organizations, 1861-1865*, edited by the distinguished naval historian William N. Still, Jr., is a welcome addition to the body of literature on the American Civil War. In eleven chapters, the volume is full of information on the vessel types, facilities, officers and men including sailors and Marines, life at sea, and operations, as well as strategy and tactics. Some readers may be disappointed to find that there is not a separate chapter on blockade runners. Most of those swift steamers, however, were privately owned and therefore,

did not fall under the control of Confederate Navy. A rich variety of maps, line drawings, photographs, and portraits accompanies the text. In addition, readers will want to explore the selected bibliography, the commentary in the endnotes, and the appendix of former United States Navy officers from the South who attempted to resign their commissions as their home states seceded from the Union.

At their best, the nine recognized contributors have provided easy-to-comprehend, straightforward narratives on their respective areas of focus. The chapters on shipboard life, by Harold D. Langley and on the duties of the enlisted personnel by Royce Shingleton are particularly informative. Even those readers familiar with the fledgling navy will uncover points of interest. Among the entertaining passages found in other chapters are the exploits of Commander John Taylor Wood and Marine Second Lieutenant Henry M. Doak. Maurice Melton does an admirable job of outlining the conversion of the USS *Merrimack* to the CSS *Virginia*, giving credit where credit is due, and not becoming immersed in the many related pits of controversy.

The chapter on strategy and tactics is a disappointment. Unlike the other chapters, much of this section relies on long quotes. While it is important to remember that much of this work rests on the published research and conclusions of other scholars, this reviewer would have liked more synthesis and opinion from the author and fewer block quotations.

Another weakness of this volume includes a lack of tight editorial control. The quality of the images varies greatly from crisp, helpful line drawings in the section on ship types to museum artifacts photographed in exhibition cases obstructed by glare. Also, there is overuse of maps from the *Century* magazine's *Battles and Leaders* series. A book of this caliber deserves original maps. Instead, some of the contributors have relied on the often-used *Battles and Leaders* despite its mistakes and the poor reproduction of the supporting text and legends. Finally, the appendix on US naval officers who submitted their resignations at the beginning of the war with the idea that they would serve in the Confederacy may leave readers with the conclusion that all of these officers served in the CS Navy with the same rank. This was not always the case and

reprinting of one of Confederate naval registers would have better filled this purpose.

The selected bibliography is uneven. It contains mostly published books, at times citing the latest editions, yet none of the important articles the researchers may have consulted from scholarly journals such as the *Journal of Southern History*, *American Neptune*, or *Civil War History* are included. A diligent reader, however, will find that manuscripts, articles, and newspapers are referenced in the endnotes.

Nevertheless, and despite such weaknesses, a book of this sweeping scope was overdue, and Still and his cadre of distinguished contributors have made an important advance in explaining the role of the Confederate tars during the American Civil War. They have also provided students of the war with an informed introduction to the accomplishments, complexities, and failures of this short-lived navy.

Benjamin Trask  
Newport News, Virginia

R. Thomas Campbell. *Fire and Thunder: Exploits of the Confederate States Navy*. Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1997. xiii + 294 pp., figures, illustrations, photographs, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-57249-067-5.

The story of the Confederate States Navy, its men and its ships is one of the most inspiring stories of courage, of devotion to duty, and of perseverance in the face of insurmountable obstacles to come out of the American Civil War. Until recently, relatively little attention was paid to the naval aspects of the Civil War and, especially, to the Confederate States Navy. That situation has changed over the past decade, culminating in the recent publication of the English translation of *A History of the Confederate Navy* by Raimondo Luraghi (*TNM/LMN* VII, No. 2, 115-116)

While acknowledging that Luraghi's *History* is a masterpiece and is likely to become the definitive work on the subject, Campbell is concerned that it and volumes of similar scope and scale suffer from a lack of detail about particular actions or intriguing personalities. *Fire and Thunder*, as well as the preceding volumes in Campbell's spirited history of the Confederate

States Navy – *Gray Thunder*, *Southern Thunder*, and *Southern Fire* – is an attempt to fill this perceived gap in the literature.

*Fire and Thunder* introduces the reader to the numerous and varied facets of what Campbell, with some justification, terms "Confederate Forces Afloat." Not all the exploits that are recounted in the present volume were undertaken by the Confederate States Navy. Early in the Civil War, private citizens applied for and were granted letters of marque and reprisal from the Confederate government. These privateers carried the war to Northern commerce while a regular navy was being organized. Branded as "pirates" by the North, these corsairs, sailing in small vessels with names such as *Calhoun*, *Dixie* and *Jefferson Davis*, made newspaper headlines for a few months, until Union warships appeared in numbers off the Southern coast.

Also told is the story of the Texas Marine Department, which, during late December 1862 and early January 1863, recaptured Galveston, Texas with the aid of two steamboats protected by cotton bales. One steamboat was commanded by a master in the Confederate States Navy, the other by an army captain; both were manned by Texas cavalymen. Action by these two steamboats resulted in the surrender of several Union warships and the destruction of another, compelling Union naval forces to raise the blockade of this important port and to withdraw to New Orleans.

The central theme of *Fire and Thunder* is "the exhilarating successes – and sometimes the stinging defeats – of the Confederate Navy." Like the country whose flag it flew, the Confederate States Navy was ultimately doomed to destruction. While the Navy lived, however, its men and its ships came to be known in every corner of the world – from the *CSS Nashville*, the first Confederate warship to carry the flag of the new nation to England, to the *CSS Shenandoah*, which lowered the Confederacy's last flag almost seven months after the surrender of Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox.

And then there were the blockade runners. Some of the most exciting accounts of courage and seamanship during the Civil War emerge from the tales of those fast, lead-coloured steamers that braved the stormy seas, the rocky shoals, and the guns of the Union navy to deliver much-needed supplies to the struggling Confederate

armies. Profit was, of course, a tremendous incentive, particularly for the civilian runners. However, some twenty-five per cent of the blockade runners were owned, either in whole or in part, by the Confederate government and were officered and crewed by personnel of the Confederate States Navy. Campbell notes, with evident pride, that not a single blockade runner was ever captured while under the command of a regular Confederate naval officer.

Although Campbell, the first recipient of the Nathan Bedford Forrest History Award, is perhaps inclined to rely too uncritically on some sources, especially memoirs, the present volume, like its predecessors, furnishes engaging and generally accurate accounts of the daring deeds and the victories and defeats of the Confederate States Navy during the Civil War.

G. Edward Reed  
Ottawa, Ontario

David M. Sullivan. *The United States Marine Corps in the Civil War: The First Year.*

pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$40, cloth; ISBN 1-57249-040-3.

David M. Sullivan. *The United States Marine Corps in the Civil War: The Second Year.* Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Press, 1997. xii + 373 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$40, cloth; ISBN 1-57249-055-1.

The United States Marine Corps of the Civil War era was hardly the Corps that led the vanguard of victory in World War II and has remained a stalwart part of America's armed forces for the past half-century. In fact, the Corps mission and actual contribution in the 1860s may not warrant the planned multi-volume study of the author. Still, for someone like David Sullivan who has spent two decades studying the Marines in the Civil War, this labour of love is destined to provide the first comprehensive history of the Marine Corps in that era. As such, it will contribute not only to Civil War history but also to maritime history, institutional military history as well as greater understanding of the men and

traditions that added to the rich heritage of this premier fighting force.

Sullivan is dividing his project by devoting one volume to each year of the war. The first volume, covering 1861, covers a number of the Marines' combat contributions, from helping save the nation's capital from secessionist capture in the spring to the disastrous battle of First Bull Run during the first major land campaign. More traditional roles were also played from Fort Sumter to Hampton Roads as a prelude to the Marines' principal wartime mission of securing advanced bases along the coast of the Confederacy (a mission that continued to evolve overseas during the ensuing century).

The second volume – for 1862 – explores the beginnings of more varied fare. In this work, we find the Marines confronting their Confederate counterpart at Drewry's Bluff near Richmond, serving aboard ships on blockade duty (their traditional role), storming ashore to capture coastal outposts, and combating malaria, river batteries and guerrillas aboard gunboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries. Sullivan also explores internal organizational battles within the Marine hierarchy and the social/institutional story of the everyday Marine Corps. Numerous illustrations and superb photographs in both volumes enable the reader to study customs and dress, garrison and barracks scenes, as well as esprit-building special trimmings to the Corps such as the famous Marine Band in Washington.

As with any multi-volume project, readers will look forward to the succeeding volumes to continue the contribution and finish the story. Whether the work truly captures the social milieu of the Corps, the logistics and relationships with parent Navy or the influence of technology upon institutional shaping of roles and missions may not always be apparent. Still, the volumes thus far are based on sound scholarship reflected by discursive endnotes and a reasonably critical style. The publisher's commissioned art work for the dust jackets also merits attention and useful maps enhance the text. In all, Sullivan has provided good narrative history, a stimulating story and illumination for a surprisingly dimly lighted corner of American Civil War maritime history.

Benjamin Franklin Cooling  
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Nicholas Tracy (ed.). *The Collective Naval Defence of the Empire, 1900-1940* (Navy Records Society Vol. 136). Aldershot, Hants. and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing for the Navy Records Society, 1997. liv + 706 pp., biographical outlines, list of documents and sources, index. US \$101.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85928-402-7.

There are two main criteria that a documents collection must meet if it is to be deemed useful: the topic must be well defined in terms of the overall concept and the theoretical context that dictates what types of documents are collected; and those documents must be the most useful or relevant ones to apply to that topic. Nicholas Tracy's efforts for the Navy Records Society has met with mixed success on both accounts.

The introduction to this collection presents two incorrect assumptions of what British naval and collective or imperial defence were about in the period 1900 to 1940. Tracy's strategic framework for that defence is an erroneous belief that the prime interest was in the need for a decisive, Trafalgar-like battle to be conducted by a centrally controlling Admiralty. The true nature of imperial defence – patrols, cruisers, distant lines of communication, infrastructure, and diplomacy – is not taken into proper account. There is also a sub-text of colonial or dominion persecution at the hands of an exploitive and domineering motherland and Admiralty. This historical whine appears in too many Australian, New Zealand and Canadian works on empire and imperial defence.

