

BOOK REVIEWS

John B. Hattendorf (ed.). *Doing Naval History: Essays Toward Improvement*. Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1995. ix + 160 pp., table, figure. US \$8 (+ \$2.50 p+h), paper; ISBN 1-884733-06-9.

This book shows John Hattendorf at his best, shepherding a group of naval historians into their own snug harbour and encouraging them to recognize their surroundings. Using the facilities of Newport, widening this potential by association with Yale, and bringing in an international and cross-disciplinary team, he has done some real 'naval' gazing. There was a need for it.

Robert Wood, Hattendorf, James Goldrick (to a degree), and Nicholas Rodger seem to agree that their craft is closely linked to national or naval history. They do not write it, or about it, as if the purpose was to produce a strategic brief to win the next war. This is helpful since naval officers often seem to labour under delusions that infect naval history. The first is that they are the only ones who appreciate naval history; another is that naval researchers ought to be dedicated to problem-solving for the admirals of the future. It is important that these slants be faced, as Robert Wood does squarely, making it clear (since defence departments and other government agencies generally write our pay cheques) that our writing is effected. Few writers, service or civilian, are inclined to resist the omnipresence of the corrupting taint of money.

This book, as I say, does not strongly address this question of historical propriety. Instead, the question of attachment to 'general' history comes up. There seems to be agreement that naval historians should know other things than naval lore. How far that should go is hard to assess. Certainly, as Hattendorf suggests, such 'cognate' work as political science and econ-

omics seem respectable enough. But what other 'frills'? Sailing as a trade is one thing. Such luminaries as Phil Crowl and Ted Ropp operated out of a very wide base of erudition. Should such initiatives be successfully crowded by specialists?

Imbedded in these pieces seem to be two or three general problems. The first is, what is the need to induce more social and political history into the study of naval war? The second is, the perceived requirement of a real knowledge of nautical technology, especially in the twentieth century. Of course, Ehrman on William III, Rodger on the 'Wooden Walls,' and Daniel Baugh on forest supply understood this for the wooden age. But Jon Sumida in his eloquent advocacy of the Pollens of this world seems to be claiming a special case for modern technology. It may be that this is a matter of degree. This could be argued, but there is not much of a case for deliberate neglect. Surely we must master our fields in ways that appear necessary. The second part of this argument seems to be that as the twentieth century advances, the chances of an historical appreciation of technology recedes. But perhaps the complicated patterns that technology has created may be resolved by more technology, or at least understood through it. If the technology is kept secret (by defence departments), that is a statecraft problem and nothing to do with historians. Indeed, it says more about the tendency of some historians to swim with the political and social environment than anything about the nature and uses of history. Sumida should relax. He is safely aboard the naval history ship and not likely to be forced to walk the plank. But he may not be able to take over the ship completely.

There is not space for an even-handed treatment of the various chapters. But a few judgments must be hazarded. Goldrick deserves

full credit for seeing the significance of the Falklands in the strategic balance sheet of World War I, despite his marked naval officer viewpoint. In reference to Thompson's paper, Clemenceau's reference to Wilson's "Fourteen Points" is apropos, *viz.* "God Almighty has only Ten." Paul Kennedy's party piece is different, provocative and titillating, as he no doubt intended. Robert Wood is shrewd and thoughtful. Nicholas Rodger seems to have re-written the job-description of his history of the Royal Navy, although his studied debunking of invasion-conscious strategies would have amused Michael Lewis. But Paul Halperin's paper dealing with Austrian, French, and Italian navies is a model essay, providing as it does information on navies less studied in the Anglo-Saxon world together with extensive information concerning the whereabouts of sources to do this. He also raises the question of the "gift of tongues," showing the hard choices that must be made by researchers working in southern European countries of the Mediterranean littoral. Furthermore, his message, like Corbett's on the Russo-Japanese War, is that less successful actions may tell us more about naval warfare than the story of naval routs. Halperin is the most impressive naval historian writing today, and his mastery of his craft shows.

It is good for naval writers to do some 'navel-gazing' from time to time. Hattendorf has assembled some provocative essays. Not for the first time we are very much indebted to him for opening the boundaries of our craft in a helpful way, and through such authoritative contributors. This is a stimulating book that should be compulsory reading by naval writers.

