BOOK REVIEWS

Dean King with John Hattendorf and J. Worth Estes. *A Sea of Words: A Lexicon and Companion for Patrick O'Brian's Seafaring Tales* New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1995. 413 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, appendix, selected bibliography. US $14, Cdn $20, paper; ISBN 0-8050-3816-7.

I confess that I am a lubber. I am one of those readers of historical sea fiction who is so poorly acquainted with the duties of seamen and the way of a sailing ship as ever to remain a waister. I am also a great fan of Patrick O'Brian's wonderful series of novels concerning the harsh courageous world of the Royal Navy during the Napoleonic Wars and the relations between Captain Jack Aubrey of the Royal Navy and his particular friend, Stephen Maturin. Aubrey is as brave as a lion afloat but he is a lost lamb ashore, while Maturin, ostensibly a naval surgeon, is also a disillusioned Irish revolutionary, a natural scientist, physician, and secret agent of the Admiralty. They met in 1800 and the account of that fortuitous encounter first appeared in 1970. Since then and 5,000 pages later O'Brian has written the longest fictional account of male bonding in English literature (the Hardy Boys excepted). Dean King is to be heartily congratulated for doing what I and a host of readers have only talked of doing. With seventeen books published to date, the *Lexicon and Companion* to O'Brian's series fills a real need.

Like most lubbers, I pounced on O'Brian's novels as soon as I grasped that the series was not a second-rate reprise of the Hornblower books. I read the first three at breakneck pace, and not least among the joys of discovery was the realization that they are much more than swashbuckling sea yarns. After the characters and the action settled on me I wanted to know the meaning of everything. The Aubrey/Maturin series represents genre writing of a very high order; the books are superbly researched historical novels. But O'Brian also presides over an extended English comedy of manners. In addition, he offers an extraordinary social portrait of life at sea wrapped in the quasi-Medieval language of the maritime world including the special language of the Royal Navy. He also revels in the arcana of eighteenth-century science, especially botany and medicine, the everyday worlds of deference and gentility, at least as far as it prevailed in the navy, of card games and honour of religious belief, and of food and culinary art. King's book is a great help to those who, like Maturin himself, make groping attempts to learn the difference between a slab-line and a selvagee, or want to know the difference between a linctus and a lithotomy. How is Aubrey's favourite dish of soused hog's face prepared? What ingredients go into figgydowdy or sea pie? With King at hand we quickly discover why main topsail yards may become sprung if the fishes are ill-coaked and the difference between furling topsails in a bunt or in a body — "smooth enough for a royal review."

The inclusion of two brief essays on the history of the Royal Navy and the state of medicine during the period, maps, and ship diagrams is helpful if not essential but the presence of very ordinary illustrations and numerous place names in the *Lexicon* is questionable. That the compiler thought the latter necessary bespeaks his perception of an appalling ignorance of geography among his potential audience. Would any reader so "geographically challenged" read one of O'Brian's novels? A revised edition might get rid of the portraits and most if not all place names in order to find more space for such current absentees as "bitchadey pawdle" and "blotted meat," or such obvious terms as brigantine as well as brig, and

bentinck shrouds along with Bentincks. Old Jarvie ought to be included among the nicknames of Sir John Jervis. What are the white lapels that poor Tom Pullings didn't receive? It is fine to identify Gabriel Snodgrass as a progressive ship designer, but what are Snodgrass' diagonal braces? Robert's iron-plate knees can be worked out, but why exclude Roberts and include Snodgrass? Are catharpings the same as cat harpins? and what are cross-catted harpins? If the first futtock is that piece of timber forming the rib of a ship nearest the keel, what are ground futtocks? A host of interesting questions and intriguing terms awaits the reviser whose readers are probably already familiar with the locations of Bengal, Malta, and Newfoundland. In the meantime, this book is a must for O'Brian fans.

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario

John Bell (ed.). *Atlantic Sea Stories*. Lawrencetown Beach, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1995. 222 pp., further readings. $15.95, paper; ISBN 0-919001-91-2.

Between 1900 and 1930, sea stories were among the most popular fiction published in the monthlies and pulp magazines of North America. Readers of *McClure's, Adventure* and *The Canadian Magazine* were treated to stories about the North Atlantic region which, while largely melodramatic adventure tales, offered documentary details of life in the Atlantic provinces and Newfoundland. Many of the writers of these tales have been largely obscured by time and neglect, and little of their sea fiction has been republished in recent years. *Atlantic Sea Stories* convincingly presents these writers as part of a lost tradition in Canadian literary history, and collects a group of stories focused on the activities and attitudes of men at sea that reveals the textures of life in the Atlantic region at the turn of the twentieth century. The stories present readers with some fanciful, some mundane, but persistently vivid glimpses of the experiences of fishermen, sealers, schoonermen, smugglers and pirates during the waning days of the age of sail.

John Bell has carefully selected and edited eight stories and two excerpts from novels by ten different writers, bringing to light the Atlantic provinces' and Newfoundland's contribution to what Bell calls "the golden age of the Atlantic sea story." (p. 13) Bell avoids narrowing his regional perspective by ignoring provincial boundaries and arranging the stories chronologically according to original publication date, starting in 1903 with "The Strength of Men" by Norman Duncan and ending in 1928 with Arthur Hunt Chute's "The 'Bluenose Bucko'." This arrangement highlights the popularity of the genre within the periodical literature of its time, and the diversity of writers working within the genre, some whose fame as chroniclers of the sea is well established, such as Colin McKay and Archibald MacMechan, others who are more obscure. Yet all the writers share a central ethos, one that has lost a measure of its credence with the technological advances of the twentieth century but that will be familiar to readers of adventure fiction: in these stories, the sea challenges and ennobles the men who make their livings upon it. This idea is both a commonplace and romantic, but a number of the writers employ touches of hard-edged realism, accurate maritime detail and humour which make readers feel the extent to which the commonplace has its basis in the truth of experience.

Many of the stories are skilfully crafted adventures concerning shipwrecks and piracies that offer readers the excitement of a voyage into bygone days. Stories by Wilfred Grenfell, Duncan, MacMechan and McKay all portray nautical disasters in which their characters' wills to survive are tested in the face of the grim and indomitable power of the sea. McKay's "The Wreck of the *Cod Seeker"* stands out among these, detailing his young hero's harrowing, claustrophobic predicament trapped within the capsized *Codseeker,* adding an original and memorable twist to an oft-told tale. Other adventure stories, such as Frederick Wallace's St. Pierre rum smuggling yarn "Running A Cargo," and W. Albert Hickman's Gulf of St. Lawrence racing tale "The Gooseander," recount the daring escapades of wily schooner captains hoodwinking their social betters and flouting authority. In a more subtle vein, Theodore G. Roberts' "A Complete Rest" offers an ironic anecdote that reveals a mainlander's frustrated bemusement in the face of the stoical resilience

of Newfoundland fishermen. In addition to these stories, Bell has included two excerpts from novels that stand on their own and fit snugly into the anthology, a chapter from Frank Parker Day's *Rockbound,* a beautifully modulated realist account of Lunenburg fishing life, and three chapters from Erie Spencer's *Yo-Ho-Ho!,* a tale reminiscent of Stevenson about a young boy's life among modern day pirates. Bell ends the anthology with Chute's rousing "The 'Blue-nose Bucko'," which brings to light a forgotten talent who died in his prime in 1929. A funny, endearing, romantic adventure yarn that recounts the Rev. John Robertson's baptism by fire into sea life among the New Brunswick bully boys, Chute's tale rivals the best of Kipling. It serves as a fitting epitome and culmination of the anthology and of the heyday of the genre.

These stories should appeal to a variety of readers, young and old, and Bell has assembled them with scholarly care. His general introduction reveals the writers' connections to the maritime world that inspired their work and shows the network of incident, coincidence and mutual interests that drew a number of these men to each other and to the North Atlantic. In contrast, the brief author biographies that introduce each story show the diversity of backgrounds and accomplishments among the writers. As well, a bibliography of currently available, sea-related fiction by these writers appears at the end of the volume. Sadly, this list reveals only one or two books available by each writer, excepting the unfortunate Chute, whose writing is completely out of print. I hope that Bell's revival of the Atlantic sea story in this useful and entertaining anthology will encourage interest in the genre, lead to further publication of these writers and find a new readership for their sea stories.

Marc Thackray
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

The Maritime Awards Society of Canada. *Pacific Ocean 21: Four Problems in Search of a Solution.* Victoria, BC: Maritime Awards Society of Canada, 1995. v + 72 + 4 + 2 pp., figures, appendices.

This slim little book is the proceedings of a public forum sponsored by the Maritime Awards Society of Canada in March 1995. The four problems seeking a solution in this pamphlet are: shipbuilding and ship repair; the difficulties in integrating coastal management beyond national boundaries; salmon fishing; and national defence. Although by no means uniquely West Coast problems, these are dealt with purely in their Pacific Coast context. Brief historical comments are included in each section, but a comparison with other locations might have been helpful, as many of these problems have received at least partial solutions elsewhere — and this little work is light on solutions.

The contexts are esoteric stuff for West Coast readers, but by and large they are rather parochial, besides verging on the polemical. I wonder how many people beyond the Lower Mainland and the Gulf islands have heard of Cedar, or Longdale, or the Brechin Hill-Northfield corridor? (pp. 14-5) The forum participants are listed faithfully, and make an impressive group, but the names of the audiences are not given. As "audience" remarks appear at the end of each section, and give the indication that on occasion they were trenchant, it would have been useful to have listed them as well. After all, it is a report and not a polished version.

Indeed, perhaps the neatest remark came from the audience, and concluded the actual report: "Canada's first naval casualties in the 20th century were in the Pacific. We should always keep in mind that the Pacific surprises." (p.70) Perhaps not too many naval historians realize that four midshipmen of the fledgling Canadian Naval Service lost their lives at the Battle of Coronel in 1914 — but more than a few Canadians will recognize the concept of "western alienation" that crops up periodically in the country-particularly when other regions are overly stroppy. So it is surely no surprise to find it here, particularly when reading how shipbuilding contracts were awarded, or the positioning of defence forces from Canada's small navy. David Zimmerman, in a discussion of "The Historical Dimensions of Canada's Defence Policy in the Pacific," pays most attention to this. Inactivity was certainly there, but it is debatable to state, as he does, that there is "indifference" (p.66) or that the region was "forgotten." (p.67) "Risk-taking" may not have been a term used in the past, but clearly the

risks evident required the vast bulk of Canada's defence forces to be concentrated around the Atlantic. Had the Japanese aimed for the Queen Charlottes rather than the Aleutians in World War II things would have been different, but they did not and the risks taken were justified. He is correct however, in pointing out that Canada today had better be a little more active west of the Rockies than before. Least defensible in this section of the pamphlet is Admiral Thomas' defence, yet again, of his efforts to convince the boy seaman Perrin Beatty to obtain nuclear submarines for Canada. Surely only aircraft and satellites can provide the sort of coverage he postulates for the vast Pacific?

To a degree events have overtaken the portions on the salmon fisheries and coastal management. The problems with both — and they are intertwined — can no longer be left to a measured report. In the most detailed of all the papers, Andrea Copping does mention missing Fraser River salmon from the 1994 season. Yet that problem pales alongside the massive non-appearance of salmon along almost the entire coast in 1995. Something is fundamentally wrong here, and one wonders why no comparison is ventured with the east coast experiences, where all of the "experts," from those who overfished to those who reported on the stocks, wore the sort of egg on their faces that is now threatening to make a mess of the west coast pundits. Jim Boutilier noted in his introductory remarks the measured and stately progress that the papers took, from the narrow — shipbuilding etc. in British Columbia — to the global, However, when we add the conflict with Alaskan fishermen and their "I'm alright jack" approach to a shared fishery, he will see that the larger issues are starting to encroach everywhere.

This is even true in that which Boutilier saw was focused-shipbuilding and ship repair on the Canadian west coast (what I like to call maritime Pacific Canada). This was a most apt session, as the only shipyards in Canada at the moment with anything like a decent order book are located here, trying to drum up other businesses than from British Columbia ferries, while calling in expertise from around the world to solve their problems. Whether it be with French aluminum, Australian catamaran technology, or Norwegian shipbuilding experience, it seems to this reviewer that this is as global as it can be, particularly if British Columbia later tries to sell this experience and knowledge offshore.

To learn more about these problems, get a copy of the publication! But to get an idea of the full range of existing problems, you will have to go further afield, for those presented here are not complete. Certainly in today's economic climate, there is a real dichotomy facing those who consistently and loudly argue for a Canadian flag merchant marine. They were in the audience, but they and some of the publicists who speak out on the BC maritime industry have not taken sufficient notice of the "bottom line." Thus, there was nothing here on the ocean cruise ship industry; there was nothing on the cargoes carried to and from Canadian ports, and the incipient problem to the environment in carrying them (except for lip-service to oil); and there was nothing on an issue that is causing a great controversy here at the moment, the fact that the biggest bang for the buck in the west coast fishery comes not from the commercial fishermen who take the biggest harvest but from the myriad of sports fishermen who dot the serene waters of the inside passage and make full use of the services available to them and pay for them generously. So, if we are to be governed by the bottom line, then let us get rid of commercial fishermen.

But of course there is more to the issue than the bottom line, there are the solutions to these problems that must be taken into consideration in deciding what precisely is the bottom line; the degree to which non-economic practices must prevail in order that a future is left in all of these maritime endeavours. This is where the biggest omission appears to be: there is nothing to indicate that native people participated at the forum. Certainly no one spoke from the native standpoint, and we cannot tell if there were any in the audience. Yet for all their frailties, natives are among those who have proved most sensitive to overall environmental concerns. There should have been a distinct native voice at the conference; let us hope that when they reconvene (in April of this year?), the organizers will seek solutions and invite native participation.

Kenneth S. Mackenzie
Salt Spring Island, British Columbia

Morten Hahn-Pedersen and Poul Holm (eds.). *Sjceklen 1994: Arbog for Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseet Saltvandsakvariet i Esbjerg.* Esbjerg, DK: Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseet Saltvandsakvariet i Esbjerg, 1995. 155 pp., photographs, illustrations, tables, figures, maps. DKr 198, hardback; ISBN 87-87453-78-9.

In 1995, the Centre for Maritime and Regional History was established as a cooperative venture between the Fisheries and Maritime Museum in Esbjerg and the University of Århus. Although Denmark's one hundred state-supported cultural history museums are by definition research institutes, the museum in Esbjerg is the first to attempt to strengthen its research activities in this way. An article in this Yearbook by Morten Hahn-Pedersen and Poul Holm explains the background for the Centre and the research priorities that have been set; two other articles are examples of these priorities.

In one, assistant curator Mette Guldberg explains her PhD project, which investigated trade in Jutland black pots. In pre-industrial Denmark it was often necessary to combine several trades to meet the material needs of the family, and in the area around Varde in West Jutland the production by women of earthenware vessels is an example of a specialised activity widespread at the time. Their products were sold both by sea and by land to the rest of Denmark, northwest Germany, Holland and the Baltic area. Production ceased towards the end of the nineteenth century because the fragile earthenware pots could not be used on iron stoves.

An interest in combining both a regional and an international approach is also clearly evident in Morten Hahn-Pedersen and Poul Holm's article about the maritime job-market in Denmark in the years 1880-1900. The authors base their analysis on Lewis R. Fischer's investigation of the wages paid to the crews of sailing ships in selected North Sea ports in the years 1863-1900. Fischer found no agreement between the levels of pay offered, and therefore no basis for speaking of increased integration within the maritime employment market around the North Sea in this period. Of special interest in the Danish context, Hahn-Pedersen and Holm point out that Copenhagen offered the highest rates of pay from 1893 onwards. They subscribe to Fischer's main results, and are also able to note that Danish provincial ports offered lower wages to sailing ship crews than did Copenhagen. Despite the inclusion of a considerable body of statistical material, however, they are not able to offer an explanation of this fact.

In this connection, the reviewer is reminded of a characteristic of statistics, which are rather like bikinis; much is visible, but the vital parts remain hidden. The remaining four articles in the Yearbook illustrate the breadth of research at the museum. Frederick Jan Loomeyer has investigated how many ships from Fano used the Schleswig-Holstein canal, which opened in 1784. The narrow local history approach used here will perhaps appeal only to a limited circle of readers. The educational consultant at the museum, Thyge Jensen, offers a well-illustrated account of the origin and development of the ewer, a flat-bottomed craft with a leeboard especially common in the waters around the river Elbe. The development of fishery in Esbjerg and the falling off of the trade in recent years is illustrated by journalist Peter F. Gammelby's portrait of three generations of a fishing family, the Aa family. Finally, Thyge Jensen and biologist Svend Tougaard take a retrospective look at a successful biological conservation project. Since the opening of the Sealarium in 1976, caring for, raising and putting out abandoned seal pups has been part of the work carried out here, but in recent years the seal population in the Waddensea has so clearly been growing that the museum has been able to close the "kindergarten" for seal pups.

As usual, the articles are well illustrated and provided with English summaries.

Hans Jeppesen
Helsingor, Denmark

Poul Holm, Olaf Janzen, Jôn Thor (eds.). *Northern Seas Yearbook 1995, Association for the History of the Northern Seas.* Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseets studieserie,nr.5; Esbjerg, Denmark: Fiskeri- og Sofartsmuseet, Saltvandsakvariet, 1995. 149 pp., tables, figures. DKr 150, paper; ISBN 87-87453-80-0.

This volume is published under the auspices of the Association for the History of the Northern

Seas, which now offers itself as a forum for all scholars interested in maritime history from the Baltic to the North Atlantic. The six papers here presented, apart from a fascinating memoir by Klaus Friedland on the planning and establishment of the Association between 1971-4, all relate to the broad theme of fisheries. They emanate from a conference held in Iceland in August 1994: a second volume is to include the papers given on trade and shipping.

Iceland, to greater or lesser degree, figures in two-thirds of the volume's papers, with three dealing directly with the island's history. In a well-researched paper, using principally the licences to trade and customs accounts, Wendy Childs argues that Hull's involvement in England's fifteenth-century export and import trade with Iceland has been undervalued, and that the port played as great a role as the previously more highlighted Bristol, even exceeding that port from the 1450s onwards. At times the Iceland trade accounted for ten per cent of Hull's total trade. Halldor Bjarnason examines the four decades from 1891, when Iceland, from being one of the small exporting nations of saltfish became, in the 1920s, the second largest. Drawing much on the work of others, especially the late V.U. Valdimarsson, he deals mainly with the domestic reasons for this rise: a diversification of cures — both soft and hard cure; a low-pricing policy; and improved sales methods. J.Th. Thor's paper is more general. Following a brief survey of the foreign fisheries at Iceland from the fifteenth century to the mid-1970s, he hazards some thoughts on the underlying reasons for the fisheries. These focus particularly on the distinction between "fish surplus" and "fish deficient" states and the roles of population, especially urban, growth and technological changes. The expanded fishing efforts of the twentieth century have resulted, in the North Atlantic, in formerly "fish surplus" states becoming, to a certain degree at least, "fish deficient."

Poul Holm's concern is the hitherto virtually neglected development of Danish whaling, sealing and fishing in the Danish North Atlantic in the period c.1750 to 1807. He examines a range of marine initiatives, particularly state but also private, over the extensive Danish territorial interests of Norway, the Faroes, Iceland and Greenland. The projects often drew on British and Dutch technology, but most apparently failed, possibly through capital and organisational deficiencies. This paper looks like the forerunner of what will be a major study of mercantilism in action.

The final two contributions concern two major English ports, London and Liverpool, and their also hitherto virtually neglected interests in fisheries. Walter Minchinton, in outlining the diversity of London's interests in the eighteenth century, includes discussion of the fishing practised in the Thames itself and its estuary, the coastal fisheries supplying London, and the capital's fish markets and their regulation. Attention is also given to London's mercantile involvement in the Newfoundland cod trades and the Greenland and Southern whale fisheries. Adrian Jarvis offers a preliminary survey of Liverpool's fishing interests, from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, looking particularly at the range of historical source material available. In 1906 Liverpool was the fourth most important fishing port on the British west coast, and clearly, as Jarvis adumbrates, much more investigation is justified.

Altogether, this volume makes some worthwhile contributions to fishery history.

Stephen Fisher
Exeter, England

Alan J. Scarth. *The Ship Models Collection of the Merseyside Maritime Museum: A Concise Catalogue.* Liverpool: National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, 1995. 104 pp., photographs (colour, b+w), maps, indices. £8.50 (plus p&h), paper; ISBN 0-906367-77-8.

The previous catalogue of ship models for the Liverpool Museum was written almost thirty years ago and listed about six hundred models. Now that the Merseyside Maritime Museum has been formed as an offshoot of that institution, and with a substantial increase in the size of their collection, it was time to update that publication. The museum now has about nine hundred and a thousand non-miniature models, about half of which are on display.

This book catalogues almost eight hundred models — the core of their collection, ranging from a Roman corn ship to present-day RO-RO

cargo vessels. They are arranged chronologically and divided into nine groups: coastal and ocean-going sail and power, fishing craft, two categories of warships, marine engines, and miscellaneous models. The information given for the models is the date when the vessel was actually built, name, propulsion or rig type, tonnage, owner, port registered, builder, place built, type of model, scale and the accession number. There are also indices for easy reference.

The introduction provides a history of the museum from its first gift of a ship model in 1862 to future plans for their five floors of displays and outside exhibits at Albert Dock. There is further information on the make-up of their ship model collection as well as a few details on their more notable models. One fascinating part of the collection is thirty-nine miniature warships ranging in size from six to eighteen inches that were believed to have been made by French prisoners-of-war during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. They were accurately as well as intricately constructed out of whatever materials were available in the prison — bones left over from meals, straw, scraps of wood. They were sold by lowering them down to the street in a basket with the price on them; the buyer was trusted to replace the model with the correct amount of money.

The brief detail of some of the models in the introduction and the few photographs create additional interest in what is otherwise a basic catalogue. More of the same information would have given the book a much broader appeal, instead of being relegated to the shelves as a reference book. The two Canadian-built vessels in the collection — the *Marco Polo* and the *Bluenose* — both have errors in their entries, which makes one wonder about other typographical mistakes. My next visit to the Merseyside Maritime Museum is going to be with a different perspective and a whole lot of questions: what does the whalebone model of the ship *Harriet Ann* look like, as well as the blockade runners built on Merseyside for the Confederate government, and what is the story behind the Rev. G.W. Garrett being the owner of the submarine *Resurgam* in 1879?