Such an approach to the study of British imperial defence follows the traditional path of assuming that a war with Germany, Italy and Japan by 1941 was, of course, something that should have been foreseen and prepared for well in advance of the fact. Such unrealistic expectations are a simple reflection of the lack of understanding of the realities of British strategic policy making in the period between 1914 and 1941. If, however, the reader ignores the dated approach defined in the introduction and examines the selected documents without that unhelpful baggage, the general organisation and rationale for why the topic is a useful one to investigate is enough to make the collection itself useful. The general outline of the important issues and debates for the various parts of the Empire, as well as for Britain itself, are well laid out for even

those not well versed in the history of the period. Still, like most such collections, there are areas that are stronger and more complete than others.

The choice of documents and their usefulness are the other elements that need to be addressed. The material provided before 1914 is good and generally representative of the best material available. The documents on and after World War I are not as well selected, nor are they the most useful. This is tied into the previous problem, however, of a weak conceptual framework for defining the elements of naval imperial defence. While the lack of important private papers is understandable, the lack of diplomatic (Foreign Office) and Treasury material for any of the periods is not excusable. This is a reflection though of many of the works produced for the Navy Records Society. It appears there is a tendency on the part of the authors contracted to this work to believe that only Admiralty (the dreaded ADM) files are worth pursuing in any methodical and exacting fashion. The Committee of Imperial Defence and Cabinet materials presented in this volume are adequate but selective, given the narrow confines of the issues that are to be proved. It is the lack of the Foreign Office and Treasury material, however, that really creates the holes in the story of the effort to create an imperial defence system. The selected documents do not by any means show the entire picture of all, if even the main, issues facing British and Dominion strategic planners in their quest to achieve some sort of collective security organisation. The volume is a good introduction to some of the material that serious students of the topic will have to explore, but merely utilizing the documents and series presented here will not provide that comprehensive knowledge. The section of biographical outlines that follows the documents is a very useful addition, but the list of abbreviations should not be put at the end of the book. As well, it is annoying and makes no sense to have the source of the document listed at the end of the book and not with the actual document itself.

North American scholars will find Tracy's collection of documents useful, given the expense and effort of researching in Britain and the Dominions. However, without the necessary diplomatic and economic materials the service of the collection will be limited. For the price, it is a volume that meets the Navy Record Society's

tradition of producing documentary collections that are well worth the money spent to have it on one's own shelves or in the library. But scholars with ready access to the Public Record Office and the other archival holdings in Great Britain may think twice before purchasing the volume.

Greg Kennedy  
Kingston, Ontario

Marco Rimanelli. *Italy Between Europe and the Mediterranean: Diplomacy and Naval Strategy from Unification to NATO, 1800s - 2000*. "Studies in Modern European History," Vol. XXI; New York and Bern: Peter Lang Publishing, 1997. xxvi + 1075 pp., figures, maps, photographs, tables, bibliography, indices. US \$69.95, hard-bound; ISBN 0-8204-2852-3.

This massive work is intended to provide an analysis of Italian grand strategy in light of Italy's foreign and domestic policies from the period of national unification to the present. As an international relations specialist with strong naval interests and expertise, Rimanelli takes a methodical approach to his task. He begins his introductory chapter in 650 BC and devotes over a hundred pages to the history of Italy and the Mediterranean before Italian unification. The work then moves topically within a chronological framework, with successive chapters on Italian diplomacy, strategy, and naval-technological developments in each of four time periods: 1861-96, 1896-1922, the Fascist era, and the post-World War II era. The fourteenth chapter is a conclusion focusing on the "opportunities and failures in Italy's quest for regional pre-eminence."

In his first two chronological units, covering the rise of Italian sea power from the era of national unification through World War I, Rimanelli highlights the innovative warship designs of the expansion programme that gave Italy, temporarily, the third-largest navy in Europe as of the late 1800s. The author recounts the navy's competition with the army for a central place in grand strategy, along with the ongoing battle within the navy over whether Italy should aspire to dominate the Mediterranean or be content with hegemony in the Adriatic. Owing to the fact that Austria/Austria-Hungary was Italy's leading naval rival for much of these two periods

of his study (1861 through World War I), Rimanelli's failure to consult relevant German and English language monographs on the Austrian/Austro-Hungarian navy is a weakness worth noting. Indeed, Rimanelli derives much of his material on the pre-1914 Austro-Hungarian navy from a single doctoral dissertation completed almost two decades ago.

Rimanelli regards the fascist era as the least innovative period in Italian naval history. Under Mussolini, the construction of battleships and larger cruisers departed from the tradition of sacrificing protection for speed in favour of a more conservative policy of building slower, better-armoured vessels. Fascist Italy had a single land-based air force and laid down no aircraft carriers during the interwar years; two carriers begun in 1941 were still on the stocks when Mussolini fell from power in 1943. Rimanelli highlights the effectiveness of predominantly-Italian Axis convoy operations in the Mediterranean in the years 1940-43. He also mentions the little-known episode of the Italian navy, under the Badoglio government of 1943-45, being entrusted with supporting roles by the Allies against Nazi Germany.

Notwithstanding the wartime conversion of Italy from enemy to ally, at the insistence of Britain the Italian navy lost most of its larger warships as a consequence of the postwar peace treaty of 1947. The navy subsequently was rebuilt after Italy became a charter member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949, albeit with the most impressive period of growth and modernization postponed until 1975-90. In his eleventh chapter Rimanelli recounts the "shattered power-dreams" and "realistic peace victories" of the postwar era, in which a refocused "Atlantic Italy" finally abandoned imperialist notions of regional hegemony in favour of a clearly-defined regional role within an alliance of western democracies dominated by the United States. The public and political popularity of the NATO connection with the United States was reflected in the levels of support for Italy's entry into the alliance and in the country's fidelity to NATO thereafter, the latter remaining a constant factor despite the endemic instability in Italian domestic politics.

The length – and thus cost – of this book could have been reduced through a judicious editing. Throughout, from the background material on the Mediterranean in antiquity through the

remarks on the role of NATO in the Bosnian crisis of the 1990s, dozens of pages are devoted to general information which is likely to be common knowledge to any reader who would acquire a book so specialized. This is especially true of the four chapters on diplomatic developments, which recount in detail the context of European alliances, alignments, and conflicts affecting Italy and Italian strategic interests. The many maps are almost all useless, either too small or of a quality too poor to be legible. The latter is also the case with many of the photographs. The dozens of warship profiles are an asset to the work but most have no key indicating the scale of the drawing.

The author bases his work overwhelmingly on Italian published sources, either secondary works or editions of parliamentary and diplomatic papers. He makes thorough use of similar sources available in English, including all of the established standard works of diplomatic and naval history concerning the Mediterranean. As a synthesis of modern Italian diplomacy, strategy, and naval developments, Rimaneli's work has no equal. While virtually all of the material he covers is available to readers in various Italian monographs and journals, much of it has never been published in the English language before now. If for no other reason, this should make his study valuable to specialists in naval history throughout the English-speaking world.

Lawrence Sondhaus  
Indianapolis, Indiana

Jörg-Uwe Fischer. *Admiral des Kaisers: Georg Alexander von Müller als Chef des Marinekabinetts Wilhelms II.* "Moderne Geschichte und Politik," Bd. 9; Bern and New York: Peter Lang Verlag, 1992. 352 pp., figure, bibliography. 82,00 sFr, 95,00 DM, US \$58.80, £38, FF 315,00, öS 683,00, paper; ISBN 3-631-45166-0.

Admiral von Müller headed the Navy Cabinet from April 1906 until November 1918, and was responsible for all personnel decisions in the Imperial German Navy. He enjoyed full access (*Immediatstellung*) to Wilhelm II and accompanied his kaiser to the front in 1914-18. During the war, Müller was widely denounced as the "German Rasputin" of the navy for having closed the kaiser off to all outside influences; after the war,

he was vilified as the man who had prevented battle with the Grand Fleet in the North Sea, and early unrestricted submarine warfare. This 1991 Tübingen University dissertation seeks to set the record straight.

Fischer has consulted a plethora of primary sources, including the navy's official records as well as about a dozen personal papers of German admirals, including those of Müller and Tirpitz. He has mastered the secondary literature as well as printed documents. Unfortunately, his love of primary materials often causes him to overlook the fact that much of what he presents has already been published.

Before 1914, Müller supported German navalism and global politics (*Weltpolitik*). He seconded Tirpitz's fleet building (against Britain), championed battleships over cruisers (*jeune École*), and encouraged the widening of the Kiel Canal. At times, his visceral hatred of "perfidious Albion" led him to suggest an "indirect" approach of challenging Britannia's naval supremacy by way of a land war "as far as India and Egypt." [98] But as the prospect of a European war loomed ever larger – especially after the failure of Lord Haldane's visit to Germany in February 1912 to scale down the Anglo-German naval race – Müller began to have second thoughts about the "Tirpitz plan." In the July Crisis of 1914 he accepted war provided that Russia could be made to appear as the aggressor.

Throughout the Great War, Fischer argues, Müller's driving ambition was to strengthen the kaiser – first against Tirpitz and the Crown Prince and later against Ludendorff and Hindenburg. He failed. The kaiser's fatal character flaws – superficiality, lack of tact and discipline, laziness, and indolence – now came to haunt the nation at war. As Wilhelm II retreated into an escapist world of hiking and chopping wood, Müller became the "most hated person in the navy" [185] for refusing to give Tirpitz overall command of the navy, for holding the fleet back from a naval Armageddon, and for delaying the start of unrestricted U-boat warfare. Unfortunately, Fischer seems not to realize that even had Müller succeeded in strengthening the kaiser against the military and naval fronde, Wilhelm's wartime role would undoubtedly have mirrored his peacetime antics.