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Hervé Coutau-Bégarie. *L'Histoire maritime en France*. Paris: Institut stratégie comparée, 1995 [École pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences historiques et philologiques, Sorbonne - Escalier E, 45-47, rue des Écoles, 75005, Paris]. 75 pp., index. 75 FFr, paper; ISBN 2-7178-2893-1.

This is a curious little volume, at once both slight and substantial. It is curious because this is its third manifestation in this life — the first

having been in the form of an essay in *Ubi Sumus? The State of Naval and Maritime History* (Naval War College Press, 1994), the second in the form of an article in *La Revue maritime* (March 1995). By any standard, this is pretty good for a piece which comprises less than thirty pages of text, supplemented by over twenty pages of single spaced source references.

The point is that this is more of an essay than a book, a bibliographical essay. Its sole purpose is to guide readers to the secondary literature on naval and maritime history from the ancient world to that of the twentieth century. Reasonably, it does not claim to be exhaustive. Its focus is on the historical research of French scholars since the late nineteenth century, and principally on France's own sea-related experience. It offers no direct assistance on the subject of that country's archives, but rather concentrates on the books and unpublished dissertations which have been completed in France over the past two or three decades. Therein lies its ambition, and its utility.

The structure of the essay is straightforward, as befits a piece designed to provide a service. The first half addresses naval history chronologically, from ancient to modern, that is to say various landmark studies of fleets and fighting sailors. The second half addresses maritime history thematically — naval archaeology, seafaring and the economy, the social history of seafarers and port dwellers, the impact of both on overseas development. But naval or maritime, period or theme, what provides the continuity is the French experience as interpreted — mainly — by French historians.

This emphasis is not fortuitous, for if there is a single over-arching idea it is to galvanize French scholars into action. For too long, according to the author, naval history — like military history — fell into disrepute, a victim of the *Annales* and the tyranny of social history. Coincidentally, American and British scholars — supported by better funded historical establishments — assumed a greater proportion of the burden for naval and maritime history, even that of France! Between them, the *annalistes* by intent, and the *anglo-saxons* by inadvertence, managed to constrain and overshadow the contribution of French scholars to France's seafaring history. Only in the past two decades

has there been an appreciable renaissance in France itself, one to which Coutau-Bégarie has made many contributions. Part complaint, part remonstrance, part inspiration, this essay serves as a useful field guide to the current state of naval-maritime scholarship in France. As such, its latest reincarnation is to be welcomed.

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Anne Ala-Pöllänen (éd.). *De nordiska sjofartsmuseernas 14:e samarbetsmote i Finland*. Helsinki: Maritime Museum of Finland, 1995. 49 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, paper; ISBN 951-9075-83-6.

Riita Blomgren and Jukka Eenilä (eds.). *Nautica Fennica: The Maritime Museum of Finland Annual Report 1994*. Helsinki: The Maritime Museum of Finland and the Association for Maritime History, 1995 [The Maritime Museum of Finland, Hylkysaari, FIN-00570 Helsinki, Finland]. 95 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures. 80 FIM (+ packing & postage), paper; ISBN 951-9075-81-X.

Since 1965, the Nordic Maritime Museums have held workshops when employees of the museums meet to discuss problems of mutual interest. In 1994 the meeting was held for the second time in Finland, and the Finnish Maritime Museum has now published some of the papers, edited by Anne Ala-Pöllänen. Peter von Busch of the Karlskrona Naval Museum writes about the development of Baltic naval harbour at Karlskrona in south-east Sweden. The first plans were made in the late seventeenth century and thereafter, and until the nineteenth century, the harbour was gradually improved. M.K. Stammers of the Merseyside Maritime Museum gives an overview of general links between Liverpool and Scandinavia for trade and emigration. Stammers emphasizes the great importance to Britain of the Baltic trade in the eighteenth century, and notes the particular importance for the Scandinavian countries and Finland of Liverpool as a port for emigration. Last but not least, Pekka Toivanen of the Provincial Museum of Pietarsaari provides an overview of the mythical Finnish sailor in literature. It is a pity

that this paper is published in Swedish (the other two papers are in English), since it would undoubtedly be of interest to readers outside Scandinavia. Toivanen gives an account of the myth of the Finn who is able to perform witchcraft and shows how the legend can be traced back through the Middle Ages and beyond through (among others) Tacitus and Ptolemaios all the way to Homer. Toivanen then shows how the myth lives on in literature, citing the works of Lord Byron, Joseph Conrad, Richard Henry Dana, F. Scott Fitzgerald and others. The author finally takes us into the days of the Cold War where the mythical Finn appears in spy stories, pictured as a suspect agent or smuggler of weapons.