Alastair M. Fox
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Peter-Michael Pawlik. *Von der Weser in die Welt: Die Geschichte der Segelschiffe von Weser und Lesum und ihrer Bauwerften 1770 bis 1893.* Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag for Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, Bremerhaven, 1994. 496 pp., photographs, illustrations (b+w, colour), maps, tables, appendices, bibliography, captains' index, ships' index. DM 240, cloth; ISBN 3-8225-0256-1.

As its sub-title suggests, this book is about the history of the sailing ships and the shipyards in which they were built in and nearby Vegesack, where the Lesum flows into the Weser. The region, now part of Bremen-Nord, was one of nineteenth-century Europe's largest shipbuilding centres. It was here that the "Bremen Vulkan" yard was founded in 1893. However, readers expecting a thorough and systematic historical, economic or technical analysis of shipbuilding will be disappointed. Nor will they find an entertaining description of life in and around the carpenter's yards or of romantic sailing. Indeed, the book seems a dull and dry affair at first glance. In a brief introduction the author describes the development of the sailing ship yards within the present Bremen-Nord and Stedingerland. He also surveys the types of vessels built in those days at Vegesack and surroundings. Pawlik then gives a detailed geographical list of the many small and few large yards. Another list names the ships built in these yards. Overall, he examines some thirty yards and 1,200 ships.

Readers might therefore draw the conclusion that this is an encyclopedia of nineteenth-century sailing ships. They would be wrong. For each yard and most of the ships, Pawlik includes either a short or a more detailed historic description. In the fifteen years that it took him, with great patience, to complete this book, Pawlik has carefully searched for contemporary descriptions of the yards and vessels. He quotes the most striking events involving yards or vessels from original archives, newspapers and magazines. Thanks to these bits and pieces of history, the book comes alive before our eyes in a most fascinating way. The countless details about crew, shipping masters, pirates, cargo, routes, etc. offer a moving image of the daily maritime life in the nineteenth century. The constant changing of the vessels' names and of their

owners provides the attentive reader not only with a good idea of the intense trade in ships, but also of the ups and downs in the maritime world. The striking citations from official records or from simple letters written by sailors allow readers to enter into the daily life of the crews and their battle against disease, storms and poverty. Yet the book offers much more than a window into the life in and around the carpenter's yards. The history of many yards and shipping companies is hidden within this book, sometimes in a very rudimentary way, sometimes with more elaboration. The long list of the Langeyard at Vegesack, which built at least 323 ships between 1805 and 1892, is an excellent survey of the evolution of types of ships, their tonnage and the nationality of the men who ordered them.

Readers will also learn that the book's title was much too modest and does not totally cover its cargo. Not only do some descriptions of the shipping yards go far beyond 1893, but the author also describes steamships built on those yards. It is therefore possible to follow the introduction and development of steamshipping by means of the orders for the shipping yards.

In short, readers who read the book attentively will be rewarded for their efforts. The workmanship of the book, by the way, matches its excellent contents. The many illustrations of painting and photographs of ships, yards, shipbuilders, shipowners, sailors, and so on make the book interesting not only to read but simply to look at as well. Professional historians will also appreciate the lists of ships and their captains. Finally, the author enhances this exquisite study by mentioning the building list of the yards in the vicinity of Bremen and Bremen Harbour.

Karel Veraghtert
Brussels, Belgium

Eileen Reid Marcil. *The Charley-Man: A History of Wooden Shipbuilding at Quebec 1763-1893.* Kingston, ON: Quarry Press, 1995. 439 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, tables, chapter notes, appendices, bibliography, indices. $59.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55082-092-3. $32.95, paper; ISBN 1-55082-093-1.

This long awaited publication is an important study of Quebec shipbuildingactivities following the French Regime. In nine chapters and five appendices, the book collects information from a wide variety of sources and presents a comprehensive survey which should serve students of the subject for many years to come. In fact, the author provides us with "one-stop shopping" for information concerning wooden shipbuilding in the Port of Quebec region over the 130-year period under review, complemented by several hundred illustrations, photographs and tables.

Unlike most shipbuilding studies produced to date, *The Charley-Man* concentrates on shipbuilding only, and does not venture into shipping activities. The author states that shipping warrants its own exclusive treatment. With considerable justification, the author places her study between 1760 and 1893 — the period of Quebec shipbuilding for the British merchant fleet. Although other historians had paid less attention to the years between 1760 and 1840, Marcel believes that 1840 was not a natural cut-off date and chose to span the entire 130-year period. While some information regarding shipbuilding during the French Regime is provided, this is kept to a minimum as background for the examination of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Quebec shipbuilding.

Not surprisingly, the first chapter deals with the timber trade. This export industry, as we all know, was a primary driving force behind the development and expansion of shipbuilding at Quebec and elsewhere in British North America. With this the author outlines the conditions at Quebec which helped to stimulate wooden shipbuilding and the international market conditions which fuelled demand for Quebec-built vessels.

In subsequent chapters the shipbuilding tradition of Quebec builders and tradesmen is described — a heritage gained through employment in the various government and private yards of the French Regime with additional experience acquired building naval vessels during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Of particular interest is the outline of the ethnic origins of Quebec shipbuilders as presented in chapter three. Other aspects of the shipbuilding industry follow. Shipyard locations, and building and repair facilities are detailed, *ship brokerage services and financing* arrangements are presented, and the materials used in

vessel construction are discussed. To demonstrate the variety of different skills required to build a merchant vessel, Marcil also discusses fourteen of the building trades involved and the services they contributed towards the successful completion of a finished product. In this manner, the publication covers the many individual activities and skills which were combined to support shipbuilding at Quebec.

Some of the most important data contained in *The Charley-Man* is found in the appendices. The revised lists of vessels constructed at Quebec and at the various outports (Appendices B and C) will prove very useful. These appendices, as well as those that list shipbuilders and shipyard locations, provide quick reference to data compiled from numerous sources.

It is quite obvious that Marcil has expended a tremendous amount of effort to produce *The Charley-Man* — in fact, about eight years of research for her doctorate plus additional time in preparation of the finished publication. Having said that, the resulting volume is well worth the wait. Despite the author's lament in the introduction that "not one [Quebec-built ship] was conserved as a reminder of the sailing ship days," (p. 15) *The Charley-Man* will certainly help to preserve the memory of this important era in Quebec's maritime history, as well as an understanding of its underlying importance. (Although a date of publication has not been set, funding has been secured for the production of a French edition of *The Charley-Man.)*

Robert S. Elliot
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David C. Holly. *Chesapeake Steamboats: Vanished Fleet.* Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1995. xii + 308 pp., illustrations, appendices, maps, source notes, select bibliography, index. US $29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87033-455-7.

Chesapeake Bay lies between the Delmarva Peninsula and mainland Virginia, flooding the ancient valley of the Susquehanna. On the banks of its rivers and creeks lie cities and towns whose names are synonymous with the history of the United States — Baltimore on the Patapsco, Washington on the Potomac, and Richmond on the James. Until fairly recent times, these and dozens of other towns, villages and hamlets were linked by over two thousand miles of navigable waterways and served by one of the largest fleets of steamboats in North America.

Following some nostalgic preliminaries, David Holly tackles selected aspects of the history of commercial steam navigation within the reaches of the Bay, beginning with an early example of American steamboat development, the men involved and the building of the paddle steamer *Chesapeake* in 1813. The vessel maintained a daily schedule between Baltimore and Frenchtown with complete disregard for the British blockade and, on at least two occasions, carried special excursions to view the enemy ships off Fort McHenry.

Following chapters deal with early engine building (which appears to have involved setting up a shop to make copies of British Boulton and Watt engines) and some of the more than 150 Chesapeake Bay steamboat casualties. This last concludes with details of the 1992 recovery of portions of the crosshead engine from the steamer *Columbus,* which caught fire and sank off the mouth of the Potomac in November, 1850.

The Civil War is the next subject. At this time, the Chesapeake formed a natural barrier between the Union and the Confederacy. It was the scene of much intrigue and the author highlights his account of this period with the story of flamboyant, cross-dressing Colonel Richard Thomas Zavrona and his ill-fated attempt to capture the Union gunboat *Pawnee* while disguised as an attractive French lady.

As the cities grew, a brisk summer excursion traffic developed, followed in the 1870s by the establishment of resorts, such as Dreamland, Tolchester Beach and Betterton, all of which faded into obscurity with the advent of World War II. In this chapter, Holly includes some interesting notes on the Baltimore and Philadelphia Steamboat Company, which maintained a fast overnight service between the two cities via the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.

Next, he describes in some detail the tactics and pressures used by the Pennsylvania Railroad to gain a monopoly of the major transportation routes on and around the Bay. Finally, in a chapter entitled "Three longs and a short," Holly covers the post-war demise of steamboating on the Chesapeake, which came to an end when the

Bay Belle was towed away in May 1963.

The book concludes with a sad little epilogue, followed by appendices. These contain general arrangement drawings of crosshead and walking beam engines, as well as specifications and historical notes on selected Chesapeake steamers.

David Holly has written a fascinating series of reports, many of which have great individual appeal. However, this is not the definitive work on Chesapeake Bay steamboats that one might expect from the title. Then again, the author does note that *Chesapeake Steamboats* was written in an effort to fill in blanks left by himself and others in the written history of the steamboat era on the Chesapeake. As such, his collection of essays might well be enough to satisfy those familiar with the subject. Others, such as this reviewer, will no doubt be left with the impression that something has been left out, a nagging concern, aggravated by the substitution of line drawings for photographs, a singularly unfortunate choice, for those of us who really enjoy "seeing" the ships we read about.

Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia

Norman Hacking. *Prince Ships of Northern B.C.; Ships of the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian National Railways.* Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1995. 72 pp., map, photographs, illustrations, bibliography, index. $ 11.95, paper; ISBN 1-895811-28-7.

Norman Hacking, author and former marine editor for the Vancouver *Province,* has written a nicely illustrated short history of Canadian National's Pacific coast steamships. The book emphasizes the vessels and their careers, not corporate decision making or service economics, although these are noted. Generally, the book is organized chronologically except for a chapter dealing with wrecks and other incidents.

The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the Canadian Northern Pacific Railway were both part of the pre-World War I building boom that collapsed during the war. The Grand Trunk, with its western terminal at Prince Rupert, wanted connections to Victoria, Vancouver and Seattle as well as services to outlying ports to bring in traffic for the railway. Several older coastal vessels were purchased and two new first-class steamers, the *Prince Rupert* and the *Prince George,* were ordered.

The expansion of the GTP was driven by Charles M. Hayes, its president, who envisioned a major port at Prince Rupert with a large passenger terminal and a world-class hotel. Hayes drowned on the *Titanic,* and after the early years, Prince Rupert languished until World War II, when it took on strategic importance; more recently it has become a major bulk terminal and coal port.

The Canadian Northern needed connections to its lines on Vancouver Island and ordered the railcar ferry *Canora,* which operated between the Vancouver area and Vancouver Island, and purchased several tugs and barges for the same transfer services. These vessels are discussed but not illustrated and this aspect of the service would have benefited by being placed in a separate chapter with photographs.

These operations were all taken over by Canadian National Railways after the financial collapse of the two railways. In the late 1920s, the CNR began a major, ill-fated, expansion of its BC steamship services highlighted by the purchase of the *Prince Henry, Prince David* and *Prince Robert* just as the Great Depression hit. Without business to justify their expensive operation, two were transferred to the east coast and the third saw limited use in Alaska cruises.

A chapter covers service during World War II of the *Prince Robert, Prince David,* and *Prince Henry* as armed merchant cruisers; later, the *David* and the *Henry were* rebuilt as infantry landing ships and the *Robert* as an auxiliary anti-aircraft cruiser. After the war, CN added a new *Prince George* to replace the original steamer which had been destroyed by fire. Later services were primarily cruises to Alaska as other modes of transportation took over along the British Columbia coast. At the same time, many of the once numerous small logging and fishing communities disappeared as industry and population became increasingly concentrated in the larger centres.

There is a good selection of photos of the *Princes* and of Prince Rupert's development. The photos are clearly reproduced although

some larger ones suffer from being run across the binding gutter which distorts the images. This is an interesting and informative history of Canadian National's vessels on the west coast.

Robert D. Turner
Victoria, British Columbia

Stan Grayson. *Old Marine Engines: The World of the One-Lunger*. 2nd éd.; Marblehead, MA: Devereux Books, 1994. xvi + 235 pp., figures, photographs, appendices, index. $37.50, paper; ISBN 0-9640070-0-2. Distributed in Canada by Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, NS.

Single cylinder, make and break or jump spark engines were the impetus to the mechanization of the inshore fishery. These simple slow-turning gasoline-powered machines owed more to steam engine technology than the new age of internal combustion. They were heavy, rather crude in their fit and finish, and were cantankerous. But they were inexpensive and simple to operate, so they found rapid acceptance by fishermen. Scores of manufacturers sprang up to expand and exploit the industry and most of them quickly disappeared. The foundries that lasted were building and supplying engines until quite recently, and one can still buy a good new one-lunger from Lunenburg Foundry Ltd.

Stan Grayson wrote a charming homage to these engines, their builders and their owners in 1982. In this second edition he amends the text to make minor corrections and adds more data and a fifth appendix. The book is not overly technical and the information is easy to assimilate when used along with the generous illustrations, many of which are from manufacturers' drawings. I now fully understand the subtle differences between make and break and jump spark engines!

The appendices are a valuable though still incomplete resource. The list of engine manufacturers is extensive and divided between Canada and the USA. But alas, there are still frustrating question marks among the entries. The author has included many quotations from the people he interviewed and there is a large core of Canadian content, perhaps disproportionate to the number of manufacturers involved. This was probably generated by the continuing building and use of these engines in this country. It remains the principal source for information on the topic, and as such will satisfy all but the most serious of material historians.

A new appendix lists marine engines in maritime museum collections. Unfortunately this too is incomplete, some notable exceptions being the Maine Maritime Museum, the Newfoundland Fisheries Museum at Grand Bank, the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic and the DesBrisay Museum in Bridgewater, NS. The latter museum accessioned a solid collection of engines and related business material when Acadia Gas Engines Ltd. of Bridgewater ceased operations.

Undue adulation of these engines has been well tempered by Farley Mowat, who described them in his inimitable prose in *The Boat Who Wouldn 7 Float:* "These engines are, in fact, vindictive, debased, black minded ladies of no virtue and any non-Newfoundlander who goes shipmates with one is either a fool or a masochist, and likely both." Grayson does not deny this, and in fact discusses and illustrates all the idiosyncrasies and vices as well as the virtues — few though the latter seem to be. A design which has remained in production virtually unaltered for a century cannot be all that bad.

David A. Walker
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Harry Benford (ed.); William A. Fox (assoc. éd.). *A Half Century of Maritime Technology 1943-1993*. Jersey City, NJ: The Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, 1993. xxiv + 616 pp., figures, photographs, tables. US $45 (SNAME members, $40), cloth; ISBN 0-939773-12-2.

Engineering institutions celebrate their centenaries in different ways, but most publish some form of centenary volume. Some are histories of the institution itself, others blend that with reviews of the industries they serve, while some use the occasion to publish a review of historical developments in their field. The New York-based Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, founded in 1893, was limited in what it could do at its fiftieth anniversary in the middle of World War II, but it did publish a volume of "Historical Transactions." In 1993 it

published *A Half Century of Maritime Technology 1943-1993*. A compendium of sixty-two chapters by sixty-five authors covers in its 600 pages the whole gamut of marine technology as seen through North American eyes: ship design, propulsion, shipbuilding and related industries and technologies, both mercantile and naval.

In future years, the ship type review chapters such as passenger ships (by John W. Boylston), surface combatant ships (Bill Garzke) and the relatively short-lived barge carriers (Stuart Thayer) will be seen as useful summaries, but the modern reader, especially one with a technical background, will probably find of most interest those chapters which convey a sense of an inside story written by a participant. Doyen of yacht designers Olin J. Stephens II reviews both sailing craft and power boats. Although one does not think of yachts as being sold by the pound, he points out that prices rose from fifty cents per pound displacement in 1931 to over eight dollars today, a rise that is surely less than inflation, suggesting more efficient design and construction. The essay by Justin McCarthy on David Taylor Research Center (better known for most of its life as David Taylor Model Basin) gives an insight into US Navy-sponsored work on model testing, hydrodynamics, propulsion and structures. Charles Cherrix and Alex Landsburg give in Chapter 1 a good account of the development of both standard ships and US government concern from 1916 in marine affairs through the Maritime Administration (and its predecessors and successors), a subject upon which it is not easy to get a clear view.

Developments in cargo liners are usefully traced by Charles Cushing by reference to the fleets of companies such as Matson, Lykes and APL, while a related chapter by Warren Leback discusses conversions of cargo vessels into passenger liners, giving outboard profiles. The perspective is very much that of North America. For example, steam turbines are given much greater prominence over diesel engines which dominated marine propulsion in the rest of the world, while the importance of the very large crude carrier and bulk carrier had relatively little impact on US shipping and shipbuilding, partly due to port restrictions. The personal account of tugs by Donald Hankin shows American insularity at its best: no mention here of the azimuthing concepts which have dominated tug designs everywhere else for two decades. But other "local" chapters add to the wider picture: Pacific coast fishing boats; the role of the consultant as, unlike other countries, US shipbuilding companies did relatively little design and drafting work; or the unique features of the Great Lakes ships, by far the world's largest inland waters ships.

Full credit is done to an area of marine technology pioneered by the US offshore oil exploration and recovery, initially in the Gulf of Mexico. One introductory and six chronological chapters review developments from the 1950s, each by a different author active in the field at the time. Accounts of three casualties *(Ocean Ranger, Alexander Keilland* and *Glomar Java Sea)* remind us how such novel developments are not without their risks.

Supporting technologies are not forgotten, with a variety of chapters on electrical systems, automation, coatings, and even fireboats and submersibles. However, cargo-handling techniques and cargo access equipment are not addressed in any detail, yet contributed to improving the efficiency of operation, while safety and environmental issues are implicit rather than explicit. There is very much less on shipyards than in the 1943 volume.

As SNAME has had branches in Canada for most of the period, there are several chapters exclusively on Canadian developments. Useful summaries of Canadian marine industries and wartime construction are included, topics not included in the previous volume. The chapter on Canadian naval vessels by W.J. Broughton draws attention to RCN work on hydrofoils and variable depth sonar, not entirely overshadowed by the sheer size of the US Navy. Other specifically Canadian chapters cover ferries, fishing vessels and the Coastguard.

The presentation varies considerably between chapters. Some are well illustrated, others exclusively text; some have an extensive bibliography, others none. To this reviewer, the photographic selection was rather too concentrated on ship portraits, with relatively few on ships building or in actual operation. Machinery and equipment pictures are rare, although there is good coverage of accommodation. A wider range of better reproduced photographs would probably have increased the attractiveness of the

book to the ship enthusiast. As it is, the book will be of most interest to those with a technical background, but can be usefully dipped into by anyone interested in ships, despite the lack of index. With the current decline in US fleets and shipbuilding, the book is an important chronicle and reference; what will the volume in 2043 look like, one wonders?

Ian Buxton
Tynemouth, England

Robert C. Parsons. *Toll of the Sea: Stories from the Forgotten Coast.* St. John's, NF: Creative Publishers, 1995. xii + 249 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, appendices, indices, glossary. $14.95, paper; ISBN 1-895387-51-5.

It is true that in the past the south coast of Newfoundland has not received the attention from the press and media that the more densely and heavily populated northeast coast has received and this explains the title of this well-written and interesting book. The author, born in Grand Bank (on the forgotten coast) and presently teaching there is well known for his publications on that area. This book is a continuation of his life-long interest.

The book contains thirty-one chapters designed to serve various purposes; the first gives a short colourful history of the south coast. The remaining chapters (with the exception of the conclusion) roam along the coast describing harbours and activities from Red Island in Placentia Bay to Port aux Basques in the west. These historical surveys provide the reader with the individual flavour of each community because, like the "forgotten" coast itself, the individual communities are all too often thought of as a collection of similar outports. This is far from true as the author ably demonstrates with descriptions of different practices and economies. However, excellent as these are, the historical surveys of the towns and outports included here are introductions themselves to the stories of fishing and shipping, trading and smuggling, shipbuilding and shipwreck and, particularly, disaster, that make up the bulk of each chapter. It is the preservation and publication of these stories that is the primary purpose of this author; and he succeeds exceedingly well.

The author identifies by name some 800 seamen and about 300 ships that were involved in the numerous incidents and activities that make up the local tales and stories of the south coast. Men and ships are usually central to the stories and in many cases they are crewmen or workers who are simply named. This is a strong feature of the book from the view point of the local reader on the "forgotten" coast but it is the weakest feature for the outside reader. As a result, while this book will be a valuable addition to the libraries of south coast readers and expatriates, it will be only of limited interest to others. Yet there are gems here that will appeal to all, especially those involved in maritime history. The descriptions of fishing, curing, shipbuilding, for example, make this a worthwhile reference. More importantly, the author has made a major contribution to the preservation of Newfoundland's traditional oral history.

The book ends with a number of useful appendices containing information on fleets, disasters and shipwrecks and a long ballad. It also has a fine index. It is well-produced with many good photographs and maps.

Shannon Ryan
St. John's, Newfoundland

James J. Mangan (ed.). *Robert Whyte's 1847 Famine Ship Diary: The Journey of an Irish Coffin Ship.* Dublin: Mercier Press, 1994. 124 pp., appendices. US $14.95, paper; ISBN 1-85635-091-6. Distributed in the United States by Dufour Editions, Inc., Chester Springs, PA.

Arthur Johnson and Paul Johnson. *The Tragic Wreck of the* Anglo-Saxon *April 27th 1863.* St. John's, NF: Harry Cuff, 1995. 134 pp., map, photographs. $12.95, paper; ISBN 1-896338-05-4.

These two slim volumes, both products of amateur historians, illuminate several important aspects of the trans-Atlantic passenger trade by offering descriptions of ship crews and travellers in the mid-nineteenth century as well as of the more tragic elements of ocean voyages. They help us to understand the mind of the Victorian passenger through the observations and reactions to the diverse and complex elements of the ship-

board experience. They also embody some of the potential pitfalls of popular works.

The first book is a reprint of a mid-nineteenth century autobiographical account, in the form of a diary, written at the time of the Irish famine migration. Originally entitled *The Ocean Plague: The Diary of a Cabin Passenger,* its author was Robert Whyte, about whom little is known. Editor James Mangan's principal aim in reviving this historical document appears to be more political than to provide an objective interpretation of the diary's content, for he uses it to condemn the Canadian federal government's recent plans to turn Grosse île, the country's equivalent of Ellis Island, into a tourist attraction. Mangan and his supporters want to leave the site as a national memorial to commemorate the unfortunate Irish exiles who suffered and died on its shores.