In the end, Müller stepped beyond his professional duties as the navy's personnel chief and,

hand-in-hand with Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, advocated the primacy of politics – in this case, preserving the navy as a "fleet-in-being" for postwar negotiations. His fellow naval officers never forgave him. Until his death in April 1940, Muller was treated as a pariah by the Tirpitz clique. Not even his inclusion in the Allies' list of "war criminals" in 1919 brought Muller respite from attack. He died a broken man.

Fischer's main contribution is to highlight three critical issues of German naval history in terms of the behind-the-scenes struggles they engendered. First, Muller quite understandably declined to place the High Sea Fleet in the hands of Tirpitz, a septuagenarian who in 1914 had not commanded major units at sea for seventeen years. Second, he rightly refused to condone an all-out engagement with the numerically superior (21:13 in dreadnoughts) Grand Fleet. And finally, he feared (at least until the spring of 1916) the political ramifications of unrestricted submarine warfare. When all is said and done, Admiral von Muller was neither the "grey eminence" that his accusers made him out to be, nor the "honest broker" that Fischer seeks to suggest. Rather, he was a weak bureaucrat, a man able to shuffle posts and papers in peacetime. Yet when the hour of truth arrived in 1914, Muller clung to office well past any good that he was doing, and placed his bets on a lame horse – Wilhelm II.

Holger H. Herwig  
Calgary, Alberta

Kenneth Wimmel. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Great White Fleet: American Sea Power Comes of Age*. London and Washington: Brassey's, 1998. xviii + 271 pp., photographs, illustrations, bibliographic notes, index. £19.99, cloth; ISBN 1-57488-153-1.

Kenneth Wimmel is a retired US Foreign Service officer who formerly served in the US Navy. He wrote this book to stimulate interest in the history of the US Navy between 1880 and 1909, including the central role played by Theodore Roosevelt. Taking the approach of a popular historian, Wimmel notes that he has no intention of offering "startling new evidence or a radical reinterpretation at variance with the standard histories" [ix] that are the basis for his account.

Wimmel writes fluently, appears to be accurate, and uses key secondary works relating to his subject matter. His bibliographic notes reveal that he is a rather conservative observer. For example, he criticizes the contributions made by such revisionist historians as Peter Karsten and Robert A. Hart. Wimmel provides vivid sketches of some of the key personalities in his account. In addition to Roosevelt they include Robley D. Evans, Alfred Thayer Mahan, William E. Sims, and George E. Dewey. Wimmel also offers solid information on the technicalities of ship design and construction. Appropriately, this coverage is placed in the context of developments occurring outside the United States. One of Wimmel's principal conclusions is that the rapidity of change in naval armaments during the 1880-1909 period is comparable to the dizzying pace of technology evident in the late twentieth century.

The author stresses that the around-the-world cruise of the Great White Fleet between 1907 and 1909 supported Theodore Roosevelt's efforts to solidify public and Congressional support for continuing a major battleship construction program. The success of this cruise offset unfavorable publicity regarding the quality of American ships, especially as set forth in a sensational article by Henry Reuter Dahl that was published in 1907. The inclusion of the Pacific Coast on the Great White Fleet's itinerary encouraged senators and representatives from that region to support the President's naval agenda.

In this reviewer's opinion, Wimmel is not well served by the title of his book, which suggests an emphasis on the world cruise of the Great White Fleet. In fact, that subject is addressed in only two of the volume's chapters. The book's actual scope is much larger. Among Wimmel's topics are Theodore Roosevelt's authorship of his well-known naval history of the War of 1812, the founding of the Naval War College, the influence of Alfred Thayer Mahan, and the naval history of the Spanish-American War. Although the Great White Fleet did not include dreadnoughts, Wimmel discusses the steps taken by President Roosevelt's administration to build all-big-gun battleships in the United States. An epilogue contains an account of the evolution of aviation in the US Navy after 1909, culminating in a description of the author's recent visit to the modern US aircraft carrier named in

honor of President Roosevelt.

*Theodore Roosevelt and the Great White Fleet* makes no claim of being based upon original research. Instead it is a useful synthesis of current scholarship. The general audience for which this volume is intended will benefit from Wimmel's interesting account of an important period in the history of the US Navy.

Dean C. Allard  
Arlington, Virginia

John Roberts. *Battlecruisers*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 128 pp., lines drawing, end-jacket plans, photographs, illustrations, figures, summary of service, sources, notes, index. US \$49.95, Cdn \$69.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-068-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Admiral Sir John Fisher was one of the driving forces behind the Royal Navy's forced-draught entry into the twentieth century. Not only does he get credit for the genesis of HMS *Dreadnought*, but he pushed into being an entirely new type of warship: the battlecruiser. Heavily armed, fast, but generally poorly protected, these magnificent ships caught the public imagination. John Roberts has turned his considerable talents as naval historian and draughtsman to the battlecruiser's origins in British naval service, in this latest volume in the *Shipspace* series.

Battlecruisers carried battleship-calibre guns, looked much like battleships, were more expensive than battleships, and eventually were used in action against battleships. Yet their direct ancestors were armoured *cruisers*, and they arose from a perceived need to be able to catch and destroy any enemy cruiser (or raider) in existence. Indeed, Roberts makes the critical point that it was the adoption of the 12-inch gun which created this new class of warship: the other advances in speed (and size) in the design were simply further steps in the evolution of the armoured cruiser – not until November 1911 would the Admiralty officially adopt the classification of battlecruiser. [24] In great secrecy, HMS *Inflexible* was laid down in February 1906. She was to be followed by fifteen more British battlecruisers, the last being the beautiful and ill-fated *Hood*, the only one whose design was completely free of Fisher's influence.

Almost half the book deals with the origins of each of the eight classes of battlecruiser. The author begins his detailed description at the base of the tree, including the ancestral armoured cruisers and the influence of second class battleships such as HMS *Renown*. Roberts quietly includes, without emphasis, the important point that Fisher seems to have considered the *battlecruiser*, and not the battleship, the ultimate naval weapon. This deserves more discussion, and the reader should consult the works of such historians as Jon Tetsuro Sumida to get a more complete picture.

The maturation of machinery, weapons and protection each get a separate chapter. This is a sensible approach, making it easy to follow the evolution of these components, instead of scattering small chunks of the story across the usual class-by-class histories. The description is thoroughly technical, always clear, and always there are detailed explanations of *why* particular design features occurred. Two examples: the handling of the complicated issues involved in armour protection (illustrated with diagrams of the armour distribution of each class); and the excellent section dealing with gunnery fire control.

The illustrations are lavish. There are photographs on almost every page, often from the author's own collection. There are several plans from the collection of the National Maritime Museum, and these have been reproduced clearly, at a scale sufficient to show fine details. All will be of value for the modelling community, who are particularly well-served by the inclusion of 1/250 scale plans of HMS *Queen Mary*.

There are some important omissions. The book ends with World War I, so that the "ultimate" British battlecruisers of 1921 are neglected. Fisher's *Incomparable* proposition (20-inch guns!) is also ignored, and of all the ships described, only *Hood* is missing her summary of service. Yet the three near sisters *Courageous*, *Glorious* and *Furious* are included, and the important point is made that they were indeed battlecruisers, the "large light cruiser" appellation being a subterfuge to get them past Cabinet. [47]

This book belongs on the shelves of anyone with an interest in the capital ships of the World War I era: it is well worth its price.

William Schleihauf  
Pierrefonds, Québec

Gerhard Koop and Klaus-Peter Schmolke (trans. Geoffrey Brooks). *Battleships of the Bismarck Class. Bismarck and Tirpitz: Culmination and Finale of German Battleship Construction*. London: Greenhill Books and Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. 158 pp., photographs, figures, illustrations, tables, maps, bibliography, ship index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-049-5 (NIP), 1-85367-320-X (Greenhill). Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Many seamen believe that the launch date of a ship is a harbinger of its subsequent career, and the subjects of this volume certainly lend credence to this superstition. The *Bismarck* was launched on Valentine's Day 1939, and she still exerts a fascination that has withstood the ravages of time. In contrast, the *Tirpitz* was launched on April Fool's Day 1939, and her career suggests that this date was just as prophetic. This work is among the latest additions to the somewhat extensive bibliography on these two mammoths, and its authors are reasonably well known, Koop as a writer and Schmolke as a talented draftsman.

The book is divided into three sections. The first provides a brief historical background, and a design and construction history of these ships. The two subsequent parts focus on the individual history of each ship. All three sections are complemented by a plethora of photographs, some illustrations, tables and maps. The text includes an awkwardly named and positioned appendix on the namesakes of these ships. It is buttressed by a brief conclusion, and an index of ship names.

The text is surprisingly accurate, considering that it was most likely completed by the time Robert Ballard made his now famous underwater exploration of the *Bismarck*. About the only major fact that should have been incorporated is the inherent weakness of the stern in the design of *Kriegsmarine* warships. Some readers might find that the space allocated to the description of the *Bismarck's* unfortunate odyssey far too brief, especially in regards to the debate over the cause of the *Hood's* demise. As for the *Tirpitz*, readers might be fascinated to learn how her designers coped with the restricted size and poor location of her construction berth. A consultation with the latter's log leads one to question the accuracy of the authors' claim that she mounted eighteen quadruple 20mm mounts. Overall, the conclusion

is accurate and well argued, especially in regards to the consequences that Germany's inability to conduct explosive tests on its World War I-era battleship hulls had on its post-World War I designs. In this area, at least, it could be argued that the Treaty of Versailles played an effective role in hindering German rearmament.

This volume features an extensive collection of high quality photographs. The authors have managed to incorporate a substantial number of images that have never appeared in print before. Another very thoughtful inclusion is the series of illustrations depicting some of the *Tirpitz's* various camouflage patterns. Unfortunately, they fail to identify the colours of these patterns, while no camouflage information is offered concerning the *Bismarck* or her Baltic bands. The various maps provided in this volume are more than adequate, but the quantity and quality of its scale drawings are disappointing. Apparently, the authors plan to release a companion volume with an extensive number of scaled drawings.

Despite these few flaws, this work should be a welcome addition to the library of any World War II naval historian, modeler, and reader. It is the first in a German series that seems intent on rivaling the renowned *Anatomy of the Ship* series. While the final product is not yet quite up to this standard, it is a promising beginning.