The second of the two collections reviewed here, *Nautica Fennica*, is a yearbook for the Finnish Maritime Museum and the Association for Maritime History. The articles in this volume are printed in both Finnish and English, making it quite accessible for the international reader.

The main article, "Sailing Ships Used to Carry Sand in Eastern Uusimaa" by Hannu Matikka, deals in detail with the last working sailing vessels in the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland. The fleet of auxiliary schooners freighting sand into Helsinki until 1973 was certainly also one of the last in the world. Matikka shows how a totally new type of vessel emerged in the 1920s, with a rounded aft, a poop deck, an aft cabin with a steering house, pole masts with the main higher than the mizzen and hoisting gaff sails. They were between twenty and thirty metres in length, measuring between thirty-five and eighty-five tons net and fitted with auxiliary engines. Between 1942 and 1949, thirty-one of these vessels were built in the rural district of Porvoo just east of Helsinki. As source material the author leans heavily on interviews with skippers and builders of these vessels, giving the article a touch of ethnographic authenticity. Good photographs and drawings add to its interest.

The volume also carries articles about the restoration of a life boat and a cat-boat as well as one about the origins of the Pomors, the people living by the White Sea.

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Mercedes Palau Baquero and Antonio Orozco Acuaviva (eds.). *Malaspina '92: I Jornadas Internacionales*. Cadiz: Real Academia Hispanoamericana, 1994. xv + 413 + xxxi pp., illustrations, maps, figures, tables, bibliography, index, conference programme. 4000 ptas, paper; ISBN 84-600-9016-7. Distributed by Ediciones Polifemo, Avda. de Bruselas 44, 28028 Madrid.

Malaspina '92 reprints the papers given at the 1992 conference on the expedition of Alejandro Malaspina (1789-1794). Academics, museum and archive professionals, government and diplomatic representatives, and other interested persons from around the world made forty presentations ranging from achievements of the expedition itself to late eighteenth-century Chinese exploitation of the North Pacific to botanic and ethnographic evidences of the expedition naturalist in Prague. The overall achievement is a positive one, emphasizing the many connections of the voyage to the developments in late eighteenth-century geographical exploration, biological investigation, Spanish administrative reform, and the global diplomatic scene.

The papers were arranged into various sub-headings but their three main preoccupations might be identified as topics relating to Malaspina and the voyage, and those relevant to either the scientific/intellectual or political/diplomatic/economic contexts of the expedition. Numerous notable essays address each category.

Regarding aspects of Malaspina and the expedition, Julian Zulueta elaborates on the matter of Malaspina's health. From the communication of the prison overseer at la Coruna, he infers that his robust health failed rapidly in prison, not due to the humidity of the facility as traditionally believed, but as a longer-term effect of scurvy which did not manifest itself during the expedition. Lauro Destetani provides a thorough itinerary of the expedition's sojourns in Rio de la Plata. José Ortiz Sotelo brings to light some of the ancillary effects of the time spent in Peru, including the founding of a school of painting. In another essay, José Maria Cano Trigo relates what were arguably some of the most notable achievements of the voyage with regard to geographical work. The beginnings of a literary interpretation of the voyage documents are tantalizingly offered by Catherine Poupeney

Hart, though we are left hungry for more. Dario Manfredi's relation of Malaspina's early career and training, as well as his prison reading list, provide a welcome supplement to our knowledge of his more public life. Andrew David follows cartographer Felipe Bauzá's sojourn to England in the aftermath of the 1823 repression of the Cadiz Cortes. Eduardo Estrella argues that, though the expedition stayed in Ecuador for but a short time, the resulting *Zoologia* was a seminal work on the biology of America. He also notes the cordial cooperation of Spanish officials at Quito in assembling information to the benefit of the expedition. Tomàs Bartroli's appendix on two murders perpetrated during the expedition evince effective research and illuminate an aspect of the tale not typically stressed.