This purpose is made explicit in the preface, introduction, and particularly in the four appendices, which have been added to the original work and which carry misleading and less-than-accurate material from modern newspapers as well as mid- and late-nineteenth century popular accounts that sensationalized the tragic fate of Irish famine migrants quarantined at Grosse île. The claim in the preface that these appendices bring readers "up to date on some of the world opinion" about this site is tenuous at best. They may provide insight into those who use history for their own present-day purposes, but they shed little additional light on the past. Readers interested in more objective and balanced historical interpretations are strongly advised to consult the works of Oliver McDonagh, Kerby Miller and Marianne Gallagher, which offer a solid and balanced understanding of passenger regulation, the Irish famine emigration and the establishment of Grosse île.

That is not to say the re-publication of this diary is without merit. Whyte's account is fascinating on several scores. He is an articulate and literate observer who traces his voyage as an Irish emigrant from Ireland. Chronicling his way from the Dublin quay onto the ship, then out of the harbour, Whyte is an acute observer of his own experience. He provides believable and lifelike depictions of the ship's captain, his wife and the crew. In the first half of the book, we learn about the interaction of crew and passengers, how a stowaway was dealt with, the daily life and accommodation of the captain's quarters and of those in steerage, their work, play and religious activity aboard ship. Also described is the formation of a passenger committee, the outbreak of contagious disease and other interesting details. The diary further provides perceptive records of ongoing encounters with fishing and other vessels as the ship made its course along the coast of Newfoundland, into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and down the St. Lawrence River.

The second half of the book concerns the ship's quarantining at Grosse île. Comparing the state of Irish coffin ships to others, Whyte notes the wide differences in the condition of incoming vessels and their passengers at the quarantine station. He also observes the spread of sickness on his own ship among the crew and passengers, many of whom, including the captain, became its victims. These pages record the grim aspects of epidemics: loss of family, confusion, inaction and sometimes outright neglect. Whyte's frustration is particularly evident when quarantine rules were enforced or unenforced, sometimes arbitrarily, or when solutions were obvious, but little or nothing was done. This section also contains graphic portraits of the island's medical care, hospitals, and burial grounds.

In explaining these events, the book's cover cites "greedy captains and shipping agents" for the plight of Irish famine ships. This charge is not supported by Whyte himself, who calls the captain and his wife "worthy people" who exercised "unwonted kindness" not only to him but towards others. He also lauds the clergy and physicians who, incidentally, were usually government-appointed, for mitigating personal horrors and in saving lives. Even the Irish landlords are given the benefit of a doubt by Whyte for their "benevolence" in providing passage, though their motivations were also seen as economic and self-serving. Whyte questions whether emigration of this nature had ever been necessary, believing instead that it had proven economically expedient to landlords and Poor Law overseers to urge their charges overseas. He condemned the limited amount of food allotted per passenger, though those like himself who could pay were undoubtedly better treated and served. More specifically, he blamed the human congestion aboard ships for providing a breeding

ground of contagion and the inefficacy and occasional inhumanity of the quarantine system which allowed members of families to be involuntarily separated from another. It is for these reasons that Whyte demanded regulatory revision and proper enforcement of the passenger trade. Whether Whyte's account had any influence is unknown, but there is no doubt that the prevalence of such conditions and contemporary criticisms of passenger traffic, like his, did lead in the 1850s to several official investigations and major modifications to the Passenger Acts.

Arthur Johnson's *The Tragic Wreck of the Anglo Saxon* is another example of popular maritime history. A noted Newfoundland businessman, politician and president of the Newfoundland Historical Society, he compiled extensive documents on this wrecked emigrant vessel and wrote an unpublished manuscript before passing away in 1968. Now the manuscript has been edited and rewritten by Paul Johnson. Like the Whyte diary, there is much of interest here, though this deeply researched study takes the form of a narrative synthesis gleaning its information from an array of contemporary sources.

The Scottish-built 1,713-ton *Anglo Saxon,* owned by the Allan Line, set sail in 1863 for Quebec City with 350 passengers and a crew of eighty-six. It was a transitionary sailing vessel made of iron and powered by a 250-horsepower engine which propelled it to speeds of ten to twelve knots. This account, which provides detailed official and unofficial discussion of the disaster, blames the apparent disregard for passenger safety on the Allan Line, which suffered a number of shipwrecks in this era; it also blames the *Anglo Saxon's* captain for not reducing his speed sufficiently and for ignoring fog and other perilous sailing conditions. He was apparently anxious for his ship to arrive as soon as possible at Cape Race, there to forward the most recent news from Europe to the United States for the Associated Press via the local telegraph operator and thereby to earn himself some extra money. Instead, the ship was wrecked, at a cost of 237 lives, the worst recorded wreck on Newfoundland's coast (the *Titanic,* of course, having sunk at sea).

Johnson's study insightfully describes the ship, the Allan Line, the shipwreck, local community reaction and rescue efforts, government responses, salvage efforts, as well as public scrutiny of the event, including the full official report. In short, this book offers a wealth of detail that transcends any mere romantic or tragic interpretation of a shipwreck.

The book is not, however, without some minor shortcomings. Some details, such as the discovery eight years later of the wedding ring of one of the *Anglo-Saxon's* victims in the entrails of a cod, tend towards the historically trivial. Some statements are misleading (the "golden West" to which these emigrants were heading in 1863 meant the Canadas — Ontario and Quebec — not present-day western Canada. Hence, this book must be used with some caution. Like Whyte's diary, it is a very interesting "read" on a significant aspect of maritime traffic. It has, as yet, no equals among the handful of popular accounts written to date on the island's many recorded wrecks.

Rainer Baehre
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Robert Higgins. *The Wreck of the Asia: Ships, Shoals, Storms and a Great Lakes Survey.* Waterloo, ON: Escart Press, 1995. 100 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, glossary, bibliography, index. $ 13.95, paper; ISBN 0-9697144-4-0.

Since first learning the story of the wreck of the *Asia,* I have thought it would make a good book. 1 even hoped that this would be it. Alas, it is not.

Good shipwreck accounts set the event in a broader context. The reader wants to know how the various elements of the story were brought together on "the fateful night." We expect to have the history of the ship, her officers and crew, her passengers and cargo, the waters, and the risks. The best of the breed use the final chapter to give us a sense of the public outrage over the event and whether it was directed to any useful purpose. Indeed the layers of regulation which comprise the Canada Shipping Act could be read in dozens of coroners' inquests and inquiries of the Board of Steamboat Inspection and its successors.

Higgins has attempted to emulate this. Unfortunately there is almost no depth in the

results. For shipping background we are offered a list of thirteen shipping disasters (mostly Canadian-built vessels) between 1879 and 1882. The most detailed of these accounts is that of the tiny *Victoria,* which sank in the Thames River near London, Ontario, drowning some 181 people. Higgins notes that she had "a gross weight of just 44 tons. The combined weight of those on board would have been almost as great as that of the *Victoria* herself." (p. 18) Such egregious errors with respect to the meaning of "tonnage" in this era inspire little confidence.

When we come to the *Asia* herself, we are offered approximate measurements "taken from the marine registry for the *Lake Erie"* which, in theory, was the *Asia's* sister ship. These figures are used "because the dimensions of the *Asia* varied somewhat depending on the source consulted." In fact, such variances were unavoidable because a change in the aforementioned rules of tonnage required every Canadian Great Lakes steam vessel of the period to be remeasured in the 1870s. This does not warrant offering another ship's measurements. The chapter concludes with an extensive list of passengers found in the Parry Sound Library. Only a couple of names appear to have captured the author's attention for more than a sentence.

For the drama of the wreck we get extensive quotations of the statements of the survivors and a seven-bullet "recap." Three chapters summarize the conclusions of the two investigations, twelve paragraphs on the Georgian Bay Survey (which began the following season), and some quick notes from the obituaries of various participants. Those anxious for the heart of this information and who have James Barry's *Georgian Bay: An Illustrated History* would do almost as well to consult the captions on p. 121.

Of the production of the work, it can only be said that the page design is hideous and the reproductions of the photographs pedestrian. The selection of illustrations includes some dubious choices, including an admittedly nice broadsheet illustrating the opening of the Desjardins Canal in 1837.

I still think there is a good book to be written about the wreck of the *Asia.* This isn't it.

Walter Lewis
Acton, Ontario

John R. Bockstoce. *Whales, Ice, & Men: The History of Whaling in the Western Arctic.* New Bedford, 1986; second printing, with corrections, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995. 400 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, appendices (tables, figures, glossary), notes, bibliography, index. US $29.95, paper; ISBN 0-295-97447-8.

Margaret S. Creighton. *Rites & Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870.* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xiv + 233 pp., illustrations, photographs, appendices, tables, index. US $54.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-43336-3. US $17.95, paper 0-521-48448-0.

Commercial whaling in the Western (Pacific) Arctic began in 1848; by 1914, whaleships had made about 2,700 voyages to this ground. Bockstoce's book is *the* standard work on the history of this fishery. It originated in the request of the International Whaling Commission for an assessment of the impact of historic whaling upon today's whale stocks. Bockstoce and his co-workers extracted data on 66,000 days of observation, accounting for almost one fifth of the aggregate time all whaleships spent on this whaling ground. "In passing", Bockstoce took notes on about a thousand shipboard journals and logbooks, sometimes several of the same voyage, as well as many other documents. He also repeatedly travelled the area which has been the object of his scholarly pursue, participated in archaeological field work, and joined present-day Inuit whaling crews in the hunt. A more convincing, quasi-interdisciplinary approach of his subject cannot be imagined.

Whales, Ice and Men describes the shift of whaling entrepreneurship from the traditional New England whaling ports to San Francisco. It recounts the development of Arctic whaling and devotes special chapters to the setbacks caused by the US Civil War and by a sequence of natural catastrophes in the 1870s. Walrus hunting and trade with the Inuit of Alaska and the North Slope provided — at times - substantial additional income for the whalers even as they left their mark on the whale and walrus stocks. So did changes in the entrepreneurial pattern; with the decline of stocks, whaling ships began over-

wintering in the North in order to be present when the whales reappeared in the spring and before whale-ships steaming up from San Francisco could cross the ice barrier. Shore stations, manned mostly by natives, served the same purpose. The development of the market for Arctic whale products is treated in detail.

Several important appendices, a thorough index, plus the standard scholarly apparatus, including well-chosen and well-captioned illustrations, enhance the value of the book as a reference work. Ideally, Russian documents concerning the frequent contact and occasional friction between American whalers and Siberian natives would be included in such a study, but given the political situation at the time of Bockstoce's writing (1970s and '80s) that would have been to demand the impossible. The corrections announced for the second edition appear to be limited to typos and important reassessments concerning present-day whale stocks in the area. The bibliography has not been updated.

Rites & Passages by Margaret Creighton was published soon after Briton C. Busch's book *"Whaling Will Never Do For Me": The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Kentucky Press, 1994) and needs to be compared with the latter, since they both offer a social history of American whaling. Where they deal with the same aspects, the two studies arrive at very similar conclusions, though through substantially different methods and amounts of archival materials. Creighton looked at about a thousand ships' logs and treated only about two hundred in her study; Busch looked at 3,336 and treated about a thousand in his study! Busch's data base thus covers about one half of all the shipboard journals known to have survived in public collections out of the circa 14,000 recorded whaling voyages conducted under colonial and national flags.

Following an introduction to her theme, Creighton proceeds by describing how the perception of whaling by a "green hand" gradually was shaped in the course of the voyage - the picture the whaling trade people had ashore, the novice's experience of sailing day, the forecastle crew and their relation with the men aft, especially the Old Man, all leads to an interpretation of what Creighton calls "fraternity in the forecastle," the situation of "whaleman ashore," and the role of "gender and sex in the deepwater workplace." The afterword is dedicated to the experience of coming home from whaling.

It is emphasized repeatedly that crew lists of whaling voyages reveal a continuous turnover of youthful hands in the forecastle. In other words, most whalers went whaling only once, and usually at the age of the middle or late teens. *Creighton likens this to* a rite of passage. Apparently it is customary in sociology or cultural anthropology to look upon the patterns of modern labour-distributive societies in the same way as upon the ritual steps that accompany the process of aging in pre-modern societies. Thus, apprenticeship is compared to the "coming of age" ritual in a pre-modern civilization. I am in no position to refute this, but I doubt the potential of this method to improve our understanding of maritime and whaling history, because in fact these modified rites of passage can be found in any society or profession. This sociological approach is hermetic. Where Creighton speaks of "rejuvenation" (p. 155) through bouts of drinking or sex with native women, Busch uses the much handier (for us) term "escape" from the confinements of shipboard life. Busch's terminology also allows for aspects such as the exercise of religion, shipboard ceremonies, leisure activities which tighten the bond with people left at home, work stoppages, and desertion. For some of these aspects Creighton requires additional categories of interpretation. Brotherhood is a central notion in her study on forecastle society, but I fail to see this notion's merit when looking at what happens when this brotherhood dissolves, as when the voyage ends. Certainly the men who went whaling sought other experience than this of forecastle brotherhood, in part simply because they gradually moved aft and rose in rank. Creighton's afterword deals with these avocational whalemen and sheds some light on the women and families they left at home.

Both Busch's and Creighton's book add substantial detail to our knowledge of life and labour in the American whaling industry. Busch's work is by far the better book, not only on account of its more exhaustive research and its not being burdened with sociological jargon, but also because it addresses a few more aspects, such as shipboard discipline, and

because it is better organized. Creighton's "bibliography" is hidden in the footnotes, quite an offense to the reader/buyer who pays almost twice as much for this study as for the other. For whaling historians Creighton's book is a useful, though not indispensable supplement to Busch's seminal work.

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Diane Frost (ed.). *Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Ethnic Seafarers in the UK*. London: Frank Cass, 1995. 146 pp., tables, maps. US $35, paper; ISBN 0-7146-4185. Distributed by International Specialized Book Services, Portland, OR.

Although conspicuous in the photographic record of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century crews working out of British ports, Africans and Asians have been ignored in the writing on the British merchant marine. Redressing that neglect is the task of contributors to this volume. They tackle itinerant and more settled groups over a period from the eighteenth century to post World War II. These seafarers were vital to the expansion of British imperial trade. Yet they were treated at best ambivalently, at worst reprehensibly, by the business and state agencies which had in them a source of cheap labour. The increasing effectiveness of national trade unionism in the twentieth century by no means provided the remedy to their inferior work conditions and lower wage rates. The National Union of Seamen and its forerunners were not free of racism.

This is, then, a singularly inglorious aspect of British maritime history. For an introduction to the issues together with an overview of the history of coloured labour on British merchant vessels Tony Lane's paper is to be recommended. It might well have been placed earlier in the volume. Notwithstanding the editor's attempts to provide context in her introduction, it is not until Lane's essay (the penultimate one) that the scope, dimensions and character of the non-European presence in the British merchant marine is evident. Making the general picture clearer does not detract from Lane's more specific argument. Intriguingly, he suggests that the Coloured Seamen's Order of 1925 emanated from the racist fears of local government officials and was counteracted by central government from its larger concerns that cutting off sources of employment might imperil stability in the empire.

Several other essays remark on the link between work shortage in seafaring in trade depression with an increase in racial tension. Diane Frost and Marika Sherwood each deal with the West Africa seamen who went to Liverpool as crew members on Elder Dempster vessels. Frost contrasts the reputation of the Kru as good seamen with their poor wages and conditions, noting especially how precarious their employment prospects were. Sherwood details the company's four-tier scale of war-time wages which afforded Nigerians recruited in Nigeria the lowest wages and Africans signed on in Freetown the next lowest. Africans employed at Liverpool were the highest paid of native wage-earners, but they still earned less than white seamen. These disparities led to strikes by the Africans in the 1940s which pitted them against the company, the war-time government and the union which had assented to the unequal wage rates.

Neil Evans and David Byrne each set out to explain the antipathy towards coloured seamen in British ports in the inter-war period with reference to broader events. Evans acknowledges the influence of the Rediker-Linebaugh thesis of the radical internationalism of Atlantic seafaring, but his connections are more conventionally forged. He links risings in the West Indies with the riots of 1919; the post-war crisis in policing the empire with the growth of racism at home. Racial segregation was an issue because of the white population's fear of miscegenation. On this theme Byrne documents the initial difficulties Arabs faced when they sought out English wives. He concludes that public acclaim of the Arab seafarers' role in World War II worked to remove much of the discrimination they had previously experienced.

Fred Halliday concentrates on the links Arab seafarers maintained in Yemen even as they worked out of South Shields. The juxtaposition of two culturally distinct worlds in these seafarers' lives is fascinating. Most important he shows how the agents who were responsible for

the supply of Arab seafarers used the closeness of a transplanted community to frustrate official attempts to control immigration. He better than Norma Myers restores agency to a group too readily seen as victims. Myers' claim to illuminate the resourcefulness of Lascar seamen set adrift in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century London amounts to documenting a very few cases of men selling the clothing and bedding provided by the East India Company. If the difficulties of tracing these most itinerant seafarers in a way which gives them a voice ultimately defeats her, there is, nevertheless, some illumination of the "forgotten" seamen in her essay.

The collection makes an interesting beginning to the study of ethnicity and the British merchant marine. I hope it will be read in North America, though the formidable price for a slim paperback will undoubtedly deter casual readers.

Valerie Burton
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Chris Friday. *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994. viii + 276 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, appendix (tables), notes, index. US $34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-56639-139-3. US $19.95, paper; ISBN 1-56639-398-1.

"From the time when Ah Shing stood along the processing line at George Hume's cannery on the Columbia River in 1870 until unionist Dyke Miyagawa left for the internment camps early *[sic]* in World War II, Asian immigrants and Asian Americans were not content to 'rest in peace.' Their actions were central in an industry that epitomized the complexities of labour in the American West — heavy reliance on extractive enterprises, tremendous ethnic diversity, and rapid economic and social change." (p. 195) Thus concludes this new labour history published in Temple's series on Asian American History and Culture. Chris Friday, who teaches history at Western Washington University, combines traditional labour-history approaches and subjects (males, unionization, shop-floor politics, labour aristocracy, and class-based analysis) with important new ones emerging within social and labour history (race — he prefers the term "ethnicity" —, gender, agency, and non-unionized settings).

Friday presents a story of the successive generations of Asians and Asian Americans — Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino, in that order — who, under what he calls "ethnically-based" contracts, dominated plant work in the seasonal fish-packing plants that tapped the ocean salmon-fishing grounds in American territory from Northern California to Northern Alaska. Some evidence about workers in the early plants in British Columbia, in New Westminster (Japanese women) and Steveston (Chinese men) is included. Canadian policies on fisheries, labour, Asian immigration, international markets, aboriginal rights, and foreign diplomacy, and the Canadian Pacific coastal environment and salmon supply, differed considerably from those of the United States, of course. But in both countries, salmon-canning was the single industry in which Chinese and Japanese were strongly represented.

Maintaining this was the Chinese contract system. The Chinese contract was, it must be emphasized, an essential, complex system of mobilizing, outfitting, organizing, and supervising labour in a short-season, cyclical industry with scattered plant locations, and not simply a reference to the racial origins of the labour supply or labour boss. In British Columbia, for example, Indian (and after 1900 on the Fraser River, Japanese) women made up the bulk of the so-called "China Crews" before World War II; they worked under a Chinese contract and the nominal supervision of a "China Boss," but Indian (or Japanese) recruiters of the fishing crews hired them. In British Columbia, the labour and social history of shore-work is intimately linked to that of the fishing sector.

What Professor Friday has produced updates and greatly extends a thin list of previous work on the American salmon-canning industry. The struggle to unionize the industry is the author's ultimate interest, and the strength of his book, but he also demonstrates the effectiveness and longevity of the Chinese contract system, which organized cannery labour for about sixty years *before* unionization occurred in 1937 (in the United States). Of the book's eight chapters, the first four are devoted to the Chinese con-

tracts, contractors, and labour in the early years in Oregon and Washington State. After a slow beginning, the story really picks up by chapters four and five, when the industry is more advanced and geographically extensive and the historical sources more sophisticated. The research on relations between the Chinese and Japanese contractors, sub-contractors, and plant-workers presents a fresh look at the way in which racially and ethnically diverse workers and labour leaders, whether old to the job or recently arrived, carve out a niche and accommodate each other over the long haul, both on the job and in home communities.

In the 1930s — a fearful time in the industrial world, and a terrifying time for single Asian male workers on the Pacific Coast of North America — the old contract system collapsed in the salmon canneries of the United States and Alaska in favour of unions. The author has many interesting things to say about this process, but the real gem, in my view, appears in the last chapter, which explores the working out of the new union contracts that replaced traditional contracts. The salmon-canning companies insisted that union locals function much like the labour contractors had. This is not surprising, if one considers that the old (Chinese) contract system was so well suited to the unusual geography and production requirements of this industry.

I commend the author for his fine historical analysis of the sequential labour entrance on a multi-racial economic and social frontier. In his complex examination of the ethnic bonds and divisions that became everyday reality in the salmon-canning industry, Chris Friday convincingly illustrates that common cause and frustration could divide members of one race socially or politically in the plant, but bring them together in their home communities (and *vice versa).* Racial/ethnic divisions on the Pacific Coast were both fired and tempered by the timing of arrival and numerical representation in the workplace of the various groups, the ethnicity of the labour bosses, and national and international factors well beyond the control of local labour and industry.

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Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen (eds.). *Racism and the Labour Market: Historical Studies.* International and Comparative Social History, No. 1; Bern and New York: Peter Lang in association with the International Institute of Social History, 1995. 648 pp., figures, tables. US $78.95, hardcover; ISBN 3-906753-95-6.

As an historian interested in the function of labour markets, I looked forward with a keen sense of anticipation to the twenty-three essays in *Racism and the Labour Market,* not least because the relationship between racism and the allocation of labour has been too little explored. Yet for the most part the experience of reading the papers was unsettling. Far from helping the reader to understand the "historical interdependencies between racism and the dynamics of labour markets," the book is curiously uneven, often telling us more about the politics of scholarly terminology than its professed topic.

It did not have to be this way; it ought to have been possible to attract a group of scholars who could have begun to shed light on this important question. But rather than asking contributors to explore the nexus "between racist ideologies and the dynamics of labour markets," they were instructed "to place this exchange in a broader context." This was admirable but frequently led to a loss of focus. The context often was more etymological than historical and dealt more with racism than markets.