Peter K. H. Mispelkamp  
Pointe Claire, Québec

**Knut Stang.** *Das zerbrechende Schiff. Seekriegsstrategiehen- und Rüstungsplanung der deutschen Reichs- und Kriegsmarine 1918-1939*. Bern and New York: Peter Lang Verlag, 1995. 424 pp., bibliography, index. sFr 80,00, DM 98,00, US \$57.95, £38, FF 320,00, öS 667,00, paper; ISBN 3-631-48210-8.

This detailed and closely argued doctoral dissertation examines German naval war strategy and armaments planning for the period 1918-1939. It thus concentrates on Germany's two successive navies: the Imperial Navy, and its successor of Battle of the Atlantic fame, the *Kriegsmarine*. The impetus for Stang's study derives from the persuasive argument that the German naval strategy of 1939 was completely inappropriate for the challenges it had to face. Scholars acknowl-

edge this point, and Grand Admiral Erich Raeder himself actually said as much in September 1939. So few in number and so weak were Germany's surface forces (in which the conservative and tradition-bound navy placed its hopes for victory) that Raeder could only take a heroic stance: confronted with the might of the Royal Navy, the fleet "can only show how to die with decency and thereby create the basis for later reconstruction." Stang's task lay in tracing the roots of this seriously flawed strategy back to a significant point in history, in reconstructing step by step the theory and practice of German strategy, and then answering just why the strategy failed.

Stang examines the development of naval strategy in two major and mutually impinging contexts: the formation of National-Socialist state political structures on the one hand, and the complex tensions between foreign policy and internal naval designs. Stang begins his reflections with the Revolution of 1918, and remains ever mindful of the increasing influence of National Socialism. Stang then traces the multi-layered forces leading up to the capital ship construction of 1928 (and with it the return to the German navy's concept of offensive strategy); he then develops his arguments up to the abrogation of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935, and finally takes his analysis up to the eve of World War II. It is a major – and successful – undertaking.

Stang's dissertation provides a wealth of information and insights. For example, he examines the navy's quandary in 1918, cast as it was between the alternatives of progress or stagnation; he highlights Germany's tradition of seeking world-power status, Tirpitz's old "place in the sun;" he weighs armaments development and competition with the Royal Navy; he examines the generational conflict between Tirpitz and Loewenfeld; and he then addresses the obvious flash-point of Hitler's relations with the German navy. These are but samples from a study that is exhaustive yet also balanced, astute and cautious. What emerges, among other things, is that the concepts of the period 1928 to 1939 were rooted in the dreams, fantasies and ideas of an era as least old as that of Tirpitz, however transformed and reshaped they might have been in the process. Stylistically, the dissertation reminds one of our own navy's courses in instructional technique: Tell 'em what you're going to tell 'em; then tell

'em; and then tell 'em what you told them." The approach is effective in the proper context.

Stang's conclusion has an iconoclastic ring: "The history of German naval strategy between 1919 and 1939 is not only a history of professional and political incompetence and blinkered vision (*Ressortdenken*). It is first and foremost the history of people clutching at the straws of an out-dated weapons system [capital ships] in fear of losing their identity in the chaos of a society in the process of modernization. The cost of maintaining the old naval identity had to be paid by others, those who actually drowned or were washed away by the chaos of the lost war." [394] What is startling about this conclusion is that he is largely correct.

But now I have a serious quarrel. German scholarly works are notorious for their neglect of adequate indexes. In fact, they haven't a clue what these are. This book is no exception. Like this volume, the best they ever seem to deliver is an index of names, either of persons or of ships. Short of slogging through the account page by page, the reader has no access to concepts such as gunnery, industrialization, propaganda, recruitment, ship design, shipbuilding, tactics, to mention but a few that feature in this volume. This is a major failing, for a work without an index is as good as useless. In the hope of catching the eye of some German publisher let me resort to the "Kaiser's Englisch": Ein akademisches Buch ohne ausführliches Stichwortverzeichnis ist so gut wie unbrauchbar! Now for a cool beer.

Michael L. Hadley  
Victoria, British Columbia

Max Arthur. *The Navy: 1939 to the Present Day*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1997. xv + 416 pp., photoplates, index. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-340-68469-0.

Max Arthur's Navy is, of course, Britain's Royal Navy. In this book he continues the task he began with *The True Glory: The Royal Navy 1914-1939*, where he brought together the personal accounts of those who served in that period. Short historical overviews of the RN's activities from 1939-1945 (ten pages) and again for the post-war period (five pages) are used as introductions, after which each account is an individual tale that

carries the reader from one event to the next in a remarkably broad ranging odyssey. The book is organised chronologically and thematically as far as possible, though as each account is written by a different individual there are occasional overlaps or disconnects. This does not unduly detract from the effect of advancing through history, as the author has done an excellent job of selecting and integrating the various stories. Oral histories vary significantly in content and quality, but this one is easy to read and frequently fascinating.

The subject matter certainly makes the author's task easier. The Royal Navy during World War II, which accounts for three-quarters of the pages in the book's text, had a remarkably long, varied and difficult conflict. Familiar tales are covered in the book, such as the hunt for the *Bismarck* or the incredible convoy to Malta in 1942 – Operation Pedestal – but there are also accounts of Royal Marines at Monte Cassino, the crews of Midget submarines attacking Japanese cruisers in Singapore harbour, naval reporters observing the surrender of the U-boats and much more. The remarkable range of experiences puts a human face on the RN's war. The early years of the war have so many accounts of disaster and sinking that these horrible scenes begin to seem almost commonplace, but this repetition serves to remind how terrible a toll the RN paid. The hardships and triumphs of the Merchant Marine are also covered, adding a welcome dimension.

The end of the war reduced the RN's activities somewhat, but important actions continued around the globe. Accounts in the last section are more episodic, a reflection of the nature of post-war events, but the remarkable similarity of accounts of sailors from different periods serve to remind readers that the human dimension of struggle, whether it be with a living opponent or the sea itself, remains constant even as technology changes ever more rapidly. The major conflicts that involved the RN after 1945 – Korea, Suez, the Falklands, and the Gulf – are found here, but so are accounts of Borneo insurrections and the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland, disaster relief when a volcano erupts in Tristan de Cunha or search and rescue off the United Kingdom. Again, the stories are left to speak for themselves and this they do to consistent good effect.

The two dozen or so pictures are well chosen, combining standard fare with some less

common shots. One caption, describing the faces of three wartime sailors, captures the real theme of the book quite well: "...discipline, sheer doggedness and humour will overcome adversity." These qualities shine through the pages from start to finish, and reflect well on a service whose traditions and courage have allowed it to prevail in the face of daunting odds time and again.

Those who enjoy oral histories will assuredly find this one worthwhile. Even those less inclined but interested in the Royal Navy might well find Arthur's book a worthy investment.

Doug McLean  
Orleans, Ontario

Egbert Kieser (trans. Helmut Böglér). *Hitler on the Doorstep. Operation "Sea Lion": The German Plan to Invade Britain, 1940*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. 387 pp., maps, photo-plates, appendix, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-390-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Egbert Kieser explains in his preface that he wrote his book for a German audience which has forgotten all about or never knew the events of the summer of 1940. It is important for the reviewer to keep this mind, lest he be too critical of a title which adds nothing new to the very substantial literature on Operation Sea Lion; *Hitler on the Doorstep* is basically a survey of World War II between May and October 1940.

It's all here and nothing is new. The author takes us through the French campaign (refugees, Stukas and confusion); Dunkirk (sand, little ships and queues); Britain at bay (defiant speeches, the Home Guard and their broomsticks waiting for paratroopers dressed as nuns); the destruction of the French fleet (a regrettable necessity but they should have fought harder in the first place); ingenious German preparations (underwater tanks, Rhine barges and Siebel ferries); contrails over Kent (Dowding and Chain Home Low Radar, *Adler Tag*, Spitfires and Heinkels); America looks on in horror while Joseph Kennedy packs his bags; the Channel Islands are occupied (bobbies and *feldgendarmarie* on bicycles, two by two); and the decision to turn east. All that is missing is the fact that, in the hour of her darkest peril,

Britain's foremost shield against Nazi aggression were the stalwart heroes of 1st and 2nd Canadian Infantry Divisions standing by in the Home Counties ready to strike at the jack-booted invader but, in the meantime, making hay in every one of the many senses of that phrase. It is impossible to evaluate this book properly in a scholarly periodical because it is not a serious work of scholarship – there is absolutely no documentation except a short list of secondary sources.

This being the second book on a German study of Sea Lion that I have reviewed for this journal, it would be wise, I think, to devote the remaining space to getting back to basics and to something German authors tend to overlook – the odds facing the *Kriegsmarine*. And it is with the *Kriegsmarine* that we must be concerned because, despite all the attention given to the aerial battle and the frightening efficiency of the German army, navies are the major partner in any combined operation intended to put a large military force on a defended foreign shore.

Those odds were not good. In July 1940 the Royal Navy had three battleships, two battle cruisers, eight heavy and twenty light cruisers, and seventy-six destroyers immediately available to be deployed against any landing, plus many smaller ships and – oh yes – most of the capital ships of the Home Fleet in reserve. Against this array of strength, much of it deployed in ports within easy striking distance of any practicable beachhead in southeast England, the *Kriegsmarine* could muster twenty-nine modern ships (two heavy cruisers, seven destroyers and twenty torpedo boats or small destroyers) and, in reserve, a heterogenous collection of aging maritime relics including two old pre-World War I coastal battleships, six small coastal defence ships, five cruisers and approximately twenty obsolescent torpedo boats or smaller escorts. To paraphrase an American admiral of the Cold War period, if Sea Lion had gone forward, the *Kriegsmarine* would have had a short but exciting life. Those were the odds and Raeder knew he had absolutely no chance of getting the *Wehrmacht* ashore in strength.

If authors will continue to study Operation Sea Lion ("the operation that never was," to coin a phrase) I would really like to see an evaluation of the seriousness of British intentions to utilize poison gas against any German troops that got by the Royal Navy and actually landed.