With regard to the intellectual history context, Robin Inglis examines the idea of the noble savage and its relation to the situation of the northwest coast of North America at the time of Malaspina. He adroitly argues that the noble savage was neither sought nor found there. The Europeans were put off by the filth encountered in clothing and dwelling. La Pérouse, reconnoitring the coast at nearly the same time, decried the myth as the creation of untravelled Europeans. Inglis notes that its persistence can be seen to indicate Enlightenment faith in the innate goodness of man rather than a literal acclamation of primitivism.

Andres Galera Gomez notes the significance of the voyage for the identification of American and Philippine fauna, and the scientific agenda enumerated by Spallanzani. A more intriguing aspect of his essay is the notion that control of science was beginning to be held to lead to political power during that era. Victoria Ibáñez relates her pioneering work on the early life (and on-going family concerns) of expedition naturalist Tadeo Haenke at Prague. The section on "Medicine and Public Health" is given over to commentaries on the expedition's two medical writings: the "Avisos a los navegantes sobre la conservación de su salud" and the "Diario Medico-Chirurgico" of the corvette *Atrevida*. Points to note are the similar insightfulness of the former with like documents of the era, notably that of Cook; the distaste of northwest Amerindians for bread, wine, oranges and sugar; suggestions that mariners be drawn from health-

ier segments of society or perhaps given alternate years to rest; and the treatment of crew members for scorbatic, venereal and other ailments. The paper by José Luis Luzon on the new viceroyalty of Buenos Aires provides the interesting observations of expeditionaries on the region's climate, soil and commerce. Relations of the voyage with the founding of astronomical observatories were offered by Francisco José Gonzalez Gonzalez and Manuel Lopez Arroyo, the former noting important documents housed at the Observatoria de la Armada.

With regard to the diplomatic and other non-scientific contexts, the papers of the opening session create an effective backdrop of the Bourbon Reforms and Enlightenment thought. Barry Gough provides an ambitious and lucid summary of contemporary diplomacy in the Pacific region. James Gibson argues convincingly that the Spanish were not, in the event, able to benefit from the burgeoning fur trade of the 1780s. Despite better access to the fur-producing regions than the English, Americans or Russians, they could not establish a thriving trade. The difficulty of obtaining the pelts, the founding of the Royal Philippine Company and the opening of Canton complicated the situation and made the prospect an impossible one. Robert King and Peter Barber comment on the expedition's interest in visiting Australia. King reprints items from contemporary newspapers on Britain's goals for beginning the penal colony and Barber compares differing drawings of the same scenes for English and Spanish viewers.

Overall, the collection will heighten awareness of an expedition, the significance of which has grown substantially in the past twenty years. The "Jornadas" is both a result of this interest and a potential catalyst for more such work. The volume presents much new research not hitherto available in one place. The bibliography compiled by Mercedes Palau and Blanca Saiz will be of lasting worth. The multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary aspects of the work are also appealing. Both the program and the expedition itself illuminate the conjunction of various threads of thought and action that should not be considered separately, and too often are. The late eighteenth-century expedition occurred at a brief moment when that realization was appreciated and implemented.

Given its affiliation with the Colombian Quincentenary, the "Jornadas" is particularly laudable. The association of the anniversary with so many often banal projects relating to the original voyages, the devolution into rancorous and frequently subjective rhetoric on Europe and her subject peoples, and the further devolution to the even more innocuous and sanitized "Columbian exchange," present on many fronts a squandered opportunity for wide-ranging research. This volume shows the scholarly and topical potential that many, perhaps most, quincentenary projects did not achieve.

One can find shortcomings in any volume, and one finds them here. Chief among these is the fact that other papers might have been presented with relevance equal to that of many in the volume. One might have further illuminated the state of biological, cartographical or meteorological studies throughout Europe at the time, for instance, or Russian expansionism, the results of Bourbon reform in telling locales such as Peru or Venezuela, the situation of the Philippines, or the chaotic circumstances of Spanish peninsular governance at the time. The fact that the volume derives to an extent from the interests of conference participants seems to be responsible for any gaps in coverage. In this regard the conference was actually astonishing for its scope, not for any deficiencies.