The problem is exemplified by the "contextual" introductory essay by Dik van Arkel, whose seminal *Antisemitism in Austria* still rewards reading thirty years after its publication. However, van Arkel's essay says virtually nothing about markets (even in the sub-section on "Racist Attitudes on the Labour Market"). Instead, most of its thirty-three pages are devoted to various ideologies that underpin racist thought. Having set the wrong tone at the outset, what follows is too often depressingly predictable. Since space does not permit a discussion of every essay, I would like to focus on two with significant maritime components: Eric Arnesen's "'It Ain't Like They Do in New Orleans': Race, Relations, Labour Markets, and Waterfront Labour Movements in the American South, 1880-1923," and Bernard A. Cook's, "The Use of Race to Control the Labor Market

in Louisiana."

Scholars interested in longshoremen will doubtless know Arnesen's *Waterfront Workers of New Orleans,* one of the most penetrating studies of American dockside labour to appear in recent years and a book from which I learned a great deal. To be fair, 1 also learned much from this essay, although I gleaned precious little about the labour market. This is because Arnesen discusses, often with great insight, the impact of "each port's economy" and "the nature of its employment structure" on the emergence of biracial unionism. That this is an important topic is not in dispute, but the notion that it tells us much about the relationship between racism and the labour market stretches credulity.

Even worse is Cook's contribution which, among other topics, examines the New Orleans dock strikes of 1907 and 1923. That this essay is idiosyncratic is apparent in the opening sentence, where the author writes that "the labour market of the slave system bred racism." To link markets with slavery while simultaneously suggesting that the use of "slave labor in New Orleans...to lower the wages of free working people" was a significant factor in the gestation (as opposed to the exacerbation) of racial prejudice is downright silly. Equally worrisome is the fact that Cook used Arnesen's earlier work solely to document a minor point about the alleged practice of rotating the presidency of the Dock and Cotton Council between whites and blacks. Moreover, a main point of the essay — that decent employment opportunities for all workers would serve as a significant antidote to racism — betrays a superficiality that ought to scare even those most enamoured of monocausal explanations.

Having attended a conference sponsored by the International Institute of Social History, I hold it — and Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen — in great esteem. If previous experience were an infallible guide, *Racism and the Labour* market would be indispensable. That it is not, even in the hands of such proven masters, reminds us of the difficulty of pulling together so ambitious an endeavour.

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Shelley Wachsmann. *The Sea of Galilee Boat: An Extraordinary 2000 Year Old Discovery.* New York and London: Plenum Press, 1995. xvi + 420 pp., photographs, maps, figures, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US $24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-306-44950-1.

This book tells the story of the discovery and salvage of the most unique artifact ever found in the Kinneret or the Sea of Galilee — a 2,000-year-old fishing boat. The author, Dr. Schelly Wachsmann, was the leading nautical archaeologist of the expedition, and he skilfully presents the events prior to the dig, during the fieldwork as well as the aftermath, including the conservation process of the boat, as an extraordinary adventure. Wachsmann thanks the many people who shared in this experience, beginning with the two amateur archaeologists who had found the boatwreck, the digging crew, the professional scholars engaged in studying and conserving the boat and the archaeological finds found with it; he even thanks the illustrators. It is therefore surprising that Wachsmann ignores Kurt Raveh of the Inspectorate of Underwater Antiquities of Israel's Department of Antiquities and Museums, who was his partner for twenty years and therefore an equal collaborator in the project.

The first seven chapters deal directly with the fieldwork, starting with the problem of the identification of the historic authenticity of the boat and problems involving the preparation and accomplishing of such an unusual expedition. This is followed by discussion of the technical aspects of the excavation, masterfully interwoven with the history of the Kinneret and of its research, speculation about the history of the boat till its end, Christian seafaring in the Kinneret during the lifetime of the boat as revealed by the Gospels — could it have been Jesus' boat? Chapters four and five focus on the construction techniques of old boats, together with a preliminary study of the hull of the Kinneret boat and its shipwrights. This is followed by a discussion of Jewish seafaring in the Kinneret during that period — did the boat take part in Jewish naval battles against the Romans? Finally, the challenge of lifting the boat in one piece on land, with the problematic logistics involved, is described.

The last part of the book deals with the

aftermath of the excavation. Through a general discussion of the archaeologist's desk work, Wachsmann shows how the history of a find is reconstructed, using the Kinneret boat as a demonstration. The ninth chapter deals with the conservation process of the boat, and this is followed by discussion of the graphic reconstruction of the boat — its shape, dimensions and capacity, as well as its comparison to similar contemporary craft, including iconographie finds. In the next chapter, the author brings forth more evidence for dating the boat and the term of its life. In the last chapter, the author presents his conclusions thus far about the history of the boat since its construction till its end, including its shipwrights and possible owners, and the history of its hull since its desertion until its discovery in the 1980s. An epilogue comments on the future Wachsmann sees for this unique artifact.

Wachsmann is successful at presenting a dry official report in popular language, thereby enabling laymen as well as unspecialized scholars to look into the fascinating world of underwater archaeology. A useful terminological glossary with proper drawings assists readers through the arcane language of archaeology. Despite this popular approach, the author also maintains a satisfactory academic level with chapter reference notes and a bibliography. I would certainly recommend the book to students specialized in underwater archaeology.

Ruthi Gertwagen
Qiriat Motzkin, Israel

Birthe L. Clausen (ed.). *Viking Voyages to North America. Roskilde:* ***Viking*** *Ship Museum, 1993* [order from: Vikingeskibshallen i Roskilde, Strandengen, Postbox 298, 4000 Roskilde, Denmark]. 126 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, figures, sources. DKr 125 (+ postage), paper; ISBN 87-85180-24-6.

In 1992 the Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde, Denmark presented an exhibition and published this book on Norse voyages to North America as a reminder that Europeans set foot on that continent many centuries before Columbus. *Viking Voyages to North America* presents more than a dozen essays by Canadian and Danish specialists in medieval Norse voyaging, including Birgitta Wallace, Robert McGhee, Max Vinner, Peter Schledermann, and Soren Thirslund to name but a few. Together they examine the documentary and archaeological evidence, ship and navigation technology, the human landscape and the physical and meteorological environment of the North Atlantic at the end of the first Christian millennium.

Though written independently of one another, the articles share a consensus about the nature and significance of the Norse voyages. Thus, we are told more than once that the name "Vinland" probably referred to the general region of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and that the Norse habitation at L'Anse aux Meadows was a seasonal work camp perched strategically at the water entrance to the Gulf. Similarly, there is agreement that the "skraellings" were most likely Algonkian Indians, not Inuit. Commendable emphasis is placed on the role Greenland played in Norse voyages to North America - "proper" because, for the most part, the efforts to establish a foothold in Vinland were based in Greenland, and because the failure of those efforts had much to do with the social, economic, political and environmental conditions in Greenland. Other chapters provide a retrospective of Vinland research over the past 160 years, a reassessment of the Vinland map, and a survey of the many fake traces of the Norse in America (including the infamous Kensington Rune stone, the Newport tower, and the Beardmore artifacts).

Those interested in the nautical dimension of the Norse experience with Vinland will be intrigued by Knud Frydendahl's analysis of *climate and wind patterns on the oceanic* route between medieval Europe and Greenland, by Max Vinner's discussion of the seaworthiness of Norse merchant vessels (based not only on analysis of surviving sources but also on the experience of *Saga Siglar,* a replica of a Norse *knar),* and by Soren Thirslund's analysis of Norse navigational devices and abilities.

Few of the conclusions presented here will significantly alter our perception of the Norse voyages. Rather, *Viking Voyages* presents a summary of the current state of scholarship in a single convenient volume which, in its price, its language, and its abundance of photographs and

illustrations, makes that scholarship accessible to a large audience. An excellent bibliography is provided for those wishing to learn more about medieval Norse voyages. Only the absence of an index mars this otherwise excellent paperback.

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Ian Friel. *The Good Ship: Ships, Shipbuilding and Technology in England 1200-1520.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. 208 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, figures, tables, notes, glossary, bibliography, appendix, index. US $35.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8018-5202-1.

The central theme of Ian Friel's *The Good Ship* is change in shipbuilding technology in England during the three centuries from 1200 to 1520. But instead of being a dry technological history of ships the author has crafted a highly readable yet entirely scholarly study in which he deftly and authoritatively leads us through the world of later medieval English shipbuilding, discussing the major innovations it went through within the broader European context. This handsome volume, which includes much new archival research and is equipped with notes, a glossary and extensive bibliography, is made all the more accessible thanks to numerous illustrations: manuscript illuminations, seals, carvings, photographs, maps and other line drawings.

The book begins with an introduction (Chapter 1, "Evidence") in which, like many writers of historical works of this genre, Friel clearly sets out the evidence on which his study is based, principally pictorial and documentary but also some archaeological, and assesses the "strengths and weaknesses" of the sources available for the study of English ships and shipbuilding during the Middle Ages. Chapters 2 and 3, "Ships and shipmen" and "Building a ship," survey the nature of royal and private shipowning as well as the types, sizes and numbers of ships referred to in English records, and follow the process of shipbuilding from the assembly of materials and manpower at shipyard sites through to the time of launching. In so doing the author reconstructs the geographical origins of craftsmen and building supplies, the types and organisation of shipyard sites and the economics of shipbuilding.

Following this assessment of social and economic factors behind the shipbuilding industry, chapters 4 and 5, "Hulls and castles" and "Motive power," focus on the construction and rigging of single-masted, square-rigged ships in thirteenth and fourteenth century England. All the "parts of a medieval ship," from steering gear to masts and spars and ropes and sails are described, as are certain changes in design such as the decline of the side rudder. These two "technical" chapters are complemented by Chapter 6, "Life, work and equipment on board." Chapters 7 and 8, "Ships for trade" and "Ships for war," effectively outline the demand for ships and uses to ***which they were put;*** merchant shipping is placed in the context of English sea trade from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, while a description of both sailing and oared English fighting ships is given in relation to their changing role in medieval naval warfare.

Having set out the characteristics and evolution of later medieval English ship construction, in the final two chapters of *The Good Ship* Friel concentrates on two fundamental technological improvements which occurred in England principally in the fifteenth century: the phasing out of the single-masted square-rigger with the adoption of the lateen rig and development of ships with two or more masts; and the change from clinker to carvel (or skeleton) construction. In Chapter 9 ("Inventions or Accidents?") he addresses the question of how these significant improvements came about while in Chapter 10 ("At the edge of the Ocean") the outcome of these technological changes, the oceanic sailing ship, is brought on to the sixteenth-century stage where it was to play such a vital role in European voyages of exploration and in the fledgling European navies.

The Good Ship would be a welcome addition to the libraries of specialists and interested laymen alike, and both the author and the publisher are to be commended for producing this fine contribution to the technological, shipping and economic history of medieval England.

Michael Barkham
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Geoffrey V. Scammell. *Ships, Oceans and Empire: Studies in European maritime and colonial history, J400-1750.* Variorium Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, Hampsh. and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995. viii + 278 pp., addenda and corrigenda, index. US $80.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-475-4.

This volume reprints fourteen articles by a distinguished authority on early-modern European maritime history. The author and publisher are to be congratulated on bringing together an impressive collection of studies, originally published in a wide range of journals, on three continents, between 1961 and 1993. The studies reprinted here do not exhaust Dr. Scammell's article-length contributions to maritime studies, but a reader will be able to ascertain the main lines of his interests and contributions, and find herein much of enduring value.

The studies fall into two broad categories. Most focus upon shipowning, seamanship, and seamen from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, with particular attention to England. This is an area which Scammell has made uniquely his own. Many of these contributions have stood the test of time and remain the best (and in several instances the latest) scholarship within the field. In particular, one might single out "Manning the English merchant service in the sixteenth century" (1970), "Shipowning in the economics and politics of early modern England" (1972), "European seamanship in the great age of discovery" (1982), and "The sinews of war: manning and provisioning English fighting ships, c.1550-1650" (1987). While English maritime history figures prominently in this volume, we find here, as well, the author's study of Portuguese seafaring, including his "European shipowning in the Estado da India, 1500-1700" (1989). The essays within this section uniformly reveal the author's clarity of purpose, systematic knowledge of the sources, and his concern to comprehend the economic history in its broadest sense of England's domestic maritime industry and of Europe's developing involvement with distant oceans.

The second group of studies revolve around the expansive themes of early-modern imperialism and the intellectual consequences of the expanding European world. These essays range from "The new worlds and Europe in the sixteenth century" (1969) to "The Columbian legacy" (1993). As Scammell himself recognizes, this work might be considered mere drops within an ocean of published scholarship on these topics, and he has elsewhere written at length on related themes, not least in *The World Encompassed: The First European Maritime Empires c.800-1650* (1981), and *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400-1715* (1989). We find, thus, a fairly high degree of repetition, and the author's sweeping vision can at times be brought down to earth with sharp criticism ofthe alleged cause-and-effect relationships. Yet this is only to state that the work remains worth reading and worth criticizing. In general, Scammell's interpretation reinforces a pessimistic vision of European expansion: it emphasizes the ways in which narrow-minded and tradition-bound Europeans failed to rise to the challenge of new worlds in anything other than a materialistic sense. Here, too, we find important contributions to the role of indigenous assistance in the erection and maintenance of Portuguese commercial power in Asia. The implicit message is that money mattered and that Europeans in the age of expansion were better at acquiring it and justifying measures necessary for acquisition than in lofty or distinguished visions of the expanding world. This underlying interest in the economics of maritime life and maritime empire binds together the diverse pieces of scholarship in this volume. The collection is a fitting legacy from a prominent senior scholar of European maritime studies.

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Palmira Brummett. *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. xvi + 285 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-7914-1702-6.

Inspired by the work of Halil Inalcik, Frederick C. Lane, Eliyahou Ashtor and Andrew Hess, Palmira Brummett has produced a work which challenges and extends the work of these scholars. Brummett begins with the query, "What if

the Ottomans had discovered America? or, more to the point, what if the Ottomans had colonized America? Moral supremacy, gunpowder, talent, resources, that intangible ethos of empire — all the factors assembled which comprise the historiographie success formula were the Ottoman's preserve at the turn of the sixteenth century."

Brummett quickly moves from conjecture to the concrete as she systematically examines the era encompassing the reigns of Ottoman sultans Bayezid II (1481 -1510) Selim I (1512-1520) and the early years of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). A series of struggles dominates the diplomatic focus of the period. In Iran the Savafid Shah Ismail (1501-1524) generated a fanatical Shi'ite following which was loyal to a man who had been elevated to invincible status. The rapid growth of Safavid power at the turn of the sixteenth century was a direct threat to the Ottomans as Shah Ismail proposed to assume the leadership of the Islamic world.

South from Istanbul were the Mamluks at Cairo. Their leadership of the Muslim world and control of the routes and pilgrims to the holy shrines of Islam at Mecca, Medina or Jerusalem added status to long-established authority. The Ottomans wanted those elements of control and power, but as Brummett makes clear throughout her study, they also wanted the economic dominance of the eastern trade routes that accompanied this power. The Ottoman struggle with their Safavid and Mamluk neighbours was not primarily over religious issues. Rather, the Ottomans were focused on an economic policy of expansion which dictated much of their policy and practice. This was expressed in the building of a strong navy, efforts to control routes for the *hajj,* domination of key ports, and the neutralization by conflict or treaty of the competing interests of the Venetians in the eastern Mediterranean and the Portuguese in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Bayezid II began construction of a fleet of four hundred ships while he reorganized the navy in the early years of his reign. Two hundred of these vessels were galleys with large cannon. While the superior quality of Ottoman armament is noted, Brummett emphasizes the attention paid by the Ottomans to the copper trade to assure a supply of metal for bronze cannon founding and the maintenance of large fleets to challenge the Venetians and Portuguese in a "two-ocean" conflict. The resources of the Anatolian forests for lumber and naval stores were recognized and carefully controlled to assure ship construction would not suffer due to shortages of materials. The Mamluks were forced to negotiate from a weakened position for lack of access to timber reserves.

Space does not permit a detailed examination of the diplomatic webs spun out of Topkapi Palace to provide leverage for Ottoman expansionist policies. Venetian diplomatic reports, Portuguese records and Ottoman state records are used to paint a picture of intrigue and ambition steered by an Ottoman commitment to achieve "world" hegemony. This control did extend from the Balkans to India and Iran to North Africa.

While much of the author's focus is on diplomacy where the sources are readily abundant, a substantial part of the volume is devoted to the rise of Ottoman sea power. The glossary identifies ship types, one chapter is devoted to Ottoman naval development, and two chapters on the Aegean and the east centre on the important grain trade and its constant companion — piracy. The Ottoman efforts to team with Venetians and others to curtail piracy reinforces Brummett's thesis that the Ottomans were indeed driven by economic factors and aspired to "world" hegemony which required a powerful navy. Ibn Khaldun, a great fourteenth-century traveller and scholar, noted in his *Muqaddimah* a prediction from the Maghreb which asserted that one day the Muslims must defeat the Christians abroad on the sea. The Ottomans fulfilled this prophecy in the sixteenth century.

Brummett's approach demands a reframing of sixteenth-century history which moves the Ottoman Empire to the forefront of expansionist activity with the seaborne empires of Western Europe. The author presents a challenging thesis supported by extensive documentation. Those teaching or studying the Age of Discovery should certainly examine *Ottoman Seapower* alongside Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese or English seapower. There is much of value in this work.

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Richard Hough. *Captain James Cook: A Biography.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994. xviii + 398 pp., illustrations, maps, b+w plates,appendices, references, index. US $29.95, Cdn $37.99, cloth; ISBN 0-393-03680-4. Distributed in Canada by Penguin Books Canada.

Although James Cook is one of the most celebrated and examined figures in British maritime history, it is worth noting again the scale of his accomplishments, if only to clarify why so many scholars have re-trodden the ground of his life to produce biography after biography of the man. Born the son of a Scottish farm labourer in 1728, Cook found himself called to the sea, and, after rising to some success in the North Sea collier trade, volunteered for the Navy at the beginning of the Seven Years' War. He excelled as a seaman and as a responsible leader of men, but it was his interest in and mastery of the art of surveying during the British Conquest of Canada that led to a formative experience charting the coast of Newfoundland, and from which he was selected to take out an expedition of scientific observation and geographical investigation to the South Pacific in 1768. The success of that voyage led to his command of two others. By the time of his death at the hands of islanders in Hawai'i in 1779, Cook had essentially established the bounds and contents of the Pacific Ocean in European knowledge.

Cook remains an enigmatic figure because of the dearth of personal documents; his journals were factual and reserved, and more than one biographer has sought to build a picture of the man through inferences from the journals and from the recollections of others. At first glance, Hough's handsome and detailed book seems to meet the highest criteria for such portraiture since J.C. Beaglehole's definitive study, and is far more colourfully written. It provides a highly detailed life story in warm and expressive prose which is nonetheless informed by every bit as much scholarship as Beaglehole. Like the New Zealander, Hough wandered the world to visit the actual sites of the events of Cook's life, and married this with what appears to be sound archival and secondary research to support his interpretations. And for the most part these seem cogent, insightful, and supportable. But then Hough surprises the reader with assertions which seem beyond his power to make. Thus, he asserts that when Cook first put to sea in the collier *Freelove,* "he had never been happier in his life." Likely this is true, but how does one prove it? Later, on his selection to command the first voyage to the Pacific, we are informed that "it was to be the fulfilment of the great dream [Cook] had enjoyed...during the years when he carried coals from Whitby to London." Again, how can one prove this assertion?

There are other irritations with the book: 1764 is given twice as 1774; "futtock" is written as "puttock"; Louisbourg is given as Louisburg; and spruce essence is described as a potent alcoholic drink rather than a mild but effective anti-scorbutic. And a last but not immaterial doubt surrounds Hough's claim that there was an easygoing approach to homosexuality during the voyage, asserting that there was "certainly some buggery and sharing of hammocks," which he asserts was "so widely practiced on long voyages that it was taken for granted if reasonable discretion was observed." Hough may have documentary evidence for this remarkable claim which would be useful to examine, and to see corroborating evidence from known authorities such as N.A.M. Rodger, as it suggests a very different set of values and dynamics within an eighteenth-century naval vessel than expected. The practicalities of a "widely practiced" homosexuality in a cramped sailing vessel utterly without privacy are hilariously challenging enough to the mind's eye, not to mention the introduction of jealousies, rivalries and all the attendant emotionality of sexual intimacy which, if present, must cause us to reconsider the likely form of human relations in the vessels of Anson, Cook, and Nelson, and the complexities of the floating societies they commanded. If Jack Tar was in the habit of lustfully pursuing his messmates around the ship after a few weeks at sea, Churchill's assertion that the traditions of the Royal Navy were "rum, sodomy, and the lash" may be more accurate than not. But Hough will have to give us more information before we reexamine what Nelson's "band of brothers" was all about, beyond seamanship and professional camaraderie. Kiss me, Hardy....

Victor Suthren
Ottawa, Ontario

Robert F. Jones (ed.). *Aslorian Adventure: The Journal of AlfredSeton, 1811-1815.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1993. x + 221 pp., maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. US $25, cloth; ISBN 0-8232-1503-2.

In 1947, a water-damaged and mouse-eaten journal by Alfred Seton, a clerk in John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company, was discovered in Washington Irving's home in Tarrytown, New York. Irving probably brought the journal to his home when he wrote *Astoria,* chronicling Astor's bold efforts to set up a fur empire based on the west coast. Until its discovery, most historians thought that Irving only had access to the journals of Wilson Hunt and Robert Stuart.

Few except conservators had access to the text until 1961 when a typed version was compiled by Wayne Kime, a former employee of the Irving estate. That version was not well known. Publication of this edition by Fordham University Press therefore makes this valuable text available to all fur trade historians.

Seton signed on as a young clerk on the Astor ship *Beaver* which was to resupply the new settlement at Astoria. His journal covers his relatively uneventful voyage (including the obligatory Sandwich Island stopover) from his New York departure in October 1811 to his arrival at Astoria in May 1812. There he learned that the *Tonquin,* whose people had set up Astoria a year previously, had been destroyed in a native attack in June 1811. As an aside, it should perhaps be pointed out that the vessel's final, resting place has eluded many searchers, including this reviewer, notwithstanding the details provided in Seton's account, several other Astoria journals, and two sea logbooks. It is not, however, likely to be in Clayoquot Sound as Seton writes!

Seton left Astoria at the end of June 1812 to explore fur trading areas along the Snake River, with an Astor partner, Donald McKenzie. Returning in January 1813, Seton made sporadic trading trips. However, Astoria's trading days were limited, and on 16 October 1813, Seton witnessed the sale of the post. Seton left Astoria in March 1814 aboard the brig *Pedlar* under command of Wilson Hunt from Astor's overland expedition. After stops in Alaska and California, Seton's journal ends in Panama where malaria delayed his trip home. Upon his return to New York, Seton went into business, leaving behind his life on the frontier.