I cannot recommend this book to serious historians.

Donald E. Graves  
Ottawa, Ontario

Dudley Pope. *Flag 4: The Battle of Coastal Forces in the Mediterranean 1939-1945*. 1954; London: Chatham Publishing, 1997. xv + 300 pp., maps, photoplates, appendices, index. £ 12.95, paper; ISBN 1-86176-067-1.

Unlike the war in the Atlantic, the war in the Mediterranean between 1939 and 1945 was frequently fought close to the land, mostly at night, and to a major extent by the small boats of Coastal Forces: MTBs, MGBs, Fairmile Motor Launches of the B and D (the "Dog Boats") types, American PT boats and even HDMLs (Harbour Defence Motor Launches). Indeed, these forces were often the only Allied combatants qualified to operate in the face of German and Italian air power. For a while in the 1941-42 period they and the 10th submarine flotilla were almost the only forces able to act offensively out of Malta except for occasional hard-fought convoys and heavy ship sweeps trying to tempt out Italy's *Regia Marina*. Later, in 1943-44, these small vessels attacked German supply convoys in the narrow, island-studded Adriatic and Aegean Seas, with occasional help from *Hunt* class destroyers.

This is an exact reprint of the original 1954 edition – same photos, same maps, even the same references to photos in the text which, in this edition, no longer match. It was, evidently, Pope's first book, for he is now better known for his "Ramage" novels and another ten naval histories, ranging from the execution of Admiral Byng in 1757 to *73 North; The Battle of the Barents Sea*. In reading it, and if one is familiar with his later texts, one detects a faint indication of a writer, albeit good one, still learning his trade.

For Canadians there is an appeal, because several of our RCNVRs served in these British boats – Tommy Ladner of Ottawa, Corny Burke of Vancouver, Cam McLachlan, Alec Joy and others, sadly mostly now gone. Pope concentrates on the reports and memories of his RN compatriots who he would have found more accessible. The story is well told and not difficult to follow, despite the wide range of operating areas: from

the shores of Egypt, Libya and Tunisia during the desert war, Malta and the central western Med, then both coasts of Italy, the Adriatic and Aegean. Even in the bad days of 1942, there were sometimes almost a hundred of these small warships operating in the Med alone. Despite what novelists would have us believe, a useful table shows that, though they fired over twice the torpedoes of any other surface ships, these MTBs only obtained twenty-eight percent hits and probable hits. Yet for remarkably few losses, many due to mines in shallow harbour entrances and channels, from January 1943 to the war's end they sank or probably sank and captured 272 enemy vessels, often vastly out-gunned by them.

It is a tale of rather vague operating instructions, individual initiative, plans changed on the moment, a chance for aggression plus the application of common sense "to live and fight another day." The senior controlling officer was never more than a Captain, and by far the largest proportion of flotilla and boat COs, petty officers and men were RNVR (and RCNVR and USNR!) It is difficult to understand why, for all navies, these Coastal Forces never survive the peacetime cutbacks, given their abilities, modest costs and obvious successes. If not read forty-five years ago – and even if it was – this is well worth its shelf space and study. Maybe we are concentrating once again too much on deep ocean warfare.

Fraser M. McKee  
Markdale, Ontario

Terry N. Herrick. *Into the Blue: A New Zealander in the Royal Navy*. Speldhurst, Kent: Parapress, 1997. iv + 240 pp., endmaps, photographs, £16.95, paper; ISBN 1-898594-20-1.

Terry Herrick's book is one of the "Into Battle" series published by Parapress and is a valuable addition to naval reminiscence about World War II. The major battles in which Captain Herrick participated were in the Mediterranean in 1941.

The British Empire between the wars was supported by ships of the Royal Navy. On every ocean there were stationed warships representing imperial authority and responsibility. The variety of peacetime challenges such as anti-piracy and generally maintaining law and order, combined with meeting demands of navigation in difficult

situations and the extremes of wind and weather produced highly skilled officers and men. Endmaps detail all the places Herrick's naval career took him, from one end of the world to the other.

Herrick's memoirs from birth to naval retirement and beyond are detailed but never boring. He spent most of his time in ships, primarily destroyers and his shore appointments reflected his vast experience at sea. Throughout the book he intersperses delightful notes of his personal life, his parents, wife and family. The overall impression is of a man with an intense sense of duty, a deep love of ships and the sea, courage, common sense and good humour.

Born and raised in New Zealand, he was nominated for the Royal Naval College Dartmouth in 1925 and departed for England at the age of thirteen. The College, in fact, was a secondary school with a three and a half year course. On graduation he was promoted to Midshipman and appointed to a battleship. Later he went to a destroyer and then to a cruiser. In 1931 there was a revolt on the island of Cyprus and Midshipman Herrick, a member of a cruiser's landing party, was very much involved in restoring order, an exciting time. After Sub-Lieutenant's courses, he was appointed to a fishery patrol ship serving from the English Channel to Iceland. This was a contrast to his next appointment to a ship on the New Zealand station and visiting many south sea islands including Hawaii. Returning to England and marrying, he immediately was sent to China as First Lieutenant of the destroyer *Decoy*. In September 1939 *Decoy* was in the Mediterranean bound for home when war broke out.

Shortly after Italy entered the war, *Decoy* sank an Italian submarine. In October, *Decoy* was bombed and badly damaged in Alexandria and sent to Malta for repair. Repairs completed, she was able to take part in the British withdrawals from Greece and Crete and was badly damaged by bombing again in June 1941. Herrick then was appointed in command of the destroyer *Hotspur*. In November they witnessed the torpedoing and explosion of the battleship *Barham* and rescued 385 men; 962 were lost.

In late December 1941, *Hotspur* and *Hasty* destroyed a German submarine near Tobruk. Herrick had the interesting experience of receiving the English-speaking U-boat captain on *Hotspur's* bridge. The remainder of the captain's

memoirs are equally interesting although, happily, not as dramatic.

The Greece and Crete operations with large numbers of ships sunk or damaged and horrible casualty numbers could be classed as a major defeat for Britain and a victory for the Germans. In a longer, strategic sense, things are different. The Germans lost a huge number of troops, their crack airborne forces in men and aircraft never to be used in that way again. The campaign took longer than they expected. They never reached the Persian Gulf and badly needed oil. The attack on Russia was delayed by some six weeks so that winter halted them before Moscow.

*Into the Blue* is highly recommended as a historic and human document of our times.

L.B. Jenson  
Queensland, Nova Scotia

John D. Alden. *Salvage Man: Edward Ellsberg and the U.S. Navy*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xvi + 301 pp., maps, photographs, figures, notes, bibliography, index. US \$37.50, Cdn \$52.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-384-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The name of Edward Ellsberg is well known in marine salvage circles. He made his name as the American naval officer who successfully salvaged sunken submarines and wartime wrecks when others said it could not be done. Ellsberg, who died in 1983, had written so extensively about his work at the time, that author John Alden's initial reaction when asked to write his biography was that there was little left to be said about him. But a family archive revealed a wealth of further information, not only on his exploits, but on the man himself, not least many hundreds of letters written to his wife Lucy of sixty years. As a result, Alden has been able to marshal a wealth of source material to go beyond Ellsberg's somewhat self-publicising writings to present a well rounded portrait of the man and his work. Himself a former naval engineer officer, Alden is not only sympathetic to Ellsberg and the difficulties he encountered but can explain clearly the technical features of his work, and why he was successful where others were not (He had the irritating habit to the authorities of being proved right most

of the time, based on sound technical knowledge and backed up by a robust personality. But he often chafed under a lack of recognition and long delayed promotions.)

Ellsberg was one of very few Jews to be accepted into the US Naval Academy in 1910. Coming near the top in almost all of his studies (which had a strong engineering emphasis) he was encouraged to remain a line (executive) officer, but preferred to transfer into Naval Construction. Work in Brooklyn and Boston Navy Yards gave him opportunities to shine both in supervising new construction (USS *Texas*) and in repairing older ships (liner *Leviathan's* serious problems with her boilers and ventilation). He made his name raising the submarine *S.51* which had sunk in 1925 after a collision – the experience formed the foundation of extensive lecturing and writing in popular journals.

Frustrated in the peacetime Navy, he went into the oil industry, but remained in the US Naval Reserve. It was in that capacity that his most valuable work was done from 1941 onwards. Under appalling conditions, the captured Italian naval base of Massawa was brought back into operation at a critical time when Rommel was approaching Alexandria, by raising blockships and salvaging three floating docks. Later he carried out similar work in French North African ports, though he was hampered by uncooperative and technically illiterate authorities, civilian and military, and starved of men and equipment (the Pacific war took priority). Photographs give an impression of the scale of work on damaged ships and an idea of Ellsberg's "can-do" approach.

Sent to England to advise on preparations for the D-Day landings, he found himself in a difficult situation with little authority, as the British had prime responsibility for the naval side of operations. Responsibility for the provision of the two Mulberry harbours was shared between the Admiralty and the War Office, which had not recognised the scale of the problem or the resources required for deploying the Phoenix concrete breakwater caissons. Once completed, these were grounded off Selsey Bill, to be refloated after the beachhead was secured and towed to Normandy. Ellsberg was the catalyst that finally got the authorities to recognise the scale of the salvage operation required to pump out and refloat over a hundred caissons in a matter of a few days –

without which the whole artificial port concept would have been jeopardised.

Alden's book is well researched and referenced, providing an easily read and understood account of a talented engineer well aware of his capabilities. Both Ellsberg's successes and his setbacks are fully described. If you have already read any of Ellsberg's books (such as *Under the Red Sea Sun* or *The Far Shore*) you will want to see the broader picture that Alden presents. Even if you have not, you will still find yourself turning rapidly to each successive chapter to find out what happens next in a well-paced story.

Ian Buxton  
Tynemouth, England

Richard C. Knott. *A Heritage of Wings: An Illustrated History of Navy Aviation*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xi + 339 pp., photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$49.95, Cdn \$69.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87021-270-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Richard Knott has written a straightforward history of the origins and development of aviation in the United States Navy. Starting from the initial musings of then-Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt in 1898, Knott describes how aviation has evolved from primitive beginnings to a primary means of power projection in the intervening century.