Seton's account is rich in the personal detail of the Astoria expedition and fur trading life, but told from the distance of an inexperienced clerk from a rich family. He was critical of Astorians, so that disdain for "babbling frenchmen" and "the damned nonsenses of my...comrades" permeates his writing. He therefore considered John Jacob Astor as "very fortunate in getting rid of the business with so little loss." Yet, had Astor's dreams of empire succeeded, there might well not have been a "British" Columbia.

As with all such publications, editing makes or breaks a journal. In this instance, Robert Jones has produced a fine book which makes an important contribution to Pacific Northwest history. It is carefully edited, with well-researched biographical notes on Astor and Seton, detailed footnotes, a full index and modest illustrations. The journal is also a fine read with a good story for anyone with an interest in the fur trade.

Tom Beasley
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Harold D. Langley. *A History of Medicine in the Early U.S. Navy.* Baltimore, M D : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. xxi + 435 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US $49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8018-4876-8.

Although readers of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century maritime history are familiar with diseases such as scurvy and the primitive operations - mostly amputations - by naval surgeons labouring amidst the gloom and gore of the orlop deck during sea battles, much less is known about the actual practice of medicine, on the subject of health care at sea, and on the complexities of naval health administration. Harold Langley examines medicine in the United States Navy from the time of the construction of the first frigates in 1794 up to 1842 with the establishment of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. Through painstaking research involving the few remaining casebooks, correspondence, and other partial records, Langley has reconstructed the careers of early naval surgeons who served in hospital installations ashore and in sea-going duty that took some of

them into the Mediterranean and on expeditions that ranged as far abroad as the Pacific Ocean. Despite their education and training, naval surgeons complained about chronic low pay, lack of adequate recognition, and poor conditions aboard ships and in hospitals ashore. Some surgeons become bored or disaffected, found solace in bouts of heavy drinking, swore at or beat their servants, and a few even conceived ways to embezzle naval funds. Throughout the period, the Congress was parsimonious to the extreme in its treatment of the navy, voting only limited funding for medical personnel, hospitals, and surgical instruments. During the 1820s, naval surgeons who earned less than army doctors, bemoaned the fact that other nations (including Mexico) paid their medical officers higher salaries.

Langley employs a topical-chronological approach to examine major naval activities and to survey health care, hospitals, social welfare of seamen, and the growth of professionalism in the medical field. Commencing in the 1790s, American warships patrolled the Mediterranean where Barbary raiders attacked merchant ships and held American prisoners for ransom. During the so-called Quasi-War with France, the navy required additional surgeons who had received training from American colleges and universities. In the War of 1812 against Britain — a defining moment for the American navy — naval surgeons participated in the bloody duels between frigates, the hard-fought campaigns on the Great Lakes, the raids into the English Channel, and in operations even further afield such as that of Captain David Porter with *Essex* against British whalers in the Pacific Ocean. By the end of the war, the navy had fifty-three surgeons and seventy-five surgeon's mates on its rolls.

Up to the 1840s, diseases killed more American naval personnel than combat or accidents. Patrols and operations in the Caribbean brought crews into contact with yellow fever, malaria, and other tropical diseases. In 1803, Surgeon George Balfour of *Constellation* bled his yellow fever patients copiously, applied powerful cathartics such as jalap to keep their bowels open, and treated them with nitric acid and mercurial ointments. Remarkably, many of his patients survived blood loss and other negative side effects to recover their health. Through the Barbary wars, dysentery, diarrhoea, typhus, and other diseases reduced American crews in expeditions to the Mediterranean and forced the Unites States government to open a provisional naval hospital at Minorca. Examining each theatre in the War of 1812, Langley presents graphic descriptions of the treatments employed by medical officers to heal the injured.

Despite inadequate government funding, leading naval surgeons such as Edward Cutbush helped to professionalize the medical service. Cutbush published a study on disease prevention and treatment of sickness at sea, and later advised on medical policies from his post at the Washington Naval Yard. Surgeon Usher Parsons published an influential volume, *The Sailor's Physician,* in 1820 in which he classified diseases and recommended remedies available to naval surgeons. By the 1830s, most American naval vessels were relatively healthy. The expedition of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes [1838-42] to the tropical Pacific and into Antarctic waters tested medical preparedness in a variety of extreme climates. Naval surgeons made smallpox vaccination compulsory, administered lemon juice to combat scurvy, and issued heavy clothing to seamen during the Antarctic forays. There were cases of dysentery, venereal disease, and some accidents caused by cold and fatigue, but the expedition lost only seven men to disease.

Langley's outstanding study casts new light upon the professional standing of the US naval surgeons and of their work at sea and ashore in hospital administration. His detailed descriptions of medical treatments and information on the careers of naval surgeons during the nineteenth century will be of special interest to maritime historians.

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Keith S. Thomson. *HMS* Beagle. *The Story of Darwin's Ship.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995. 320 pp., illustrations, figures, maps, end-notes, appendices, index. US $25, Cdn $32.99, cloth; ISBN 0-393-03778-9. Distributed in Canada by Penguin Books Canada.

This book is topical for two reasons: the popularity of biographies of Cook's *Endeavour* and

Scott's *Discovery,* and a recent flurry of Darwiniana. As president of the US Academy of Natural Sciences, Thomson is well-equipped to tackle *Beagle's* survey voyages, and he writes with clarify and verve. The ship herself is always clearly in focus, from its launch in 1820 and first survey commission in 1825 through the famous Fitzroy-Darwin expedition to her ignominious end at the hands of scrap merchants in 1870.

Thomson provides detailed background on *Beagle's* origin as one of the many 10-gun brigs built for the post-Napoleonic Royal Navy. There was nothing glamorous about the ships known as "coffin brigs" or "half tide rocks," but they were the workhorses of Victorian maritime surveying. After reconfiguration as a barque, *Beagle* was manoeuvrable, even while sailing close to the wind, and could be handled with a relatively small crew. Sometimes the challenges proved too much, however, and officers pushed themselves too hard. *Beagle's* first captain, Commander Pringle Stokes, took her to sea in 1825 with Captain Philip Parker King's *Adventure* to survey the southern coasts of South America and the Straits of Magellan. After a particularly difficult survey on the western coast of South America in the spring of 1828, during which the crew suffered greatly from exposure, Stokes grew increasingly despondent and shot himself. The many excellent maps Thomson provides help us to imagine the tortuous navigation and demanding conditions which took such a toll.

Robert Fitzroy, *Beagle's* second and best-known captain, was also moody - and brilliant. Thomson takes us with him to South America in 1828-30, and around the world with Darwin in 1831-36, painting a vivid picture of the crowded shipboard life and the difficult work conditions of *Beagle's* personnel. *Beagle* helped launch many a career: junior officers like John Lort Stokes and Bartholomew James Sulivan also learned their craft in her. In 1837 John Wickham, Fitzroy's first lieutenant, was commissioned to take the ship back to Australia and through the treacherous Torres Strait. *Beagle* returned to England in 1843, after a six year commission and a total of twenty-five years in service, with some quarter of a million miles under her keel. As a Coast Guard Watch Vessel she lived out her last days at Pagelsham in Essex, losing her name to become "W.V.7" in 1863. In 1870, somewhere in the Thames estuary, she was probably broken up for scrap.

Thomson invites us to consider the vast poop cabin desk at which so many distinguished surveyors composed their reports, and around which Fitzroy and Darwin debated. Using a wide range of contemporary sources, he brings *the ship's own story to life. Thomson's achievement* is all the more important because, as he observes, while the names and work of *Beagle's* captains and scientists have been assured a place in history, not a scrap remains of the hardy little vessel that carried them to fame.

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Colin Bull and Pat F. Wright (eds.). *Silas: The Antarctic Diaries and Memoir of Charles S. Wright.* Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1993. xxxii + 418 pp., illustrations, photograph, maps, glossary, bibliography, index. US $62.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8142-0548-8.

Scott's last antarctic exploring expedition has the mix of disaster and heroism which, judging by the regular publication of new books, seems to guarantee popular interest. *Silas: The Antarctic Diaries and Memoir of Charles S. Wright* is one of the newest books on the subject. Wright was one of two Canadians on the expedition. Born in Toronto in 1887, a Governor General's Medal winner from Upper Canada College and a University of Toronto graduate in honours mathematics and physics, Wright went with scholarship support to Cambridge University. From there he joined the 1910 Antarctic expedition as a scientist. After serving as a wireless officer in the war, he settled in Britain. In 1934 he was appointed the Director of Scientific Research at the Admiralty, holding that important post until 1946. In recognition of his work he was made a Knight Commander of the Bath. In 1947 he retired to British Columbia and continued an active and varied career in science until he finally retired to Salt Spring Island. He had a remarkable career, from man-hauling sleds, archaic in his own day, as men reached for the pole and explored the unknown terrestrial continent, to final retirement in the year of the

first lunar landing.

This book is edited by Collin Bull, a scientist of distinction in Wright's field of glaciology and geophysics, and his daughter Pat Wright, with whom he lived in his last years. It is a combination of the diary Wright kept at the time, a memoir he began writing on Salt Spring Island, and excerpts of other expedition members' accounts. Material is introduced or linked as necessary by the editor. This format works well; indeed, the juxtaposition of other records, including the comparative progress of Amundsen, offers a more balanced examination of the expedition than is found in other published diaries which restrict commentary to an introduction. The brief discussion of the afterward of the expedition includes wartime letters from Wright to Apsley Cherry-Garrard. Every page is illustrated by one of Pat Wright's drawings. Based on artifacts and primary materials, including many of Ponting's photographs, these lack the immediacy of the paintings and drawings of Dr. "Bill" Wilson, the expedition's chief scientist and close friend of Scott, who died with him.

Wright was a loyal supporter of Scott, so that readers will not find critical commentary on Scott's organization and leadership. For that, they must rely on Huntford and others. Nor will they find any of the bitter reaction of Cherry-Garrard's *Worst Journey in the World.* Wright was very much the scientist, and the published diary includes his drawings to illustrate snow crystals and formations. Wright recorded his preliminary theories on various questions, such glacier formation and current circulation under the ice shelf. The editor has pointed out where modern science, in some cases as much as half a century later, has confirmed Wright's original propositions. The diary is very much a record of a keen and observant scientist working in the polar regions under conditions which were primitive in the extreme. The record of the last year when it was known that Scott must have perished, may lack the quality of triumph over adversity of *Antarctic Adventure,* his brother-in-law, Raymond Priestley's diary of the northern party marooned in their ice cave, but it does offer interesting glimpses into the different command and personal relationships which evolved as the main party decided which rescue to attempt — the northern party and the living, or the polar party and the dead. It was Wright, a superb navigator on sledge journeys, who, on the search for the dead, found the last camp.

This book should appeal alike to enthusiasts of polar exploration, historians of scientific pioneers, and to those who admire great Canadians.

William Glover
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Frank J. Allston. *Ready For Sea: The Bicentennial History of the U.S. Navy Supply Corps.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xvii + 641 pp., illustrations, photographs, chapter sources, index. US $35, Cdn $62.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-033-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The subtitle of this book proclaims *Ready for* Sea to be a history of the US Navy Supply Corps or of the logistics of the US Navy. What Frank Allston has written is an anecdotal biographical history of the supply services of the American navy from the Revolutionary War to the present. Unfortunately, this book therefore consists of sections of canned history alternating with potted biographical sketches of US Navy pursers, paymasters, and Supply Corps officers. The material for the book was obtained mostly from such sources as Lewis Hamersly, *Records of Living Officers of the US Navy and Marine Corps* (Philadelphia, 1890) and Nathan Miller, *The U.S. Navy: An Illustrated History* (Annapolis, 1977). Further, *Ready for Sea* is adrift in a sea of trivia. For example, we are told that Admiral Frank Thornton Arms "prepared and published a 32 page cookbook," that Lieutenant (jg) Conrad Bradshaw was the first person to drive a jeep from India to China in 1945 over the Ledo Road, and that Lieutenant Commander Waltar Reierson took the con of HMS *Patroller* for thirty-five minutes! While Allston has not produced in *Ready for Sea* a serious work of history, the book is sort of a historical yearbook of the senior officers of the U.S. Navy's Supply Corps and as such, it will be fun reading for retired officers of that service.

David Syrett
New York, New York

J.M. Haas. *A Management Odyssey: The Royal Dockyards,!714-1914.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994. xi + 243 pp., tables, notes, bibliography, index. US $42.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8191-9461-1.

The best known *Odyssey* is an epic poem which describes the ten years' wanderings of Odysseus. *Management Odyssey* by J.M. Haas is not poetic, but it does describe two centuries of managerial wandering by the Board of Admiralty in pursuit of the smooth running of the Royal Dockyards. This book is packed with facts and statistics elegantly marshalled to explain the system of organization adopted for the dockyards of the Royal Navy and why, for the most part, the system failed to work efficiently or cost effectively. The contents are set out in ten chapters, eight of which chart developments over a series of periods defined generally by reference to the tenures of office of the individuals who influenced those developments. Because of the density of the information presented, this book is not easy to read, save with great concentration. Nevertheless it is highly interesting and informative and must be counted as an important contribution to the study of industrial management in general and the operation of dockyards in particular.

It will also be of great use as a reference work for scholars in many fields besides industrial management. For the social historian, there are details of the working conditions, pay, recruitment, training and pensioning of dockyard workers. There are condensed biographies of significant men such as Samuel Bentham, "unquestionably the most remarkable person ever associated with the dockyard" (p.46) who introduced steam-powered wood and metal hulls at the Portsmouth yard in 1803-1805 and who saw that the management problems of the dockyards were systemic. The history of technology is touched upon frequently throughout the book. Perhaps surprisingly, the Royal Dockyards were not places where notable technological advances took place. Even as late as the second half of the nineteenth century, it was not easy to find at the Admiralty a naval architect possessed of both a good grasp of theory and a willingness to adopt iron shipbuilding techniques: John Scott Russell who designed the *GreatEasternhad* to be drafted in to collaborate in the design of the Navy's first iron-clad warship, *Warrior* (which had to be laid down in a commercial yard because none of the Royal Yards were equipped to build her). References to the continuing economic and professional rivalry with the French, whose own school of naval architecture pre-dated the Admiralty's by nearly a hundred years, remind the reader of the political and military significance of the dockyards, and Haas' style is particularly engaging when he writes about belligerent conflict. For instance, he observes that the Franco-Prussian war, "necessitatingprecautionary mobilisation in the middle of still undigested organisational changes, was simply a spot of bad luck." (p.127) From what is undoubtedly an enormous body of records, the author has arranged a cogent and useful history of the management of a major industrial undertaking. The clarity of his description of the magnitude of the management task, and the detailed analysis of why a cumbersome system could hardly be improved, are such as to convey to the modern reader the same sense of frustration that must have driven a series of reformers who kept trying to make things better. In a curious way, Haas' potentially dry little book is a powerful piece of writing.

A finding of particular interest to the historiographer is that the voluminous information contained in the Admiralty books of account and records was neither accurate nor very well understood by the people by whom or for whom it was compiled. On occasion it was manipulated or even fabricated for collateral purposes. Thus Haas' work serves to remind researchers of the circumspection with which to evaluate data contained in primary source material. One aspect of the book which will not be of great assistance is its index, which includes not a single ship's name and excludes the names of a fair number of eminent persons to whom useful references are made in the text. The bibliography and footnotes on the other hand are extensive, easy to follow and, in the case of the comments made in many of the notes, well worth reading regardless of any need to verify or pursue a reference. For anyone concerned with the history of dockyards, naval architecture or financial and man management, *A Management Odyssey* will be a necessary

addition to the library. For those daunted by the prospect of making sense of the contents of hundreds of dusty bundles of archive material it will be an inspiration.

Nancy Ritchie-Noakes
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Edward J. Phillips. *The Founding of Russia's Navy: Peter the Great and the Azov Fleet, 1688-1714*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995. ix + 214 pp., appendix, tables, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US $55, cloth; ISBN 0-313-29520-4.

This volume in the Greenwood Press series, "Contributions in Military Studies," reviews Peter the Great's effort to create Russia's first fleet on the Black Sea. Edward Phillips' research, first presented as a doctoral dissertation, is grounded on the rich, pre-revolutionary documentary collections and historical writings of S.I. Elagin and F.F. Veselago. Maritime and Russian historians will find this a useful book. Of particular interest are appendix tables illustrating ship construction and the mobilization of labour and finance to support the fleet.

Focusing on precedents and origins, Phillips emphasizes the theme of "Russia and the Sea," connecting seventeenth-century and earlier "beginnings" to the Azov campaigns of 1695 and 1696 and the Grand Embassy to Europe. Although Phillips refers to a "Petrine naval revolution" and acknowledges the Tsar's personal role as "the impetus behind the creation of the navy," he stresses continuity in what he describes as the "process," the coercive nature of Muscovite political tradition, (pp. 126-7) Phillips argues that historians have neglected the naval developments of the Azov period and that his work "retrieves Peter's navy from an unjust absence from the historical literature." (p.vii) The argument is vaguely directed and unconvincing, because he fails to present the historiography of the subject.

The core of this study is the section based on published archival materials. It deals with the intriguing problems of the mobilization of material, human, and financial resources, both native and foreign. Phillips presents an interesting account of the organization of shipbuilding first into *skladki* (partnerships) of merchants, landowners, and ecclesiastics which concealed "the compulsory nature" of the shipbuilding program "behind a facade of voluntarism." (p.61) He traces the early development of administrative structures inside the existing bureaucracy to the formation of the Admiralty Chancery in 1700. He concludes that the evolution of Admiralty during its first decade was "an important turning point" which paved the way for other reforms, (p.99) In this same section Phillips describes the building of the wharves, yards, and harbour facilities in Voronezh, other Don River locations, and at Taganrog which, between 1700 and 1710, produced and serviced ninety-two warships of various sizes. He concludes with the disastrous defeat in 1711 that forced Peter to abandon his Azov fleet.

As an historian of naval administration, Phillips argues that the lessons of Azov were applied in a new setting first in the campaigns on Lake Ladoga and along the Neva, and then in St. Petersburg, and that the technology and administration corresponded to those used in the Azov fleet. He holds that Peter's Baltic fleet "was founded largely on the expensive and painful lessons...learned in Voronezh and Azov between 1695 and 1705." (p.111) Finally he concludes that the battle of Hangô in 1714 proved that "in less than twenty years...Peter's navy had matured to compete with and defeat one of Europe's great sea powers [and]...to establish Russia as a serious naval power in its own right." (p. 124)

Hangô was a victory for the Petrine galley fleet — significant because it supported a land campaign that completed the Russian conquest of Finland. It did not signal the beginning of Russian sea power in the Baltic. Though there were obvious continuities in the administration of the Azov and Baltic fleets, there were also bold new innovations. Chief among them was the enormous ship purchase program conducted by Russian agents abroad after 1711, which allowed Peter to assemble a competitive fleet quickly and to influence a closure in his war with Sweden.

The Founding of Russia 'sNavy is a capable review of the early period of Petrine naval developments which will no doubt endure until

historians begin to investigate the recently opened naval archives in St. Petersburg. The author has opened up a subject which will surely stimulate future historical debate.

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James Henderson. *The Frigates: An Account of the Lighter Warships of the Napoleonic Wars.* Allan Coles, 1970; reprinted, London: Leo Cooper, 1994. xi + 176 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, appendices (tables), index. £12.50, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-432-6.

It is difficult to identify the objectives of this book. First published in 1970 and now reissued, *The Frigates* does not attempt any sort of comprehensive study of the development and deployment of this class of vessel in the broad context of naval strategy. On the contrary, each of the sixteen chapters relates an episode in which the focus is on a ship or, more frequently, on a man. There are some stirring stories in the book and that is largely the level at which it is written — a series of good yarns.

The opening chapter, it is true, presents some account of the origins of the frigates and describes some of their functions. Details are given of their rating system, of their armament and of the nature of their accommodation. This, the author writes, was more generous than in any other class of vessel in the navy. This chapter, and the book overall, includes a number of generalisations and some monumental truisms such as "engaging in war has always an element of risk, so has going to sea" (p. 10) which detract from the pleasure that may be found in reading the heroic episodes chosen by the author.

Chapter two is the first of the accounts of frigate actions and the protagonist here is Edward Pellew with his successes against the French from the early encounter in 1793 with the *Cléopâtre* to his thwarting of a French landing in Bantry Bay in 1797. The narrative of his night action against the more powerful *Droits de l'Homme* is vivid, illuminating well the horrors of close action and the dangers of the sea to ships damaged in close actions.

Subsequent chapters present topics as varied as the mutiny of the *Hermione* in 1797 and her subsequent cutting out by the *Surprise,* a look at individual operations in the Bay of Bengal and China in relation to the trading of the East India Company, a detailed narrative of the action between Captain Broke RN of the *Shannon* and Captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake,* being the response of the British to the early success of the large American frigates. The final chapter holds the attention as it relates the tribulations of the *Alceste*on her homeward voyage from China in 1817 with Lord Amherst and his entourage as passengers.

The publisher's claim that this book "ranks among the outstanding works of naval history" leads the reader to high expectations which are not fulfilled. It is not easy to find in the text the justification of the hyperbole of the dust jacket. There is little here for the serious student of naval history and this for one reason above all — there is no scholarly apparatus to support any of the points made in the text. The publishers refer to the painstaking research on which the book is based. Yet there is no bibliography or list of documents at all nor any reference to the type of material used. The text contains no notes or references and so it is not possible for the serious historian to check or develop any of the points made. As it happens, one source that the author does seem to have relied on is *The Naval History of Great Britain* by William James [1824] which the extensive and uncanny concordance between some parts of 77ie *Frigates* and James' *History* makes clear.

For the serious historian, then, it will be necessary to look elsewhere for a documented study which attempts an analysis of the role of the frigate in the period 1793-1815. On the other hand, the general reader could well get some pleasure from 77ie *Frigates.* The book amounts to a good yarn, or rather a disconnected series of good yarns. Some exciting encounters are related which are as readable as some of the better fictional accounts of the period.

The author can be said to sum up his own book in the last line where he writes of the Captain of the *Alceste:* "he has had a rollicking good adventure."

Kenneth Breen
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David Miller. *The Wreck of the Isabella.* London: Leo Cooper and Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xii + 259 pp., tables, maps, b+w plates, illustrations, appendices (glossary, sources, bibliography), index. £16.95, US $25, Cdn $34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-456-2 (Leo Cooper); 1-55750-768-6 (NIP). Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

David Miller has spun a ripping yarn that is simultaneously a wry commentary on Anglo-American maritime history. His account of the events stemming from the 1813 wreck of the British merchant brig *Isabella* reads like *The Swiss Family Robinson* as retold by Bertold Brecht or possibly Raymond Chandler. It is a sardonic tale of adventure, treachery, human weakness and greed, occasionally brightened by flashes of nobility and improbable (but true) *deus ex machina* escapes and reversals of fortune.

The story begins on 4 December 1812, when the *Isabella* set sail from New South Wales, bound for England with a total of fifty-four men, women and children on board, including a couple of minor British army officers, some pardoned convicts from the Australian penal colony, fourteen Royal Marines, a crew of low-lifes led by a scabrous and incompetent captain, a handful of additional civilians and a particularly vile and dangerous stowaway. After successfully rounding Cape Horn, the vessel ran into a storm and was wrecked in the Falkland Islands. Miraculously, all hands were saved, and the following morning the passengers and crew found themselves marooned on a desolate island, with the wreck of the *Isabella* parked conveniently on the beach, where it was possible to get at all her stores and supplies.

It would be unfair to recap the subsequent events, other than to note that they include the arrival of an American sealer named the *Nanina* and the subsequent appearance of HMS *Nancy,* a Royal Navy brig, with an inevitable thickening of plot. It is only necessary to remind the reader that the United States and Great Britain were at the time at war with each other, and one begins to see the possibilities.

The Wreck of the Isabella has such a thundering, all-at-once story line that it is sometimes difficult to remember that every word of it is true, that every character is real, every heated exchange is recorded in somebody's journal or in an old newspaper article or a yellowing legal document that lay gathering dust somewhere in the Public Records Office at Kew, until David Miller found it and pieced the larger story together. What makes the book of particular interest from an historical perspective is the detached objectivity with which Miller guides the narrative, and fleshes out our understanding of the people involved in the adventure. What a collection of humanity they make! There are Irish rebels, intrepid sailors, tight-fisted Yankee entrepreneurs, spineless army officers, drunken louts, shameless opportunists, and a Royal Navy captain who deliberately falsifies his ship's log in order to improve his chances of prize money. Theirs is a story of real people, facing real crises far from home in desperate circumstances, and behaving — and misbehaving — in a manner appropriate to their era, which was considerably less genteel than Jane Austen may have led us to imagine. It is fascinating stuff.

James Tertius de Kay
Stonington, Connecticut

James Tertius de Kay. *Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian 1809-1922.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995. 336 pp., illustrations, appendix, notes and comments, index. $32.99, cloth; ISBN 0-393-03804-1. Distributed in Canada by Penguin Books Canada.

The *Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian 1809-1922* by James Tertius de Kay is an easily read survey of the history of the British frigate *Macedonian* which was captured by Stephen Decatur in 1812 and became one of the most famous prizes of the American Navy. The frigate would subsequently serve the United States under a number of captains and in a number of roles for more than a hundred years before her last remnants finally were destroyed by fire in the Bronx in 1922.

James Tertius de Kay is a versatile researcher and writer as well as a producer of film documentaries. His narratives involve a degree of the modern "historical drama" since he allows himself a free hand in recreating conversations and situations. The result is a highly

interesting book but one which would require very careful handling as a serious historical source because no effort is made to document quotations or other materials through footnotes. An extended historiographical essay about the original sources utilized concludes the work (pp.301-21), but does not bridge the gap. Without prejudice the dividing line between a volume of this nature and a good historical novel is not always evident.

Among the more interesting chapters in the work is the one dealing with the adventures of Captain John Downes who took the USS *Macedonian* to the Chilean Coast during the "War of Liberation (1819)." Captain Downes managed to make a fortune for himself while showing the American flag in distant waters. Downes' means of personal enrichment was to make available his ship as a means of conveying gold and specie to safe destinations. When American citizens and interests were concerned this was accepted policy at a handling fee of 2.5 per cent. However, Downes operated with a very free hand and made the *Macedonian* available to all comers. The commissions privately negotiated were very generous and may have secured for the American officer a windfall of over $100,000 - eighty times his annual salary of $1200 - and with a current purchasing power in excess of two million dollars.

The career of the *Macedonian* would see the vessel employed all over the world. Adventurous cruises to Tunisia, the Caribbean, Ireland, and Japan would see the frigate flying the American flag. Ultimately the *Macedonian* would end her active career as a practice ship for the US Naval Academy (1863-1870). Thereafter she was withdrawn from active service and deteriorated until sold out of the US Navy in 1875. In the end her timbers were used to construct a hotel in the Bronx, The Macedonian Hotel, which survived until a fatal blaze in 1922 (hence the reason for extending the life of the ship to that year).

The Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian is interesting reading. Individuals interested in the period or in the vessel will find the work enjoyable.

William Henry Flayhart III
Dover, Delav/are

Ivan Musicant. *Divided Waters: The Naval History of the Civil War.* New York: HarperCollins, 1995. 473 pp., maps, b+w plates, sources, bibliography, index. US $30, Cdn $42, cloth; ISBN 0-06-016482-4.

In *Divided Waters,* Ivan Musicant handles well the challenge of presenting the naval side of the US Civil War from Texas to the English Channel. He details, in an engrossing style, the major naval campaigns of the war, including the Confederate bombardment of Fort Sumter, the capture of Wilmington, North Carolina by Union forces in a combined operation, the Federal navy's evacuation of the Norfolk Navy Yard in Virginia, and the rebel losses of Port Royal, Memphis and New Orleans. He skilfully describes the obstacles encountered in the many Union attempts to capture Vicksburg on the Mississippi River. Also examined are the Battle of Mobile Bay and the Red River campaign.

The adventures of the CSS *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers on the high seas are dramatically recounted. The tension between Great Britain and the United States as a result of the *Trent* affair and the cat-and-mouse game of blockade running are outlined. Famous events like the first battle between ironclad ships and the first successful sortie by a submarine to sink an enemy vessel are given their due. The author balances the activities of vessels on the rivers of the Western theatre, the Gulf Coast of Mexico, the Atlantic seaboard, and international waters. Background information about events and participants is provided without interrupting the narrative flow. Musicant focuses on battles and exciting drama, not on the monotonous life of the blue jacket on blockade duty or the numerous minor operations one finds outlined in Ella Lonn's *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy.*

The book is not without its weaknesses. There is no preface in which Musicant can enunciate the goals and scope of his book. The maps are good but are not referenced in the text. The images serve their purpose but will not be new to Civil War buffs. Finally, the book lacks a strong concluding chapter. There are no traditional endnotes or footnotes, but there is a breakdown of sources referenced by chapter. No manuscript collections are cited in the bibliography; the primary sources are all printed ones.

As a result, there is a certain predictability for those familiar with the subject. It comes as no surprise that Paymaster William F. Keeler of the USS *Monitor* is quoted concerning the Battle of Hampton Roads; equally predictable are the excerpts from the letters of Alvah F. Hunter on the efforts to take the port of Charleston.

Furthermore, some of the sources listed are older printings; the author apparently did not examine newer editions. Thus he relies on the first edition of Mark Boatner's *The Civil War Dictionary* and on Ben Ames' editing of the Mary Chestnut Boykin diary. With one exception, the most recently published sources were printed in the 1980s. Evidently, the work was a long time coming to press. Finally, scholars of the era may challenge Musicant on a few points, such as his portrayal of the US Navy in the "dark ages" before the war, and the assertion that Confederate cruisers alone caused the downfall of the US merchant marine.

Despite its limitations, the book supersedes Bern Anderson's *By Sea and by River: The Naval History of the Civil War.* It will appeal to the large audience with an insatiable thirst for well-written monographs on the US Civil War. More importantly, it will bring to light the often neglected role of the navies in a conflict that spawned many aspects of modern warfare.

Benjamin H. Trask
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dave Page. *Ships Versus Shore: Civil War Engagements Along Southern Shores and Rivers.* Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1994. 410 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, sources, index. US $22.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55853-267-6.

Ever since a childhood visit to the Spanish fort of Castillo de San Marcos at Saint Augustine, Florida, Dave Page has been fascinated with fortifications built to repel attacks by warships. In *Ship versus Shore* he has provided us with an overview of the structures which fulfilled that role during the US Civil War.

Interest in that conflict appears to be insatiable, to judge by the numerous books, films, and television programmes of recent years. However, these have tended to focus on the great land battles; the Union blockade of the American east coast and the successful Mississippi River campaign in the west which cut the Confederacy in half are often overlooked, though they did more to win the war for the North than all the Union generals put together. As Alfred Thayer Mahan observed, "Never did sea power play a greater or more decisive part." This neglect is probably due to the more spectacular nature of the war on land (and its appalling casualties) and to the presence there of war correspondents and photographers. Be that as it may, this omission makes Page's contribution to Civil War literature even more valuable.

The book is well researched, with a comprehensive bibliography and index as well as 130 illustrations. The many pages of endnotes seem excessive and make reading individual chapters more tedious than necessary; much of the information could have been included in the text. The sites covered by Page extend from the Potomac River to the Rio Grande and along inland waterways. For each, there is a description of the fortifications, some of which are restored, some in ruins, and others marked only by historical plaques. Page gives due credit to the energy of the Confederate States' Secretary of Navy Stephen Mallory (who created a navy from scratch) and to General-in-Chief of the United States Army Winfield Scott whose "Anaconda Plan" called for a total salt and fresh water blockade to strangle the South economically and avoid devastation on land. Yet he misses the crucial point (as did Scott himself) that the Union navy was small and lacked warships inland at the beginning of the war.

Page has chosen to arrange his book geographically as opposed to chronologically so Civil War enthusiasts will have to move from one chapter to another. The advantage of his method, however, is that tourists can use it as a guide as they move through a particular area. Directions to the various sites, their addresses, and telephone numbers are included.

In sum, *Ship versus Shore* is a valuable reference for serious students as well as for those whose interest is not be as deep but who wish to visit the places where the Civil War was fought.

J. Michael Jones
Oshawa, Ontario

Charles Dana Gibson with E. Kay Gibson. *Assault and Logistics: Union Army Coastal and RiverOperations.* The Army's Navy Series, Vol. II; Camden, ME: Ensign Press, 1995. xxii + 655 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, indices. US $45, cloth; ISBN 0-9608996-3-4.

Joint armed forces cooperation constitutes the essence of modern military operations. So it was even during the US Civil War, as was told most recently by Rowena Reed in *Combined Operations in the Civil War* (Naval Institute Press, 1978). It was through the joint efforts of the Union army and navy that the Confederacy was conquered. Moreover, students of the war have long recognized that a sizable part of the naval effort actually belonged to the land service, including gunboats and transport craft. Therein lies the core of Charles and Kay Gibson's new book which continues their multi-volume effort to recount more than two centuries of US Army involvement with marine transportation.

In this thick, essentially narrative volume, the Gibsons integrate logistics with operations as their unifying theme. Challenged to discuss vessel operations in proportional relationship to the overall military and sometimes political scenario, the authors have also treated quartermaster shipping in the general framework of the Union effort rather than as a separate phenomenon. Moreover, they freely admit to a third — and for many readers, the most fascinating — chore of relating the steamboats' linkage with the railroads that were also employed by the Quartermaster Department. The Gibsons have it quite right in focus, though whether their work achieves their goal is more open to question.

They have certainly mined the published official army and navy records to cover the operational side of the war from Hatteras to Sherman's movement through the Carolinas; from Forts Henry and Donelson and Mississippi River campaigns to the Virginia peninsula, even to the post-war Texas expedition to thwart French intervention in Mexico. The cast of characters, the battles, the events will all seem familiar and could have been compressed to allow the details of the army's navy to shine through more brightly. The maritime dimensions of vessels, ship captains, and logistical arrangements add a fresh dimension. Still, there are gaps — the tremendously important effort to subsistand support William Rosecrans' Army of the Cumberland in middle Tennessee during the winter of 1862-1863 is given only six pages of text. Here was an example of maritime support actually saving an army in logistical trouble. Moreover, naval convoy of army transports provided the margin of survival, remarkably presaging the same effect later in the battle of the Atlantic during the two world wars.

More satisfying are sixteen topical appendices treating such diverse subjects as the army's procurement of vessels in the east for coastal operations, Lewis B. Parsons (an unknown quartermaster who established the logistics systems for the western rivers), crew status on civilian manned transports, "army sailors" from the 99th New York regiment, hay and its importance to the conduct of the war, and other innocuously vital vignettes useful for better understanding the Gibsons' main thrust. Even special essays on the Mississippi Marine Brigade, the demobilization of resources and disposal of the army's fleet provide delightful topics for consideration. Regrettably, the book suffers most from tight analysis of subject matter, such as was provided by Edward Hagerman in *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare* (Indiana University Press, 1988), a book that is strangely omitted from the Gibsons' bibliography despite its coverage of water transportation and logistics.

None the less, when used as part of the Gibsons' overall project (two other volumes recount the army's marine transportation experience from 1775 to 1860 and provide a dictionary of Union transports and combatant vessels from 1861 to 1868, while an upcoming volume will focus on the Army Transport Service of the Spanish-American War and World War I), *Assault and Logistics* will yield invaluable information from which others can accomplish the work of synthesis and analysis. At present, it enhances the naval/maritime portrayal of the watershed event in American history, though not to the same extent as some readers will wish from such an intriguing topic.

Benjamin Franklin Cooling
Chevy Chase, Maryland

George W. Baer. *One Hundred Years of Sea Power: The U.S. Navy, 1890-1990.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994. 553 pp., maps, notes, index. US $49.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8047-2273-0.

Several good books about the US Navy have been published over the past few years, but *One Hundred Years of Sea Power: The U.S. Navy, 1890-1990* by George Baer is one of the best that I have read. The book is divided into two parts: "On the Sea" constitutes about sixty per cent of the volume and covers the period from 1890 until the end of World War II; "From the Sea" considers the post-World War II era. The result is a highly analytical and cogently argued history which examines how the US Navy defined its purpose in the century after 1890 — the seminal year that witnessed the publication of *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History by* Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan and of the report by Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Tracy calling for the construction of an offensive battlefleet. Baer explains how the Navy formed and reformed its doctrine of naval force and operations around Mahan's concept of offensive sea control and, new to the United States, the need to build and to maintain an offensive battlefleet in peacetime.

Two excellent chapters on World War I conclude that it was the destroyer, not the battleship, that proved to be vital, although battleships played an important part in assuring the strategic independence of the United States in the post-war era. The three chapters on World War II are more analytical than descriptive, and some of Baer's conclusions might be open to challenge. For example, he defends the controversial decision of Admiral Spruance to guard the amphibious forces rather than to seek a "Pacific Trafalgar" in the battle of the Philippine Sea.

However, there were many years — notably during the 1920s and after 1945 — when there was no enemy at sea, when the United States turned inward, and when the Navy could not rely on public or political support for an expensive peacetime battlefleet. After 1945, especially, the inappropriateness of Mahanian principles strained a service that had taken them for granted, as did the centralization of the military establishment and the introduction of new weapons. What, then, did the Navy do? As Baer notes, the Navy shrewdly adapted old ideas to new technology. To reclaim its role in a general war and to avoid being transformed into a mere transport service, the Navy - with the Marine Corps - proved that it was capable of power projection onto the land through seaborne bombers armed with nuclear weapons and by building a ballistic-missile-launching submarine force.

The growth of a Soviet sea force during the 1970s and '80s revived the moribund sea power doctrine, but the Navy's bid for strategic leadership failed in the face of the war-avoidance policy of the Cold War. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Navy finally retired Mahan's doctrine that the defeat of the enemy fleet was its primary objective. Having proven itself in the course of the century to be ever adaptable, the Navy shifted from sea control to a doctrine of expeditionary littoral warfare.

This volume, then, is a history of how a war-fighting organization responded - in doctrine, strategy, operations, preparedness, self-awareness, and force structure — to radical changes in political circumstances, to technological innovations, and to national needs and expectations. As such, it will be of considerable interest and value to serving naval officers and policy-makers as well as to historians.

G. Edward Reed
Ottawa, Ontario

Bernard Edwards. *Salvo! Classic Naval Gun Actions.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 192 pp., maps, figures, photographs, bibliography, index. US $29.95, Cdn $41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-796-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book details eighteen naval engagements fought around the world between 1894 and 1944. Most were famous, others are more obscure. Some are fleet actions, some were lone duels. The common theme linking them is the furious nature of the gun actions which resulted from these encounters, many at point-blank range and some involving hundreds of salvos.

Bernard Edwards' selection begins with one of the earliest battle actions between ironclads, at the Yalu River during the Sino-Japanese War

in 1894; it ends with the same Imperial Japanese Navy being severely mauled at Leyte Gulf half a century later. In between, readers are treated to several chapters of World War I battles, including Heligoland Bight, the Falkland Islands and Dogger Bank. World War II actions include Cape Matapan, Java Sea and Savo Island. There are also lesser-known actions from both conflicts. Among the most stirring, are the vicious fight between the armed merchant cruiser HMS *Carmania* and the German commerce raider *Cap Trafalgar* (1914), the fate of the German cruiser *Konigsberg* (1915) and the devastating action fought between the American Liberty Ship *Stephen Hopkins* and the German commerce raider *Stier* (1942). It is astounding how much punishment some ships were able to sustain and stay afloat. Edwards shows a predilection for commerce raiders and engagements in which destroyers were also conspicuous.

Edwards manages to make each short chapter interesting and informative and he does not hesitate to be critical, which sometimes adds a gruff flavour to his narrative. Blundering, hesitant officers, chatty, ill-disciplined US sailors and discreet Italian commanders all come in for severe criticism. But while his accounts are readable, if a tad colourful at times, Edwards offers little original research and information.

Still, his episodic accounts illuminate and remind. That Togo massacred hundreds of Chinese soldiers and sailors even before the outbreak of war with China in 1894 may surprise some readers. Von Spee's curious command decisions at the Falklands and the shockingly light British casualties during this engagement (seven killed) as well as at Dogger Bank are always eye-openers. The litany of poor British gunnery (only three of 235 heavy shells from *Lion* struck home at Dogger Bank) and communications in 1914 might have prevented significant victories against elements of the High Seas Fleet. The failure to better employ Allied submarines at the Battle of the Java Sea is noteworthy as is the easily-forgotten fact that two American admirals went down with their ships on successive nights at Guadalcanal in November 1942.

The book has some problems as well. Most chapters begin with far too much background information. There is no justification for devoting to introductory material well over half of the chapter dealing with the epic battle between HMAS *Sydney* and the German cruiser *Emden* (1914). This situation is repeated in the account of the *Carmania* and *Cap Trafalgar*.

Ironically, much of the contextual material is weak, particularly on the non-naval side of things, and, since he writes in superlatives, Edwards' book contains numerous small errors and dubious assertions which undermine the work's credibility. For example, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was not assassinated on 24 June 1914, Queen Victoria did not celebrate her 50th year on the throne in 1897, the British Expeditionary Force was nowhere near the strength of 500,000 he allots it in 1939.

The text is also sloppy at times. *Hipper* is described as both 14,000 and 13,900 tons and *Sydney* (1941) is armed with 6-inch guns and later 8-inch guns. Moreover, while the ships' photographs are good, the maps are simplistic and not particularly helpful. In the final analysis, this collection of sea battles is no classic of its own, though it does allow the reader to browse through the results of the evolution of naval gun combat over its final fifty years.

Serge Durflinger
Verdun, Québec

A.B. Feuer. *The Spanish-American War at Sea: Naval Action in the Atlantic.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1995. xv + 225 pp., photographs, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. US $55, cloth; ISBN 0-275-95106-5.

Historians have long recognized the transformation in US foreign policy achieved by the Spanish-American War, but they have paid less regard to the war's conduct. Accounts of operations in Cuba and the Philippines appeared regularly during the decade and a half following the war, but by then World War I dominated America's attention. When World War II ensued, the Spanish-American War receded into the past, forgotten except by diplomatic historians.

An exhaustive history of Spanish-American War naval operations in the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea has been lacking. General histories of the US Navy offer concise accounts of American strategy in the war's early months and of the Battle of Santiago, but until now, no

single volume has chronicled the blockade of Cuban ports, shelling of Cuban cities, cutting of undersea cables to isolate the Spanish in Cuba, skirmishes at Cardenas and Cienfuegos, seizure of Guantanamo and Daiquiri, and the expedition against Puerto Rico.

This account by military historian and freelance newspaper and magazine journalist, A.B. Feuer, therefore fills a need. He recalls the sinking of the *Maine* where one rescue worker reported "A twisted jumble of bodies could be seen — a huddle of arms and legs swaying gently with the quiet motion of the water." He outlines naval actions in the Atlantic, and provides a sense of what participation in those operations entailed. Feuer utilizes descriptions of places, people, and events by those who visited, knew and witnessed them. Drawing upon rare privately printed memoirs, diaries, letters, newspaper articles and scrapbooks he has written an account which tells how the rag-tag US Navy, composed chiefly of converted yachts, steamers, and tugboats, fought and won against Spain's more powerful though ill-provisioned gunboats.

The American victory was so overwhelming that, once the war ended, most forgot that the outcome could ever have been in doubt. This robbed the conflict of its drama and participants of their spirit. Feuer conveys the sense of apprehension felt by men aboard the *Oregon* and *Marietta,* that Peruvians and Chileans sympathetic to Spain — or antagonistic to America — might attack their ships as they took on coal for their dash round Cape Horn to join the fray. He describes the failed American attempts to intercept the Spanish squadron commanded by Rear Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete after it left the Cape Verde Islands on 29 April 1898. He relates how Cervera eluded US Admiral William T. Sampson and slipped into Santiago while the Americans waited for him off Cienfuegos. Feuer captures the fear-charged atmosphere aboard the US ships as they waited in vain for the Spanish squadron to arrive and their nervousness while they blockaded Santiago, especially at night.

Feuer covers the Battle of Santiago, but he also captures the drama of lesser known engagements, such as the torpedo boat *Winslow* entering Cardenas harbour to attack three Spanish gunboats as shore batteries shelled the tiny American ship, killing five and wounding five more of the twenty-one man crew. He recounts the capture of Guantanamo Bay, including the US Marine attack on the Spanish at Cuzco, the first pitched battle between Spanish and American troops. He details the cable-cutting expedition at Cienfuegos which resulted in four Americans killed, seven wounded, and fifty-four awarded Congressional Medals of Honor.