The book covers the US Navy's experiments with the use of wheeled aircraft aboard ships at anchor before World War I, leading to rapid expansion after the entry of America in April 1917. Knott mentions the training that many US Navy aviators received in Canada in 1917 before training programs in the United States were well established, and well-known examples of subsequent experiences of these aircrew on operations in Europe are cited. Canadian readers will note the absence of any mention of the US Navy flying boat operations from Halifax and Sydney in 1918.

Knott then deals with the development of water-borne and land-borne technology in the 1920s, a decade of significant advancement in thinking about the use of naval aviation. The role of naval aviators in major long distance record flights, including the first trans-Atlantic crossing

of the NC-4 via the Azores, is well illustrated, as are the evolution of the aircraft carrier and the integration of aviation into fleet operations.

Special attention is paid to the US Navy's involvement in the development of flying boats, ship-mounted catapult, submarine-borne aircraft, torpedo dropping, racing aircraft and, significantly, rigid airships. The well known accounts of the US Navy's tribulations with its great scouting airships *R-38*, *Shenandoah*, *Los Angeles*, *Akron* and *Macon* and the tragic ends which befell them all except *Los Angeles* receive considerable space.

Events in the 1930s in general receive little attention. Far greater emphasis is naturally placed on the role of aviation in the US Navy in World War II starting with the Neutrality patrols prior to Pearl Harbor and the intensive use of naval aircraft from then to the surrender of Japan. Familiar ground is covered in the great carrier battles of the south and central Pacific and the massive build-up of naval aviation assets. Its even more rapid demise in the post-war years is also fully covered. The episode of the "Revolt of the Admirals" includes a good synopsis of the vicious inter-service fight before the Korean War during which the newly-minted US Air Force tried to eliminate naval aviation's strike role in favour of its own primacy as the preferred strategic weapon based on long range nuclear armed bombers. Disaster was ultimately averted for the US Navy and its continuing aviation role was assured.

Concluding chapters cover the role of carrier aviation in the anti-submarine role, the Cuban Missile crisis, Vietnam and latterly the Gulf War. Some space is given to the evolution of ship and aircraft technology and to the evolving personnel-based changes as women began to assume command positions and reacted against unwarranted behaviour from male colleagues. Finally, Knott asserts a belief in the continuation of carrier-borne naval aviation as a significant ingredient in the ability of the United States to project power globally in a much leaner defence structure.

From a substantive standpoint there is nothing new in this book. It is a workmanlike and sympathetic survey of almost a century's development and operational use of a major new technology which has transformed the face of naval warfare. Written in a vernacular style it is a good introduction to the topic for those who may know little about it. For those wishing to delve

more deeply, a useful bibliography of mainly secondary sources is provided.

The book is well produced though few of its many images have not been used elsewhere. Maps illustrate many of the major campaigns and some of the early long range flights though they are not as clear as might be expected from a book of this quality. Overall, however, this is a worthwhile contribution so long as its largely sympathetic and overview nature are kept in mind.

Christopher J. Terry  
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John Pomeroy Condon. *Corsairs and Flattops: Marine Carrier Air Warfare, 1944-1945*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xii + 138 pp., photographs, maps, appendices, index. US \$27.95, Cdn \$38.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-127-0. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

During World War II, US air power consisted of three individual components: the US Army Air Force, US Naval Aviation, and the US Marine Corps' aviation component. This last component has been studied the least by academics, though the exploits of aces like Joe Foss and Gregory Boyington have been chronicled. It was to fill some of the historical gaps that USMC General John Pomeroy Condon wrote this book.

Since 1939, US Marine Corps aviation has had two sometimes contradictory missions: to provide air support for Marines in ground combat; and to augment naval air squadrons for defence of the fleet and other activities. These missions can be contradictory because support for Marine ground activities can take aircraft away from fleet defence, and vice versa. For that reason, relatively few Marine aviators had carrier deck landing experience. When World War II began, carrier space and time was needed for Navy aviators. The resultant "bumping" of Marine pilots from carrier training made an already bad situation worse. This shortage of space and time resulted in many Marine pilots being sent into carrier operations with minimal carrier deck-landing experience. (This situation was repeated in the Vietnam War but has since been addressed.) Condon also discusses the USMC's response to a 1944 US Navy requirement to pro-

vide additional air coverage for the fleet against Japanese kamikaze attacks as well as to provide a Marine aviation presence aboard carriers. It is gratifying to report that the USMC responded to this challenge "in the highest naval traditions."

Condon organized his book into five chapters: an explanation of the mission of USMC aviation; early USMC missions on USS *Essex*; further missions aboard USS *Bennington*, USS *Bunker Hill* and USS *Wasp*; the Okinawa campaign, involving *Bennington*, *Bunker Hill*, and USS *Franklin*; and USMC air operations on four smaller escort carriers. The narrative of each chapter is spiced with pilots' accounts of air-to-air combat, rescues at sea, losses of comrades, and attempts to fend off the kamikaze threat. Various charts and photographs enhance the narrative.

All in all, this book is recommended. The ease of reading is marred slightly by the somewhat academic tone of the writing. Also, there are a couple of minor errors in aircraft identification. However, these are not significant. This book can be enjoyed by students of the USMC, naval aviation, and World War II aviation in general.

Robert L. Shoop  
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Russell Syndor, Crenshaw Jr.. *South Pacific Destroyer: The Battle for the Solomons from Savo Island to Vella Gulf* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. viii + 283 pp., illustrations, figures, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$32.95, Cdn \$47.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-136-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

There is far more to this book than one would expect from fewer than 240 pages, as this is more than just an operational history. For those interested in such issues as a sailor's daily life, how a ship's company was organized, or how various ship's operations were carried out, this book is a gold mine. Explained in more detail than one is likely to find elsewhere are such topics as sanitation, repair and salvage, a ship's organization by divisions, work in the galley, the operations of PT boats, how ships were converted to carry landing craft or lay mines, target practice, the workings of the propulsion plant, fire support operations, how the ship's guns were loaded and fired, the com-

plexity of even the simplest manoeuvres, the use of destroyers as transports, how a Combat Information Centre operated, the complications surrounding communications, and more, a complete list easily taking up all the space the editor has allocated to this review.

All this is presented in a readable style reminiscent of James Lamb's work. Use of the word "Japs" outside of quotations, and of certain terms not accessible to the general reader (what does "heaved to short stay" mean?) may be inappropriate, but generally this is a clearly presented narrative. Purists, such as this reviewer, may be uncomfortable with the reconstructed dialogue, but Crenshaw makes up for its use with his blow-by-blow accounts of Kula Gulf, the loss of USS *Helena*, and the action off Kolombangara.

Equally useful and interesting are the discussions of destroyer operations. There is a good description of a surface action against a submarine which turned out to be a palm tree, [35-36] and an attack against a submerged boat. [87] In these and other descriptions Crenshaw demonstrates a sophisticated knowledge of the technology of the time. For instance, he shows how SG radar was something short of miraculous — returns from high-speed wakes would show up as vessels or the set would become unserviceable when the ship's guns were fired. He also relates the sad and frustrating story of torpedo failure in much detail, including a lengthy discussion of its flawed development throughout the 1920s and '30s. Similarly, his discussion of gunnery is one of the most detailed one is likely to find.

In short, this is a worthwhile book for historians, students, and buffs alike.

William Rawling  
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Chris Madsen. *The Royal Navy and German Disarmament 1942-1947*. "Naval Policy and History" series; London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998. xx + 277 pp., photographs, bibliography, index. US \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-7146-4823-X. Distributed in North America by International Specialized Book Services, Portland, OR

For too long naval history has been dominated by a focus on naval battles, sea tales and the technicalities of ship construction. As a result, this

discipline has moved to the margins of the historical profession. Over the last decade, however, new works have emerged which have brought a broader foundation to naval history. The new naval historical writing integrates naval policy with diplomatic, commercial and economic policy to provide a deeper understanding of the role and function of the navy. This book by Chris Madsen is representative of this new naval history.

While the story of the disarmament of Germany after World War I is well known, the fate of Germany's armed forces following her unconditional surrender in May 1945 has not been examined in the same detail. In this wide-ranging book, based on research in British, German, American and Canadian archives, Chris Madsen attempts to give the *Kriegsmarine's* fate the same degree of historical scrutiny. In so doing he provides a revisionist account of the origins of the Cold War, sheds important light on the Royal Navy's attitudes towards Germany and the German navy and describes an otherwise neglected area of history.

Madsen's book balances the development of the Royal Navy's attitudes towards German disarmament and its actual conduct of German disarmament with the high policy which surrounded this issue. The Royal Navy began planning for the post war even as the Battle of the Atlantic raged. It was at this stage that the navy made the decision to press for the complete destruction of German naval power. It was successful in this aim as the British government adopted the navy's policies as its own and presented these at the international conferences which decided the postwar arrangements.

Having outlined the process by which the major decisions were made, Madsen then relates the difficulties and controversies which plagued the actual application of the disarmament decisions. He describes the division of the German navy, the dismantling of the ports, bases and coast defence facilities and the trials of senior *Kriegsmarine* officers. Initially, because of continuing commitments to the war in the Pacific and, later, due to rapid demobilization, the Royal Navy could devote few resources to dismembering German naval power. As a result the RN had to resort to various expedients. In some instances, this meant that surrendered German sailors were maintained in organised formations for such time

consuming and dangerous duties as minesweeping. Actions such as these evoked protests from the Soviets and have led some historians to conclude that the Royal Navy supported the continuation of German naval power as a counterpoise to the emerging Soviet threat.

According to Madsen, however, nothing could be further from the truth. He convincingly demonstrates that the Royal Navy was obsessed with the complete destruction of German naval power. Twice this century the German navy had presented a dire threat to the British Isles and the Royal Navy was determined to prevent a third such occurrence. Here, however, Madsen displays a Eurocentric bias which is symptomatic of historians of British defence policy this century. In reading this book one would get the impression that Britain was no longer an imperial power, one with every intention of maintaining its world wide holdings. The German threat had always been so deadly not just because of Germany's geographical proximity to Britain but, because it complicated tremendously the RN's imperial defence policy. The necessity to concentrate ships near home waters limited the RN's ability to defend the imperial lines of communication. It would have been valuable if Madsen could have linked the RN's desire to see the complete destruction of German naval power with its views on the postwar requirements for imperial defence.