Naval battles fought in places like Manzanillo, Port Nipe, San Juan, Guanica, and Ponce spring to life in this volume. Feuer chronicles the *Oregon's* sixty-eight day, 13,000-mile voyage around the coast of South America. This trip more than half way around the world by the US Navy's newest ship highlighted the strategic necessity of digging a Central American isthmian canal. Feuer transports his readers back a century to share vicariously the emotions of American bluejackets and officers who fought this war and launched the United States onto the world stage. He thereby fills in many missing links in Spanish-American War history.

David P. Beatty
Sackville, New Brunswick

Roy Davies. *Nautilus: The Story of Man Under the Sea.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 239 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, select bibliography, index. US $35, Cdn $48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-615-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Nautilus is not the complete story of man under the sea; rather, it is an interesting interpretation of that story, crafted to meet the limitations of a television documentary. Travelling from *Turtle* to *Typhoon* in so little time and space imposes enormous constraints on a writer. Roy Davies chose to tell this fascinating story through a series of parallels which take the form of contests between individuals. While not always historically precise, these vignettes provide a novel insight into the evolution of the modern submarine, its use in war at various stages of development, and the determination of its designers to overcome obstacles in achieving their dream.

The story of the first attempts to build a credible submersible, drawn into clear focus in the race between John Holland and a succession of French innovators, is particularly good.

However, the saga of how those initial experiments led to the first tactical use of submarines in World War I does not get as much attention. This is hardly surprising; the politics of naval development are not easily transformed into good television scripts.

In this respect, *Nautilus* typifies the difficulty of adapting military history for television. Because the medium demands a focus on action, stories of major events often become separated from their less-gripping technical, political, and geostrategic dimensions. For instance, the story of submarine warfare in World War I does not draw out the true significance of unrestricted submarine warfare or its role in bringing the Americans into that war. Using individual feats of courage to explain a sequence of events is good drama, but not necessarily good history.

The undersea aspects of World War II receive similar treatment in paralleling the experiences of select American, British, and German submarine commanders against their respective foes. Again, much of the strategic significance of those operations is overlooked in recounting those stories. Technology and innovation, so very important in those campaigns, do not receive the attention they warrant. This is unfortunate. Davies likewise describes the heroism of the crews of British, Italian, and Japanese midget submarines in semi-isolation from the larger picture.

Yet, his discussion of man under water is not restricted to submarines and warfighting. There are a couple of good sections on scientific exploration that include the work done by Auguste and Jacques Piccard in developing bathyscaphes and their deep submergence work that includes recovering nuclear weapons. There is also a short chapter on even more advanced submersibles and the search for the *Titanic*.

Davies closes his script by looking at nuclear submarines in a predominantly Cold War setting. In this, he contrasts the work of Admiral Hyman Rickover in developing the US Navy's nuclear capability with the bureaucratic direction of Admiral Sergei Gorshkov in the Soviet quest to build a submarine fleet of equal potency. Although both men were distinct figureheads, their roles in the development of their respective navies were very different. Making such extreme comparisons, albeit for dramatic impact, will be a detractor to many.

Although well written and superbly illustrated, *Nautilus* leaves one wondering what was the greatest underwater achievement in the last hundred years. Was it the first conquest of the ocean deeps or the evolution of the modern nuclear submarine? To many, the symbolism of "Nautilus, 90 North" represents man's greatest underwater achievement but that remarkable accomplishment would not have been possible without the perseverance of the early innovators and the courage of those who took the first submarines to sea.

Nautilus was written for television and not as a definitive history of submarines and underwater exploration. As such, it is largely a "people" story that devotes less space to political and technical aspects of man's attempts to fulfil Jules Verne's vision than to the human side of the story. Even though some of the parallels and contrasts will draw criticism, *Nautilus* is a well-told story about man under the sea.

Peter T. Haydon
Bedford, Nova Scotia

Edwyn A. Gray. *The U-Boat War 1914-1918*. London: Seely Service and Co. Ltd., 1972; London: Leo Cooper, 1994. 280 pp., photographs, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. £16.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-405-9278-1.

First published as *The Killing Time* in 1972, Gray's salty contribution to popular history was intended as the sequel to his equally journalistic book about British submarines, *A Damned Un-English Weapon* (1971). The speed with which he tossed off *The Killing Time* — an expression he uses throughout the text to indicate any particularly frightful German aggression — reflects the depth of his scholarship. Drawn to the subject by reading William Guy Carr's classic *By Guess and by God: The Story of British Submarines in the War* (1930), Gray drew solely on secondary sources to cobble together his story in the context of maritime strategy. A major source was American journalist Lowell Thomas' *Raiders of the* Deep (1928). Quickly translated by a former German World War I ace, as Gray fails to explain, Thomas'

admiring account provided the German market with external evidence that, despite British propaganda, German submariners had really been a chivalrous lot. Certainly, Gray did find a good number of "Knights of the Deep" — ace Arnauld de la Perière among them — but also claimed to have found "war criminals" like the still famous aces Valentiner and Schwieger (who sank the *Lusitania),* though without indicating any sources for their high-seas "murders."

Confessing that both sides in the conflict had bad apples among them as well as good, Gray's often cliché-ridden style reveals his understandable preference. In his book, British efficiency and pluck outdo "Teutonic thoroughness and subtlety," while British cool courage faces German "cold blood." It was German "blood lust" that was responsible for sinking the hospital ship *Llandovery Castle;* other "vicious" and "ruthless" acts followed. Readers might draw some comfort from the fact that "not all U-boat captains were cold-blooded murderers," though enough of them were sufficiently vile to make the book interesting. Near war's end, one of these stalwarts ultimately revealed "the true spirit of the Valkyrie of ancient Teutonic legend" by battling when all was lost. Finally, however, the Germans surrendered in "well-trained Teutonic chorus," leaving the last U-boats "fighting back like cornered dogs" with the British calmly "bagging" the remaining opponents. For those readers not taking the subject too seriously, the book is fine on a long flight.

This new edition has not improved with age, quite apart from the fact that the text was already dated when it first appeared in 1972. No concession is made by Gray or his publisher to new scholarship: the text is unaltered, and the bibliography is the same old hodge-podge, listed in no apparent order. The same rudimentary index offers no hint of the themes which Gray parades for us: for instance, prize rules, contraband, maritime law, London Declaration, tactics, mines and minefields, war crimes. Where published research on such vital themes as U-cruisers, merchant submarines, the Sailor's Revolt of 1918, Prize Rule warfare, cutting of submarine cables, and the Special Intelligence work of Whitehall's Room 40 is available, Gray simply contents himself with changing the book's title. Of course *The U-Boat War 1914-1918* does sound more authoritative than *The Killing Time,* but both editions were doubtless aimed at the same undiscerning market.

Michael L. Hadley
Victoria, British Columbia

Carl A. Christie. *Ocean Bridge: The History of RAF Ferry Command.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. xx + 458 pp., photographs, tables, maps, appendices, notes, sources, index. $39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8020-0638-8.

When first reading this account, one is astonished to realize how very recent regular trans-Atlantic air traffic is. In the 1930s, the North Atlantic was the busiest sea trade route in the world, with ships of all nations carrying an average of one million passengers and 75 million pounds of freight annually. Yet Carl Christie reveals that before the outbreak of war in September 1939, less than a hundred successful air crossings had been made. It was not until 1938 that the first commercial cargo was flown across the Atlantic, by a seaplane of British Imperial Airways from Montreal to England. It seems prophetic that the pilot was Captain Don Bennett, who later played a vital role in the development of the RAF's wartime transatlantic aircraft ferrying organization.

The growth and operation of that organization was vital in helping to win the war, and at times every bit as hazardous as aerial combat. Christie has mastered a large body of documentation and interviews to write this historical account. Despite the enormous wealth of detail and a cast of thousands, he has managed to produce a clear narrative of interest to anyone who knows how challenging the Atlantic can be.

In 1939 ships were regarded as the only reliable method of transporting heavy cargo across the Atlantic. Distances were vast, air navigation aids still primitive, and North Atlantic weather was notoriously hostile to flying after summer's end. Consequently, airplanes made in North America and destined for the UK were at first crated and carried by ship along with other vital materiel. However, German U-boats began to threaten Britain's lifeline, sinking 585 merchantmen by the end of 1940. Such losses, plus the need for greatly increased

numbers of aircraft, soon forced the decision to begin flying them across the Atlantic.

The British government had already made preparations for a transatlantic air service by building a new airport at Gander, Newfoundland in 1935. With the formation of the Atlantic Ferry Organization [ATFERO] in 1940, Gander became one of the most important air terminals in the world, sharing with Dorval, Quebec a key role in the eventual delivery of 10,000 aircraft.

To do the job, ATFERO employed thousands of pilots and radio operators. How they were recruited is a story in itself — finding accomplished civilians and air force men and women in Canada, the USA, Britain, and virtually every other Allied nation. Their skill, plus development of meteorological, communications, and control procedures, pioneered today's civil air routes throughout the world. Then there was the tremendous administrative effort made by dollar-a-year businessmen to manage the enterprise. The role of leading political figures like Prime Ministers Mackenzie King and Winston Churchill also receives appropriate attention.

Christie includes area maps to convey the huge scope of the enterprise, and appendices include names of the 560 aircrew and passengers who lost their lives in Ferry Command. His selection of photographs supports the story well, showing typical aircraft, equipment, and flying conditions. Best of all, they portray some of the intrepid men and women pilots who forged an "ocean bridge" in World War II.

Sidney Allinson
Victoria, British Columbia

E.E. Barringer. *'Alone on a Wide, Wide Sea': The Story of 835 Naval Air Squadron in the Second World War.* London: Leo Cooper, 1995. 209 pp., photographs, illustrations, map, appendices, bibliography, index. £18.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-278-1.

Alone on a Wide, Wide, Sea is a good account of life and service with 835 Naval Air Squadron of the Royal Navy's Fleet Air Arm (FAA) aboard HMS *Nairana,* a World War II escort carrier. It is actually two books in one; author E.E. Barringer served with 835 Squadron and became squadron commander. After six months in that role, he was transferred to other duties. The first portion of the book is therefore a true first-person memoir. The second portion deals with squadron life and operations after Barringer's transfer; though it, too, is written in the first-person, this section was developed from personal contacts Barringer made in writing the book and is not strictly accurate. It therefore detracts somewhat from the overall impact of the volume.

That reservation aside, this is a useful account. The FAA is one of the less-documented air services of the war, and the escort carriers even less so. Within the book is a wealth of information: the vicissitudes of training; the posting to the wartime United States and the contrast between wartime Britain and wartime America; the equipment used by the FAA — frequently old and out-of-date; the nature of the duty itself — constant flying in hazardous weather; and the inevitable personality clashes among crew members. Particularly noteworthy is the sense of camaraderie between aircrew members, and between aircrew and the mechanics. Barringer notes that little could have been accomplished were it not for the crewmen maintaining the aircraft. What also stands out is the human spirit — the ability to adapt to appalling conditions and take advantage of opportunity. For example, aircraft that could not be repaired on board ship were frequently pushed over the side to make room. Yet spare parts were always in short supply, so that damaged aircraft were an invaluable source for hard-to-obtain spares. Barringer and his colleagues therefore developed crews to strip damaged aircraft of usable parts before pushing the aircraft over the side. The "salvage" crews became so efficient that in the few minutes it took to do the paperwork to strike an aircraft off charge, the entire aircraft could be stripped of usable spares.

Naval historians will find *Alone on a Wide, Wide Sea* a useful account of the Royal Navy's wartime operations; aircraft historians will find good detail about the aircraft aboard *Nairana:* the Swordfish, Sea Hurricane, and Wildcat. The appendices particularly contain good discussions of the relative merits of the above aircraft.

After the war, 835 Squadron was disbanded, Barringer emigrated to New Zealand to begin a business career, and HMS *Nairana* was

converted into a cargo ship. It occasionally visited New Zealand before it was scrapped in 1971. There is a touching passage in the epilogue when Barringer brought his son aboard the quondam aircraft carrier on which he once served. Perhaps it was the memory of this incident that prompted the writing of this book. Barringer wished to preserve the story of 835 Squadron before the memories of it vanished. It is fortunate he did, because it is a good account of what life was really like in the wartime F A A.

Robert L. Shoop
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Mary Pat Kelly. *Proudly We Served: The Men of the USS Mason.* Annapolis, M D : Naval Institute Press, 1995. xiv + 198 pp., photographs, appendices, index. US $29.95, Cdn $41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-453-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

As a companion to John T. Mason, Jr.'s *The Atlantic War Remembered: An Oral History Collection,* also published by the Naval Institute Press (1990), this is a fine counterpiece. It is an oral history which tells the story of the predominantly black crew of the USS *Mason,* a World War II destroyer escort, and the part they both played in the Battle of the Atlantic.

The value of oral history has always been, significantly, to reveal a history that might otherwise be untold and in so doing to clarify the official record. Mary Pat Kelly's work is further evidence that such an approach is an invaluable one. Through careful traditional research, she has gathered the known historical record — from deck logs, diaries, task force records, the USS *Mason's* own war diary and the navy's official studies of the "Negro" sailor. She then interviewed nine of the black sailors who were part of the crew at the time and juxtaposed their testimony with the other sources.

What is revealed is at once disconcerting and heart-warming. Kelly sets the general historical context and then gives an account of the interviewee's experiences as they are inducted, put through "boot" camp and then sent on working-up trials before being ordered to escort convoys to Britain. She then details some of those convoys and the difficulties the crew faced with U-boat attacks and horrendous weather conditions.

During the extreme hardships of war in the Atlantic, the crew demonstrated that they were trained technicians who were needed for this terribly important work. Of more than 100,000 black men who served in the US Navy in World War II only they, the 160 men of the *Mason* actually took a warship into battle. Only they, therefore, were able to prove their seamanship. Indeed, they performed so well, exhibiting not only skill but extreme bravery, that they were recommended for commendation. But they never received it. Here's the rub.

Despite exhibiting their ability to perform as seaman equally as well as their white counterparts, they, at a time when the country was fighting for democratic ideals, were discriminated against badly. Their abilities and talents were minimized by many fellow white sailors and the naval authorities. At training camp, their facilities were segregated from the main base, for example, and they often had to endure fights with white sailors and put up with insults and indignities. Such treatment did not stop once they were part of *Mason's* crew. They often had fights with sailors from other ships and had to suffer the indignities of segregated ports and the general feeling from the naval community as a whole that the experiment of the *Mason* would fail. Yet it didn't. The crew became a close-knit one and were able to perform as other American sailors. Once they reached Ireland, at one time, for example, they were treated as American saviours who had battled great odds to keep vital supply lines open. For many of the crew this was a warm moment, one where they realized they were "Yanks" and were treated as such by the Irish. They found this a welcome change of attitude to that of Americans generally.

Ironically, like the Vietnam veterans who returned years later to an America that did not give them the hero's welcome they expected, many of *Mason's* crew have felt the need to validate and authenticate their past experiences. Kelly's book goes a long way to help them achieve this and to put on record the unique part they played in the Battle of the Atlantic.

Chris Howard Bailey
Portsmouth, England

Josette Dermody Wingo. *Mother Was a Gunner's Mate: World War II in the WAVES.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. viii + 234 pp., photographs. US $24.95, Cdn $34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-924-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Mother Was a Gunner's Mate is a compelling account of one woman's life in the US Women's Naval Reserve during the last years of the war. What sets this work apart from other narratives by ex-servicewomen is the superior quality and honesty of the writing. The book is lengthy, but the story moves quickly as the author subtly changes topics, locations and themes while describing her transformation from a small town girl to confident woman. In the process, the reader learns much about the WAVES, service life, and the expectations, conflicts and dilemmas facing young women of that era.

Throughout the book, Wingo contrasts her life in the service with the life she had led at home and which her friends continued to lead. The difference is often startling. The author travels, takes on increasing responsibilities at the work place, experiences a near-riot and ultimately chooses education over an early marriage. By contrast, her friends live at home until marriage where their lives seem constrained by the expectations and demands of their community, their families and their future husbands.

Perhaps the most appealing aspect of the book is the author's vivid descriptions of the women and men with whom she lived and worked. To Wingo's credit, the women presented in this book are individuals, reacting differently to the pressures and rewards of service life. The result of such honesty is accuracy. There are no caricatures here — the women experience bouts of cynicism, depression and loneliness as well as the patriotism, enthusiasm and pride. The author is historically accurate without sacrificing her loyalty to an organization which clearly altered her life.

Many historians are quick to dismiss the admission of women into the military as temporary and inconsequential, noting that social attitudes towards women were unaltered by their appearance in uniform. The success of women's emancipation from gendered stereotypes was limited, they argue, because the roles assigned to them were limited and because after the war, both the military and service-women appeared anxious to return to pre-war gendered roles. This interpretation ignores the subtle complexities of service life and its effect on the women themselves. It treats as inconsequential the exposure of service-women to women of other colour, race, religion and class and ignores the enormous benefit that can be derived from a shared experience. Most service women had lived lives of isolation, working in socially restrictive jobs or staying at home with their families until they married. Service life enabled women to travel, to meet women from a variety of situations, to work in new fields and to assume more responsibilities for themselves and those who may have worked under them. As one ex-service woman described it, "It was like being let out of a cage."

Mother Was A Gunner's Mate is an excellent example of a personal history that speaks to the experience of many without ever losing the charm of intimacy. It is a well told story that does much to fill in the substantial gaps which still exist in the study of women's military service. It is highly recommended as an informative and entertaining account of service life for women during World War II.

Barbara Winters
Victoria, British Columbia

Edward L. Beach. *Scapegoats: A Defense of Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. ix + 212 pp., photographs, references, index. US $24.95, Cdn $34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-059-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Retired and celebrated US Navy submariner and active novelist-historian "Ned" Beach argues that the blame for the Pearl Harbor disaster on 7 December 1941 which was heaped upon senior commanders there is a national disgrace that should be put right. Basing his conclusions on exhaustive reading of the relevant literature, Beach urges that US Pacific Fleet commander Husband E. Kimmel and Hawaiian Department commander Walter C. Short should be restored to the highest war-time ranks they held instead

of the "permanent" lower ranks in which they were forced to retire — Kimmel as two-star rear admiral instead of four-star full admiral, Short as two-star major general instead of three-star lieutenant general. All fellow officers at war's end were so treated, and Beach believes that such a move, while only symbolic, would be fair and just.

In making his case, however, Beach calls for much more, namely, assigning the greatest blame to those most guilty: President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall, Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Harold R. Stark, Directory of Naval Intelligence Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, and Philippines commander General Douglas MacArthur. Beach categorically rejects the unprovable revisionist claims that FDR knew of the attack ahead of the time and/or orchestrated events in order to draw the United States into World War II. Rather, he charges the President, his two senior military chiefs, and especially Turner for failing to transmit sufficient war-warnings to Kimmel and Short to alert them to the danger. MacArthur is gratuitously added for his ineptness in defending the Philippines on 7 December. Beach also concedes that Kimmel and Short must share some of the blame as the officers in tactical command.

Beach summarizes — and rejects — virtually all the claims of hidden warnings of the impending Japanese carrier plane attack which sank the US battle line that fateful day. One of these, however, is tantalizing: that FDR held a meeting lasting several hours with his senior advisors and military officers at the White House the night of 6/7 December to consider the international situation. But no record exists — nor knowledge of Marshall's or Stark's whereabouts during the night and early morning hours. Beach believes the meeting to have been held, and if so, it was "undeniably the most momentous such meeting... of the entire history of the country." (p. 168) A bit hyperbolic but arguable.

The possible motives of Roosevelt and his military leaders to punish Kimmel and Short are three, in Beach's view, and none justifiable: to restore public confidence in the national government; to put Pearl Harbor behind and get on with the war; and to assuage damaged personal egos. To the latter factor he includes the "untrained authority" (p. 163), i.e., the incompetence of the top four guilty individuals wisely to handle and transmit the complex intelligence information available to them in the days before the attack. It is a charge which might well be levelled at US leaders being dragged into unwanted conflicts from the Quasi-War with France (1798) to Bosnia (1995). I would have to include Kimmel and Short to have been as equally untrained for this as their superiors.

Beach needs no footnotes to present his case, which is carefully based on the many books and essays on the subject and especially on the transcripts of the seven Pearl Harbor investigations. The one conducted by Admiral T.C. Hart is quoted heavily. An excellent bibliographic essay on the published literature is especially welcome.

Whether or not Beach convinces the US Navy and Army to restore the two ranks posthumously, he has rendered an invaluable service by summarizing and reviewing all the arguments over the blame for Pearl Harbor. His condemnation of Roosevelt haters and their polemics is shared by this reviewer. FDR "played the hand dealt him as well as he was able, was as much caught by the developing circumstances as anyone, and managed more than most to stay ahead of the game." (p.21) He had to get the United States into the war to save Western Civilization, and the Pearl Harbor attack gave him the necessary leverage. Beach faults him mostly for using Kimmel and Short as scapegoats in the process.

Clark C. Reynolds
Charleston, South Carolina

Thomas J. Cutler. ***The Battle of Leyte Gulf, 23-26 October 1944.*** New York: HarperCollins, 1994. xvii + 343 pp., maps, figures, photographs, source notes, bibliography, index. US $25, Cdn $35, cloth; ISBN 0-06-016949-4.

In October 1944 General Douglas MacArthur fulfilled his famous promise "I shall return" by leading a huge amphibious armada to Leyte in the Philippine Islands. It was the first giant step in the reconquest of the Philippines from Japan and resulted in the "Battle of Leyte Gulf," often touted as the biggest naval engagement in history. Simply naming the action after Leyte Gulf

is certainly misleading. The "Naval Battle of the Philippines" would be much more appropriate. The fighting around Leyte Gulf proper was just a portion, albeit the most dramatic, of a series of naval and air clashes between the US Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy that ranged for four days across the breadth of the massive archipelago. Victory determined that the Allies would retain their toehold on Leyte, eventually retake the rest of the Philippines, and ultimately win the Pacific War.

The Battle of Leyte Gulf presents many interesting aspects. Faced with far superior US carrier strength and with its own carrier force in shambles after a crushing defeat that June in the Philippine Sea, the Japanese high command sought somehow to bring its surface warships into gun and torpedo range of their opponents. In fact they succeeded by using the archipelago's unique geography and sacrificing their own few carriers to entice the American carrier fleet commander, Admiral William F. Halsey, into taking his flattops and fast battleships far away from crucial waters. What followed was a daylight clash reminiscent of the era of Jutland. Only Japanese timidity and the great bravery of the outnumbered American ships there prevented greater losses and a possible severe dislocation of Allied plans.

In the past fifty years the battle of Leyte Gulf has been the subject of many books and studies, from historical potboilers of dubious accuracy to the Naval War College's minute-by-minute behemoth left half-completed after five massive tomes. Rear Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison devoted an entire volume of his semi-official *History of United States Naval Operations during World War II* to the topic. Yet there is certainly room for a lively, well written popular account that mines the existing literature and adds material from newly available sources.