Nevertheless, and apart from this small quibble, this is a well researched and valuable work which should be read by naval and Cold War historians alike.

Orest Babij  
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Charles W. Koburger, Jr.. *Naval Expeditions: The French Return to Indochina, 1945-1946*. Westport, CT and London: Praeger Press, 1997. xiv + 149 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, select bibliography, index. US \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-275-95982-1.

The history of the decolonization of Asia at the end of World War II is both fascinating and sobering when one reflects on the relationship of the United States to the Second Indochina War after the French defeat in 1953. That the general surge of nationalism which swept the European

colonies in Asia was inevitable and unstoppable stands without dispute. In the particular instance of French Indochina the restoration of colonial rule was accomplished through a paucity of force in circumstances strangely suggestive of an attempt by the imperial authorities to recover "face" as much as soil. For this enterprise to be accomplished required an exploitation of factors which, on the surface, appeared to neutralize the capacity of the dispossessed colonialists to effect a full recovery of the colony. Yet one particularly vital element afforded both the instrument and the avenues by which the fulfillment of Vietnamese nationalists could be thwarted, at least for a moment. This was the return of the Marine Indochine to the adjacent waters and the fact that the colony itself was vulnerable to naval initiatives owing to the substantial river system that penetrated into the hinterland.

The author is no stranger either to the general subject or to this particular issue. His earlier works, such as *The Cyrano Fleet: France and Its Navy 1940-1942*, *Franco-American Naval Relations 1940-1945*, and *The French Navy in Indochina 1945-1954* stand as solid contributions to the historiography of naval operations during World War II. In this book, which is intended "as a more detailed preface" to his other account of the French Navy's return to Asia, is basically a recounting, through separate examinations, of the respective expeditions first against Saigon in 1945 and then against Haiphong and Hanoi in 1946, together with summaries of operational objectives and strategies developed, a listing of forces available and a chronological narrative of the tactical implementation of the respective plans. This is delivered in eight chapters with separately titled subsections, an arrangement that occasionally disrupts the flow of information. Several maps of the respective theatres of operation help illuminate the role of geography in the French projects. Of particular value are the personality profiles of the respective commanders and their staffs as well as those British and American personnel who figured prominently in both the political as well as the military environment that evolved in Southeast Asia in 1945-1946. As the role of Great Britain in facilitating the French recovery has not been fully examined, the section which addresses that relationship is enlightening.

If this monograph suffers from neglect it is in

the detailing of the separate operations in both the north and south of Indochina. Almost one-third of the book is devoted to setting the scene and another third is incorporated into a section which provides both an epilogue and a conclusion. Given the multitude of pertinent sources on which the author drew, in particular the valuable multi-volume series, *La Marine Française en Indochine de 1939 à 1955*, one sees numerous areas where elaboration was not only desirable but imperative. Some of the digressions the author makes also erode the substance of the work and in a few cases the harsh indictments border on a polemic.

Still, as an overview of what became the title page to the prolonged agony of Indochina, this work serves the general reader well. For the specialist or the enthusiast, the author's previous studies afford the particulars and have yet to be surpassed in their thoroughness.

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Norman Polmar, Eric Wertheim, Andrew Bahjat and Bruce Watson. *Chronology of the Cold War at Sea 1945-1991*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xviii + 241 pp., sources, indices. US \$39.95, Cdn \$55.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-685-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is a timely and most useful reference for those with an interest in post-1945 naval history. Despite its title, though, its focus is narrower than the *Cold War at Sea*. It is, in fact, a chronology of US naval activities during the period 1945-1991 with some references to the activities of other navies thrown in for good measure. Missing are references to the series of major NATO naval exercises and initiatives such as the Standing Naval Forces and the OKEAN Soviet naval exercises. Some NATO and other international exercises and operations are recorded, but the record is far from complete. In contrast, the chronology of US naval aviation achievements is enormously detailed, even down to noting the first flights of specific aircraft types.

Some of the omissions are puzzling. For instance, there is no reference to the formation of the NATO Standing Naval Force Atlantic on 13 January 1968, or the precursor "Matchmaker"

multinational deployments, or to the role played in those events by Admiral Richard Colbert, US Navy. Canadians will be concerned that no mention is made of the RCN's contribution to the Cuban Missile Crisis, despite recognition in other US naval histories. In fact, no mention is made of the ASW dimension of the crisis. On the other hand, Vietnam is well covered and the authors have provided a very clear explanation of the naval involvement in that complex war.

The real strength and thus the value of the chronology is that it sets out in detail the evolution of the US Navy from its World War II structure to the high-technology force that played a major part in winning the Cold War. This is enormously useful and is done in such a way that one can easily overlook any shortcomings of the endeavour. One drawback is that one has to have some prior knowledge of those events to get the most out of the book. The two indexes, ships and personalities, are good but a third listing of events would have been a great help. As it is, one needs to have some idea of the date on which something happened to find the appropriate entry. This is not all bad because it forces one into reading more than just the single entry, and thus gains a better feel for the broader context in which specific events took place.

Though the chronology is largely focused on the US Navy, the entries contain some fascinating gems about world events and the activities of other navies. Yet, many of those entries are random and do not tell the full story. All too often, the companion entry which would have completed the story is missing. For instance, there is an entry for 6 July 1968 [128] noting that the Indian Navy received the first of its Soviet-built Foxtrot-class submarines, but there is no other reference to say how many were received. Ironically, that is also the only entry for that class of submarine which the Soviets transferred to many other countries, including three to Cuba, and which they used extensively themselves. Some of the Soviet submarines in North American waters during the Cuban Missile Crisis were of that type.

In fairness, though, compiling a chronology is a daunting task and will always be subject to widespread criticism; it is impossible to please everyone. The compilers of this chronology have done a commendable job in pulling together so many diverse facts and presenting them in a way

that generally provides readers with enough knowledge to understand the important points. It must have been tempting at times to launch into longer explanations but they have resisted that temptation and stayed with succinct narratives.

Overall, the *Chronology of the Cold War at Sea* is a useful addition to any library on contemporary naval history. Not only is it a good reference text, it also is enjoyable browsing.

Peter Haydon  
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Marion D. Williams. *Submarines Under Ice: The U.S. Navy's Polar Operations*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. xii + 223 pp., tables, photographs, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$27.95, Cdn \$40.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-943-3. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON

Arctic experts – seamen and scientists alike – have no illusions about the dangers of the Far North. The weather, ice, and elements challenge even the most seasoned seamen and advanced ships, and luck plays no small part in the success or failure of an expedition. This reality is evident throughout Marion Williams' book, *Submarines Under Ice: The U.S. Navy's Polar Operations*.

The book describes the US Navy's polar operations, beginning with the 1931 Arctic expedition of the modified 1918 submarine, *Nautilus*, named from the Jules Verne classic *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea*, and ending with the 1962 underwater rendezvous of the nuclear-powered submarines *Skate* and *Seadragon* at the North Pole. Between these transits lie twelve chapters and thirty-one years of US Navy efforts to conquer technological, logistical, navigational, and climatic challenges posed by the Arctic. While surface ships, even icebreakers, and diesel-electric submarines, which must surface to recharge their batteries, are at the mercy of the arctic ice pack's destructive power, nuclear-powered submarines are capable of extensive under-ice navigation. This is not to imply, however, that the ice poses no threat to these submarines, which must avoid underwater mountain peaks and navigate between the surface ice and the ocean floor. There is no lack of suspense, clandestine operations, and even death

(thankfully rare), but it is the sense of accomplishment at conquering these challenges that permeates the book.

It was a relatively small cadre of men who provided the momentum behind under-ice arctic exploration. Visionaries, such as Sir Hubert Wilkins, Dr. Harald Sverdrup, and Dr. Waldo K. Lyon, were pioneers in the field. They were ably aided by veteran seamen such as Commander William Anderson, Captain R.H. Cruzen, Commander John Turner, Lt. Commander Robert McWethy, Commodore Joseph Skoog, Jr., and Commodore George Steele, to name just a few. Williams develops biographies around the expeditions, fleshing out both the men and the operations with a synergy that adds depth to what could otherwise be a dry accounting of the expeditions. It is actually Williams' success on this front that exposes a weakness of the book – the lack of footnotes – which would enhance the quotations he liberally uses. And while the primary sources are listed in the bibliography, there is no indication where the documents may be found, so that as a research tool, the book has limitations. This is a shame as under-ice Arctic navigation is a field that deserves greater research, and this book would be a fine place to start.

The challenges of the arctic ice and weather prove most interesting as Williams highlights technological innovations, both exterior modifications and navigational tools, to conquer the Arctic. Williams provides interesting pictures, but definitions and/or diagrams of ship modifications would aid the unenlightened reader who may not be conversant with naval terminology. Such an aid could be modeled on Williams' fine glossary which defines the various forms of ice found in the Arctic.

Williams is successful in integrating under-ice navigation – both Arctic and Antarctic – with the diplomatic reality of the Cold War. Under-ice expeditions grew out of the postwar Arctic focus. Especially interesting is the 1958 transit to the North Pole by *Nautilus*, the US Navy's first nuclear-powered submarine. Williams reveals the clandestine operation and elaborate cover thrown over the voyage by the Eisenhower administration. The operation was not without risk, and while not quite a cloak and dagger affair, it was nonetheless suspenseful on the political front and

under the ice.

As Captain Thomas Pullen, RCN noted after the 1960 *Seadragon* transit of the Northwest Passage, submarines provide a "triumph of technology over the pack ice by gliding under it." Williams' book presents a concise and engaging account of the obstacles encountered and accomplishments achieved in conquering the ice by US Navy submarines operating under the ice.

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Jean H. Morin and Richard H. Gimblett. *Operation Friction, 1990-1991: The Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997. 299 pp., endpapers (map, organizational chart), maps, figures, photoplates, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$36.99, cloth; ISBN 1-55002-256-3; \$19.99, paper; ISBN 1-55002-257-1.

This is a comprehensive, official history of the Canadian armed forces' participation in the United Nations' effort in the Persian Gulf in 1990-91. From the initial intervention in August 1990, to the fall of 1991, Morin and Gimblett examine the details of the Canadian contribution to the war against Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Canada's involvement in Operation Desert Shield/Storm did not begin auspiciously. Amidst the fallout from the abortive Meech Lake Accord and a confrontation with Mohawks in Quebec, the federal government adopted a course of intervention that did not, and never would, receive the wholehearted support of the Canadian people. As the months dragged on, and with the transition of the UN operation from one of containment to a more aggressive policy that included extensive air and ground operations, the Canadian government's policy became more difficult to sustain.

Nevertheless, the government persevered. Canadian naval forces were the first to reach the Gulf, and among the last to leave. The government ordered a small force of two destroyers and a support/command ship to steam for the Middle East. The Canadian ships, designed and outfitted primarily for anti-submarine warfare in the North Atlantic, had to be hastily refitted to meet the challenges posed in the much warmer Gulf, where the chief threat would come from the air. Once in

the region, the Canadian ships took up their new mission: service as part of the Maritime Interception Force (MIF) conducting the naval blockade of Iraq and Kuwait.

As the crisis dragged on, the Canadian participation increased: *Operation Scimitar* brought eighteen CF-18 Hornet fighter-bombers to Doha, Qatar; *Accord*, a separate Canadian headquarters – Canadian Forces Middle East (CANFORME) – to Manama, Bahrain; *Scalpel*, a military field hospital to al Qaysumah, Saudi Arabia. A further planned operation, *Broadsword*, would have carried Canadian ground forces to the Gulf, but the government concluded that such a politically difficult commitment was beyond the capabilities of the military. This seems fortunate, given the almost apologetic tone of the authors who point out [261] that for the most part the Canadian operations were of a support nature and did not, at least directly, inflict loss of life on the Iraqis. "[I]t is unlikely," they wrote of the late-war bombing of the CF-18s, "that even those missions inflicted many casualties."

Nevertheless, the fact that the government considered sending ground forces to the Gulf reflects the evolutionary nature of Canada's participation in Operation Desert Shield/Storm. While the three Canadian ships represented a small part, less than ten percent of the Allied armada, they conducted twenty-five percent of all MIF interceptions. The Canadian CF-18s initially restricted their operations to sorties covering MIF operations from possible Iraqi interference, but when the air war began, the Canadians escorted Allied airstrikes, conducted MiG sweeps, shot up some Iraqi naval craft, and finally bombed ground targets. At the same time, Canada's naval forces likewise transitioned into a new role: covering the all-important supply ships of the Combat Logistics Force. In fact, HMCS *Protecteur* served as the command ship for the more important CLF forces and the Canadians found themselves playing a crucial role: coordinating this major multi-national effort. Decades of experience as a key member of the NATO alliance had well prepared them for this undertaking.

Despite the importance of the Canadian contribution, the authors note that "Canadian forces were unable to operate jointly as a national force despite the promises of a quarter century of unification; but each individual service was

admirably prepared to combine with similar forces from allied nations." [260] This functional reality, of course, threatened the Canadians with a loss of national identity. The fact that such an outcome did not materialize, says much about the political skills and wisdom of the senior Canadian commanders in the Middle East.

Thus, Morin and Gimblett conclude that "the Canadian government got exactly what it wanted: an active but limited participation in the Coalition that was conducted at arm's length from direct American control, and to a degree to which a middle power with a limited defense budget can realistically aspire in the expensive high-technology business of modern war." [262] Their closing words offer a reflective, understated, but honest appreciation. "In the end," they write of Canada's effort, "it was a meaningful contribution."

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David D. Bruhn. *Ready to Answer All Bells: A Blueprint for Successful Naval Engineering*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. xxvi + 178 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, glossary, index. US \$22.95, Cdn \$31.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-227-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

*Ready to Answer All Bells* is a compendium of hard-learned lessons of engineering experiences at sea aboard US Navy ships and ashore. Prospective engineering officers are provided with frank advice direct from an experienced and knowledgeable practitioner of the same cloth. Other readers are provided with an interesting insight to the lives, the challenges, the culture and the concerns of the naval engineering officer responsible for the engineering plant readiness and management of a large seagoing engineering department. *Ready to Answer All Bells* sends a strong message in support of training and self-sufficiency and provides much direct advice aimed at assisting an engineering officer in discharging his or her duties.

Operational readiness is the stated objective for engineering officers in charge of an engineering department aboard a US Navy ship. The author views training as the key to success in maintaining optimal material fitness, the all

important prerequisite to operational readiness. Material fitness is largely conditional upon the competency of the crew and the ship's capability to independently resolve engineering problems to the largest extent possible. Thus, it is reasoned that training is central to achieving the aims of operational availability.

*Ready to Answer All Bells* should be mandatory reading for US Navy engineering officers in training and will interest engineers in other navies. Practical lessons abound including how best to prepare for any one of the numerous engineering inspections administered by senior engineering facilities ashore. Pitfalls are identified and plentiful advice regarding preparation strategies are provided including detailed checklists.

A recurring theme relates optimum ship engineering effectiveness to self-sufficiency. Once away from the jetty, there are no support crews to turn to for assistance and thus, ship's crews must be capable of responding to any engineering emergency. Ships which are self-reliant will have little or no difficulty in achieving the standard when inspected by outside agencies while ships which aim only to pass inspections may perform poorly during independent seagoing operations.

Acronyms are used liberally throughout the book. Unfortunately, flow is interrupted somewhat, thus detracting from the effectiveness of the author's message. There is a glossary and a list of abbreviations which provide the reader with adequate explanation of terminology.

The author shows good insight into general management common sense type principles and applies this insight sensibly to the process of managing a shipboard engineering crew. Good leadership advice is provided which emphasizes attitude as a very important factor in selection of personnel for key leadership roles. There is however, no discussion regarding the limited control an engineering officer has in the matter of personnel selection.

*Ready to Answer All Bells* is well structured, with a logical progression through the preparation stages consisting largely of maintenance, inspections, trials and culminating in a deployment. Some will find themselves situated firmly on the plates of an engineering space and will gain a real sense of what it is like to manage a naval ship engineering crew. Others will find the author's style of presentation cumbersome with an empha-

sis on detailed advice to a small technical community. Either way, there are many interesting gems of information with analogies to industrial engineering applications to pique the reader's interest. The quotations that open each chapter and photographs allow insight, situating the engineering department in the grander scheme.

Bruhn provides an open discussion of weaknesses in engineering management onboard ship. For example, ignorance and inconsistent application of material standards are viewed as major obstacles to achieving engineering readiness. Training is again seen as the means to effective and timely resolution of material related problems.

In general, *Ready to Answer All Bells* is both interesting and insightful and should appeal to anyone with an interest in naval engineering.

Ken B. Holt  
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Richard Sharpe (ed.). *Jane's Fighting Ships 1998-99*. Coulsdon, Surrey and Alexandria, VA: Jane's Information Group, 1998. [88] + 912 pp., tables, photographs, glossary, indexes. £270, US \$410, cloth; ISBN 0-7106-1795-X. Also available on CD-ROM.

The new *Jane's*, as usual, gives comprehensive details of all the world's warships and auxiliary vessels. The editor's review of current naval matters discusses some interesting emerging trends. The new watchword is "expeditionary warfare." (As the future is usually unpredictable, strategic and constructive policy is always to be based on the "last" war, in this case, the Gulf war and other multi-nation interventions). This is resulting in the addition of comparatively modest helicopter carriers, LPD/LHA types and support vessels to several navies. Both Japan and China are pursuing this line, while Italy and Spain are co-operating on a joint deployment force, though where they might deploy, and why, is impossible to predict. Even Canada has some multi-role support ships on its wish list. Governments seem willing to fund this type of endeavour, always assuming that any expedition will be part of a joint UN sanctioned force. They are not so willing to fund the development of communications and data systems that would enable the various navies to work together. Admittedly, this would

be difficult. The US Navy, which would be the essential core of any such operation, is leaping so far ahead in combat control techniques that most other contributors to an integrated force, however willing, would likely be more hindrance than help. As an example, the USS *Coronado* is being converted to a Joint Task Force Command Ship, fitted with instant communications in any desired volume for four Admirals (or Generals?), 150 staff officers, and a press bureau! The concept of the arsenal ship carrying hundreds of missiles, reported two years ago, is dead; but both it and the *Coronado* would only be viable in a world where one Navy, the US Navy, rules the seas.

The editor has always warned against prematurely writing off the Russian Navy, but no one now feels threatened by it. Ballistic missile and other submarines still do a few patrols, but chiefly to justify the Russian governments view of itself as a world player. The carrier *Kuznetsov's* air wing practices on an artificial flight deck on land. Until an American and Norwegian team complete a nuclear reprocessing plant in Murmansk, many submarines can neither be refueled nor defueled. Surface ships that cannot move continue to fly an ensign so that their skeleton crews can be paid and fed. The navy that, for two decades, in its own idiosyncratic way, challenged the US Navy in all the world's oceans, is in a sad state.

In the technical area, in addition to communication advances, stealth techniques provide the main challenge to the naval architects. The destroyer USS *Arthur W. Radford* recently visited Halifax bearing a huge structure, the Advanced Enclosed Mast Sensor System (AEMS), that protects the equipment and reduces radar returns. All major warship builders have interesting stealth designs on the drawing boards.

With regard to Canada, the editor notes that we have been having trouble with our surface-to-air missiles, due to insufficient opportunities for live firings. We are now acquiring *Upholder* class submarines, (too late for the body of the book but mentioned in the foreword), but still need helicopters. And perhaps a minor point: Canada has joined the ranks of the nations whose principal ships are illustrated in colour, which is gradually spreading throughout the enormous book.

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