Thomas Cutler's *The Battle of Leyte Gulf* admirably fills this role. Far from taking for granted the nautical knowledge of his readers, he offers cogent explanations of naval terminology and doctrine that general readers will welcome but without boring the specialists. He does a fine job setting the stage by discussing the broad strategic overview, and offers colourful sketches of the important personalities: Admirals Ernest J. King, Chester W. Nimitz, Bill Halsey and Thomas C. Kinkaid and General MacArthur. He also identifies the admirals tasked with carrying out the intricate and daunting Japanese plan. Cutler's narrative of this complex battle is straightforward and clear. Personal recollections of admirals, commanders and bluejackets alike offer vivid glimpses into the horrors and triumphs of naval warfare, 1944-style.

Cutler's insights into the controversial points of the battle are useful and his judgements generally fair. He takes care to elucidate the detrimental effects of divided command — Kinkaid reported to MacArthur, while Halsey came under Nimitz in Hawaii. He carefully dissects Halsey's key decision to chase the Japanese carriers, leaving Kinkaid's amphibious forces vulnerable. He also documents the unfortunate quarrel between the two admirals after the war.

Interested readers, as well as students of naval history, will find Cutler's *The Battle of Leyte Gulf* both an enjoyable and accurate look at a battle that will never cease to fascinate.

John B. Lundstrom
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Carl Solberg. *Decision and Dissent: With Halsey at Leyte Gulf.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 203 pp., photographs, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. US $24.95, Cdn $34.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-791-0. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey remains the most controversial American sailor of World War II. Prevented from fighting at Midway by a painful skin disease, by June 1944 Halsey commanded the Third Fleet. Four months later, while supporting Douglas MacArthur's invasion of the Philippines, he was confronted by two Japanese fleets attempting to interfere with that invasion. Halsey chose to move north towards the Japanese carriers. The other Japanese force, seeking to attack MacArthur's transports, was rebuffed by Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid's small group of American escort carriers and destroyers after one of the bloodiest and heroic actions in American naval history, the Battle of Leyte Gulf.

A risk-taker, Halsey's decision to seek out

the carriers remains controversial. Accused by Kinkaid of foolishly falling for the Japanese ruse and failing to provide adequate protection for the transports, Halsey's defence was that he took a calculated risk and that the problem lay not with him but with a divided command and unsatisfactory communications. Historians, however, have tended to side with Kinkaid. Bernard Brodie, C. Vann Woodward, official navy historian Samuel Eliot Morison and Clark Reynolds have all criticized Halsey's conduct at Leyte. Morison refers to Halsey's choice to move north as a "blunder," while Reynolds, pulling few punches in *The Fast Carriers: The Forging of an Air Navy* (1968), states that Halsey was guilty of sloppy techniques, poor staff work, and that Halsey could have prevented the costly American losses by dividing his force before he moved north against the Japanese carriers. Unfortunately, Reynolds concludes, "such tactics were simply too complex for Bull Halsey."

Halsey's defenders have been few and far between. In *Decision at Leyte,* Stanley L. Falk argues that Halsey had to assume that the northern Japanese force, with four carriers, was the more dangerous foe and that the enemy would not bait a trap with such valuable vessels. Carl Solberg, however, makes clear that some of Halsey's staff did think that the carriers were a lure. Unfortunately, such concerns apparently were not expressed to Halsey before the fateful decision to move north had been made.

In 1944 Solberg was an air combat intelligence officer serving on Halsey's flagship, the battleship *New Jersey.* Solberg and his roommate on the *New Jersey,* Lt. Harris Cox, spent considerable time studying a captured Japanese master plan. Realizing that the enemy was using its carriers to lure the main American force away from the transports so that battleships could swoop down upon the landing site, Solberg and Cox tried to warn Halsey. Taking the matter to their immediate superior, the two officers were told that Halsey was asleep and could not be disturbed. By the time Halsey awoke it was too late. The southern approach to Leyte was unguarded and the southern Japanese flotilla was approaching Kinkaid's small force.

Solberg's book is frustrating. With many absorbing vignettes and photographs about shipboard life, there are numerous digressions into matters. While interesting, these add little to the real matter at issue — Halsey's decision to move northward with his entire undivided command. Solberg is openly sympathetic to the pressures bearing upon Halsey, but he avoids the question whether Halsey would have paid attention to the implications of the Japanese plan had it been shown to him on 24 October. One might suspect that it would have made no difference.

Galen Roger Perras
Gloucester, Ontario

Tony Keene. *The Ship That Voted No and Other Stories of Ships and the Sea.* Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1995. 86 pp., photographs. $7.95, paper; ISBN 0-88999-588-5.

Lancelot Press is a small firm deserving of encouragement in their program of publishing smaller and often unusual manuscripts, many dealing with ships and the sea. Not all are great history or even fascinating reading. But all seen by this reviewer have proved interesting and deserve a place in the bibliography of Canadian maritime history. Many tell tales that would otherwise disappear or be difficult to resurrect from obscure sources, even private manuscripts.

This slim volume is a miscellaneous collection of sea stories that appear to have been prepared for occasional magazine or newspaper columns. The main title is a bit misleading, but the supplementary one explains the book's purpose. Eight of the stories concern the Navy, wartime and post-war; four others are brief non-naval maritime stories touching Canada: the recovery of bodies and some artifacts from the *Titanic* in 1912; the loss of the schooner *Nancy* at Wasaga, Ontario in 1814 and the subsequent capture of two American schooners by her boats' crews; the record passages from England to Australia established by the Saint John-built clipper ship *Marco Polo;* and the resurrection of the 105 year-old steamer *Segwun* for use in the 1980s on Ontario's Lake Muskoka.

The naval stories cover everything from the reasons for building corvettes and *Sackville's* preservation, to *Bonaventure* post-war, to the loss of the Bangor 'sweeper *Clayoquot* on Christmas Eve, 1944. None of the tales will add to the knowledge of the *cognoscenti,* but if the

volume reaches a wider audience it will at least introduce the public to an esoteric selection of maritime histories. The title story concerns the controversial request for a vote by the crew RCN cruiser *Uganda,* then in action with the British Pacific Fleet off Japan in the summer of 1945, as to whether they would re-volunteer for the final stages of the Pacific war. When a majority voted "no," the ship left for home. It was a rather sad commentary on the lack of fortitude, certainly not of the men, many of whom had served for up to five years in the Atlantic battle, but to the vacillation and lack of both fortitude and even understanding by the government of the day. This tale leads into the next one on other "mutinies" in the RCN in the immediate post-war period and the resulting Mainguy Commission of Enquiry. Each is just narrated briefly without any serious attempt to analyze the reasons, or even the outcomes of these "work stoppages" or of the Mainguy Report. Such an assessment would have added to the value of the book, but would not have been in keeping with the rest, such as descriptions of the early days and demise of the hydrofoil HMCS *Bras d'Or* and of the "Last Liberty Ships," HMCS *Cape Breton* and *Cape Scott.* There are a few minor errors (it was *U-190* that sank HMCS *Esquimalt* in April 1945 and was taken into Halifax at war's end, not the U-boat that had sunk *Clayoquoi),* some carry-overs from other histories, and in some places printer's errors, but they are not vital to the tales. Overall, this is a book of interesting stories, worth its modest price and deserving a place in collections of Canadian maritime history.

F.M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario

David C. Holly. *Exodus 1947.* Rev. ed.; Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1969, 1995. xi + 239 pp., photographs, map, bibliography, index. US $29.95, Cdn $41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-367-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

First published in 1969, the re-issue of David Holly's book with some new material coincides with the fiftieth anniversary of the epic voyage of *Exodus* to Israel. Yet this is also a detailed biography of a Chesapeake Bay steamboat.

President Warfield, completed in 1928, cruised the inland waterways for twelve years between Baltimore, Maryland and Norfolk, Virginia. In May 1940 the ship began carrying military cargoes and servicemen bound for the ships and bases at Norfolk. Two years later, the US War Shipping Administration was asked to furnish the British Ministry of War Transport up to fifteen small, fast, shallow-draft vessels for cross-channel transport operations. *President Warfield* was particularly well-suited for this task. Yet a shortage of accommodations for troops undergoing amphibious warfare training relegated the ship to the ignominious role of barracks vessel. During the D-Day invasion, *President Warfield* served as an administration ship until the Allies secured the Channel ports. Following the cessation of hostilities, the ship returned to the United States and was de-commissioned in September 1945. For the rest of the year, *President Warfield* remained anchored in James River, a rusting and neglected hulk.

In 1946 the ship was sold for scrap, but was resold two days later to the Weston Trading Company of New York. The company was really a cover for Haganah, the Jewish military underground. As a result, in 1947 *President Warfield* joined the "illegal immigration fleet" transporting Jewish refugees from Europe to Palestine, and was renamed *Exodus.* The ship grabbed headlines around the world when its true mission was discovered. *President Warfield,* with 4,500 survivors of the Holocaust aboard, confronted the Royal Navy as it attempted to run the British blockade of Palestine. Despite an overwhelming force the Royal Navy encountered difficulties in its attempt to turn back the ship. In the end, however, the unarmed passenger ship was no match for naval warships. After numerous attempts, the navy finally boarded the vessel and overpowered the crew. Flanked by British warships, the vessel was escorted into Haifa harbour and the refugees were eventually returned to Germany. The handling of this affair brought worldwide condemnation of the British government and split the ruling Labour party. The voyage of *Exodus* mirrored the Jewish plight. More important, it rallied a people and launched a nation — Israel. Fifty years later, the ship is venerated in that nation's history.

Unlike most ships' histories this one lives and breathes. It is the story of the human condition. This book makes excellent reading, in part, because of Holly's empathy for his subject matter. In addition, the book is replete with photographs that complement the text most effectively. It was a pleasure to read this work, and I recommend it to anyone interested in maritime history.

Shawn Cafferky
Ottawa, Ontario

Malcolm H. Murfett. *In Jeopardy: The Royal Navy and British Far Eastern Defence Policy 1945-1951.* Kuala Lumpur and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. xiv + 178 pp., tables, end-maps, bibliographical appendix, bibliography, index. Cdn $56.50, cloth; ISBN 967-65-3058-1.

The problems facing Clement Attlee's British Labour Government at the end of World War II were legion. The population was exhausted after six years of war and yearned for the relief of a promised revolution in social programs. But the weakened economy could not guarantee delivery on electoral promises without significant budgetary cuts elsewhere. Retrenchment in the armed forces was the obvious solution; the evident starting point was the shedding of peripheral responsibilities, away from the northwest European and Middle Eastern fronts central in the anticipated showdown with the Soviet Union.

The imperial guilt of Attlee's ministers did nothing to lessen their dilemma: the rubber and tin of Malaya made it one of the few truly profitable colonies, and the teeming markets of China beckoned British traders, despite resumption of the ongoing Nationalist-Communist civil war. The Far East held the key to the economic recovery of Great Britain.

What then to do about Singapore and Hong Kong? Both had fallen to the Japanese with unnerving ease. Neither had been liberated in action during the war, returning instead by default to their former colonial owner with Japan's unconditional surrender. The myth of western invincibility exploded, there was nothing to deter another Asian enemy from anticipating their early capture in any future conflict. But geography ordained that these vital links in the old imperial defence chain would retain their importance in the developing Commonwealth communications network. At the conclusion of *In Jeopardy,* Malcolm Murfett makes the point that the decision for their re-use was taken, like George Mallory's celebrated quest to climb Mount Everest, "Because it is there."

But while agreement on rehabilitation was one thing, total restoration was very definitely another. *In Jeopardy* traces the precarious position of Far Eastern defences. What could have been a short book about a small subject is made valuable by Murfett's use of the role of the Royal Navy in the Far East as a point of departure to examine British postwar defence policy. He covers the delicate balancing of needs against interests in the attempts to draw the burgeoning Commonwealth Dominions of Australia and New Zealand, as well as the United States, all with their conflicting economic and political designs for the region, into schemes for the defence of Southeast Asia. His examination in particular of the work of the Harwood Committee, established by the Chiefs of Staff in 1948 to rationalize the enduring problems of military needs and economic resources for the looming Cold War era, is fresh and compelling. And he underscores the point that the increasing amounts of money lavished upon the armed forces from 1950 on was in large part the result of a series of crises in the Far East: the outbreak of the Malayan Emergency in June 1948; the *Amethyst* incident (subject of a separate detailed study by the same author) in April-July 1949; the subsequent Communist takeover of the Chinese mainland; and the invasion of South Korea by the North in June 1950. The eventual drawing of Communist China into that conflict confirmed the expansion of the Cold War to the Far East and identified the future threat to Singapore and Hong Kong.

If there is one regret about Murfett's presentation, it is the lack of an operational and economic context to the policy web. Still, this is a first-class academic study. While his bibliography provides a thorough review of the secondary sources, it is his use of primary documents that is most appreciated. He unfortunately has had to cover his manuscript with the caveat that it cannot be considered to be a final and definitive

study, since an unknown amount of possibly crucial material concerning the activities of the British Defence Co-ordination Committee [Far East] has not yet been released by the British Government into the public domain, despite his repeated efforts. Until some other historian manages to crack that nut, this will be the last word on the subject.

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Sean M. Maloney. *Securing Command of the Sea: NATO Naval Planning 1948-1954.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xiv + 276 pp., figures, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US $38.95, Cdn $54.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-562-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Given the current interest in expanding NATO this is a particularly timely book. Sean M. Maloney, a young Canadian scholar pursuing a PhD at Temple University, offers both a compelling history of a much neglected area of naval history, coalition command relationships in the early cold war at sea, but offers an important reminder of the particular historical circumstances giving shape to NATO's command organization, the role of personalities, shared experience in World War II, and the overarching importance of the special relationship between Great Britain and the United States. Canada rode the coat-tails of that relationship, but in that it was a willing, able and welcome rider. Canada's role in the World War II Battle of the Atlantic, together with ties to the RN, prepared its way. That triangular relationship was and remains unique. It goes some way to explaining Canada's role in NATO naval strategy, but also how SACLANT and other NATO naval commands took shape. As so little has been written of these particular historical origins, diplomats (civil or military) who wax about the merits of expanding NATO must labour in ignorance of how tenuous it all was at the creation. In the present day, revealing the holy of holies to unctuous but unblooded new allies with no history of cooperation is a tremendous leap in faith likely to meet full square a gale of distrust and pride which so clearly influenced the closest of allies, Canada, Britain and the United States.

Maloney's historical case study addresses early NATO strategic planning and command organization — in particular, reference to the formation of SACLANT and CINCAFMED. The account reveals the parlous state of western defence forces in the early cold war period, the power of precedent in the early command relations formalized under NATO, and the clash of command philosophy between the two largest members, the United States and the United Kingdom. While the latter favoured a tri-service joint committee system the United States developed and preferred the unified command organization, with the command falling to the service with the largest share of assets within the command. Maloney offers valuable insight in the weaknesses of that system, which despite British appeals came to dominate the NATO system. Moreover, while illustrating the golden rule of power politics, that the nation with the deepest pockets gets to call the shots, or in this case take command, he shows the almost peripatetic plight of the post-war Britain, still great but clearly eclipsed. Notwithstanding Churchill's pleas, that the precedent set by the number of British seamen's bones that littered the North Atlantic demanded a Briton be named SACLANT, the golden rule, rather than bleached white bones won out. So too in the Mediterranean, the chief link to Britain's far eastern empire.

The separate forewords by Admiral of the Fleet RN Julian Oswald, and former US Chief of Naval Operations Frank B. Kelso III commend this account to serving officers. Yet this work should also find a wide audience. This seemingly arcane story, well researched among rarely mined documentary sources at Canadian, American and British national archives, should find an audience among political scientists and historians interested in bi-lateral US-UK relations, tri-lateral, Canadian-UK-US relations and multi-lateral defence relations within NATO. The declinist school of British history will also find a litany of insult and injury. The drivers of the Pax Americana were — and remain — awkward at handling the ship of state.

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Jeremy Flack. *Today's Royal Navy in Colour.* London: Arms & Armour Press, 1995. 192 pp., colour photographs. £19.99, Cdn $41.95, US $29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-162-X. Distributed by Sterling Publishing, New York.

This is a beautifully illustrated book — almost all illustrations in fact — covering every aspect of the Royal Navy: submarines, carriers, surface combatants, amphibious and minewarfare forces, Naval Air Command and Marines, as well as the Royal Fleet Auxiliary and the Royal Maritime Auxiliary Service. Each section has an introduction and each picture is accompanied by good explanatory captions.

The reduced size of today's Royal Navy and the comparatively small number of different classes of warship has made it rather easy to provide photos from all angles of each type, as well as illustrations of activities on-board, in the air and ashore. Many of the photos are stunning, but the emphasis is on action, not artistry, which certainly suits me. The Navy gave Flack, a well-known aviation photographer, every opportunity to take and compile these pictures and has been rewarded by what is essentially a first-class recruiting brochure. This would be an excellent book to give to any British youngster who might be interested in going to sea. Indeed, considering the pitiful state of the once mighty British merchant marine, now reduced to a few ferries and oil rig supply vessels, the Royal Navy or one of its civilian subsidiary services might be the easiest way to a sea career.

This is an attractive book but not of particular significance to a Canadian unless one has a special interest in the Royal Navy

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E.T. Wooldridge (ed.). *Into the Jet Age: Conflict and Change in Naval Aviation 1945-1975.* Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xxiii + 321 pp., photographs, maps, appendices (glossary, bibliography), index. US $32.50, Cdn $45.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-932-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book is made up of a selection of oral histories extracted from the Oral History program of the United States Naval Institute. They cover the period from 1945 to 1975 and reflect the views of fifteen naval aviators who, with two exceptions, reached flag rank, including two who served as Chief of Naval Operations. All of the contributions are concerned with the evolution of US naval aviation at the operational, policy, procurement and political levels.

The contributions are arranged in nineteen chapters, organized around three broad themes. The first is the postwar demobilization of the US Navy, its painful transition to jet aircraft, the introduction of helicopters for shipborne use, and the adoption of such major British innovations as the angled flight deck, deck landing mirror systems and the steam catapult.

The second group concerns itself with a major theatre of conflict: Washington. These contributions concern primarily the battles between the US Navy and the newly established US Air Force and Department of Defense in the late 1940s over the continuing need for carrier-based strategic capability. Others take up the struggle over the decision of the Department and Secretary Robert McNamara in particular to equip the US Air Force and the US Navy with a multi-role aircraft, originally the TFX or F111 as it was later known.

The focus of the third group is the sharp end. Here we learn about the experiences of the contributors in operations over Korea, around Cuba during the blockade and in Southeast Asia. Particularly interesting is the account of the advent of jet-powered night fighters into naval service in Korea. The most powerful contribution is that of a former POW who spent six years in captivity in North Vietnam.

The entire collection and each group within it is introduced by the editor, himself a distinguished naval aviator who spent eighteen years at the National Air and Space Museum in Washington following his military service. The result is a readable series of reflections on a transitional period in the history of the US Navy complete with observations on the perfidy of the US Air Force, the mistake of allowing the Department of Defense to fall into the clutches of McNamara and his "whiz kids," the shortsightedness of the decision not to invade Cuba during the 1962 Missile Crisis and, of course, the folly

of the constraints placed on naval aviation during the Vietnam War.

We also are exposed to the clannishness of the various aviation communities, the exhaustion brought on by non-stop operations and the resultant erosion of personal command capacity, the difficulty in developing common combat aircraft for carrier borne and air force use and the Byzantine process for procurement in Washington. On a more positive note, the clear focus by the Marine Corps in the development of its aviation assets for close air support in Korea and Vietnam wins much praise.

The contributions definitely have a sanitized quality, so that few professional differences are aired (although in some cases one can read between the lines). An exception is Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, whose oral history is not included, and who is criticised by three contributors for his political gamesmanship during and after his tenure as CNO from 1970 to 1974.

It would have been interesting to have included more divergent opinions from those on each side of the F/A-18 controversy, given that it was forced on the operational side of the USN by the systems and supply side. Similarly, there is little of the ASW community to be found or the more contemporary use of rotary wing aircraft. The impact on the role of naval aviation of the development of submarine-borne nuclear weapons does not figure highly in the commentaries either. Nevertheless this is a most interesting book about and by those who fought the good fight to preserve US naval aviation and its carrier groups during thirty turbulent years.

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Jerry Proc. *Radio Systems Aboard HMCS Haida.* 2nd ed.; Toronto: Jerry Proc, 1995 [Jerry Proc, 68 Braywin Drive, Etobicoke, Ont. M9P 2P3]. 140 pp., photographs, tables, figures, appendices, glossary, index. $12 in Canada, US $10 in USA, US$13 elsewhere, postpaid; paper/spiral-bound.

HMCS *Haida* is an important part of Canada's maritime history. She and her Tribal Class sisters played an important role during World War II in the Royal, Royal Australian and Royal Canadian Navies, and saw active service in all theatres. *Haida* is the only survivor of this important class of ship. After conversion by the post-war RCN into an anti-submarine escort, she was decommissioned for the last time in 1963. Ever since, she has been a museum ship in Toronto, Ontario, maintained by the labour and the love of numerous volunteers.

This slim volume is the work of one of those volunteers. Proc is a long-time radio buff who recently become involved in the restoration of *Haida's* radio equipment. This effort led him to produce this research paper, documenting the ship's radio systems as they were in 1963, as well as during the war years. The result is a gold mine of information on the technical aspects of RCN wireless telegraphy.

A brief summary of wireless signalling in the Royal Navy is followed by sections describing such things as direction finding, communications security, RCN fleet communications protocols and procedures, RCN training, life aboard ship, and so on. There is a mix of basic and very specialized information, leavened with anecdotes from men who served in *Haida* and other HMC ships.

The most important part of the book are the sections detailing the equipment used aboard Canadian ships, and the description of *Haida's* four radio rooms, their reconditioning and equipment. This is very much intended for the serious student, for it includes equipment model numbers, frequencies, communications plans, a few schematic drawings, operator procedures and tricks, to list just a few. Two appendices deserve special mention. One is a list of North American radio frequency allocations during 1942; the other a list of RCN radio call signs *(Haida,* for example, had "CGJD" and "King Cobra" as her international code and voice call signs). This is information not often encountered.

This is a research paper, intended for a specific audience. It would likely benefit from some editing and a professional production crew. What matters, however, is that Proc has produced a work full of information that is hard to come by, data that will be important for the future preservation of *Haida* and other ships like her. As such, this work deserves wider notice.

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