Typographical problems are occasionally distracting, but most derive from the need to set type in English, and are fewer than they might have been. More lamentable is the omission of the notes from Peter Barber's essay on the drawings of Australian ports.

Some might view with dismay the participation of non-academic historians; indeed a few of the presentations bordered on the mundane. Yet all participants seemed well-informed and deferential to their audience as they deemed it appropriate. This factor, too, relates to the nature of the conference, and the Quincentennial barrage of work has produced much worse.

In sum, the volume informs and fascinates. To paraphrase presenter Juan Barcelo, it furthers the task of bringing Malaspina out of stories (*histórias*) and into history (*história*).

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Klaus Friedland (ed.). *Maritime Food Transport*. Cologne: Böhlaus Verlag, 1994. xii + 583 pp., tables, figures, maps. DM/sFr 144, OS 1123, paper; ISBN 3-412-09893-0.

Maritime Food Transport is a collection of more than thirty papers presented at the 1990 International Congress of Maritime History in Seville. Most are case-studies of a particular sea-borne trade in food, ranging from wine in the Middle Ages to bananas in the present day. The geographic scope is equally broad, with large sections on the North Sea and Baltic, on the Mediterranean and on the Atlantic, and a smaller but more focused section on the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The opening and closing articles set the context, examining food supply generally as it relates to navigation, politics and war. Though lacking a summary article, *Maritime Food Transport* is nevertheless a valuable collection. Perhaps its most important contribution is precisely in presenting such an array of examples, so that readers can see how similar problems in logistics and navigation were handled in different times and places.

Several papers focus upon the Newfoundland fisheries. In a well-documented yet concise analysis, Jean-François Brière stresses how little control the outfitting merchant had in this trade, dependent as he was on both the ship-captain at sea and the consignment merchant in Marseille. Brière is especially good at explaining the role of the latter. Laurier Turgeon makes excellent use of cookbooks, treatises of political economy and the accounts of hospitals and convents to delve into the marketing of cod in France. He reminds us that the tastes of consumers on land had a deciding role in the fate of the fisheries. For instance, eighteenth-century Normandy and Brittany were centres of herring, mackerel and sardine consumption so that, despite their closer proximity to the Newfoundland fisheries, they were less important than Marseille, Bordeaux and Bayonne as *importers* of dried cod. J. DeCourcy Ireland touches upon the Newfoundland fisheries in his overview of the Irish fishing industry, while Shannon Ryan looks at the impact that the shift to steam transport had on the Newfoundland saltfish trade during the nineteenth century. The importance of being first to market means that the relatively early applica-

tion (in the 1870s) of steam to this trade is not surprising. What is surprising is the effect this shift had on the quality of Newfoundland saltfish; the rush for speed meant that unculled and incompletely cured fish were shipped, while the speed and size of the steamers brought more fish to market than the market could consume. It would be interesting to see if this conclusion holds for other sorts of fish and/or fishing fleets; did Norwegian cod also decline in quality as a result of the introduction of steam?

Like Ryan, David Williams also considers the shift to steam in his paper on the citrus trade to Britain in the nineteenth century. He gives us a useful set of data (his exactitude is exemplary; see his caution about ports of origin, p.343) and shows how steam changed voyage patterns and shipment size. He concludes that, while steam was dominant by 1885, the citrus trade also revealed "the resilience of sail and the less than immediate triumph of steam." (p. 346) Williams notes as well (p. 345) how foreign vessels (especially Spanish, German and Norwegian) came to dominate this trade by 1910. Peter Davies also reviews the impact of steam on the fruit trade in his paper on the international trade in bananas. He too shows how sail managed to play a role until relatively late, especially in the Caribbean-United States run, in part because steamers needed much more sophisticated handling port-side, which was not provided until around 1900. Cooling systems onboard were also critical. As Davies stresses, successful trade in bananas depends on running a tightly integrated transport system, not merely a ship but cargo facilities from plantation to market.

The grain trades are well covered by several papers. J. Thomas Lindblad provides a concise and statistically impressive review of Sweden's role as the Baltic's lone major grain importer in the eighteenth century. He shows via regression analysis that grain markets in Sweden and Amsterdam were highly integrated by then, (pp. 78-9) Less expected are his intriguing findings that "the causal link between price and quantity was weak" and that the putative relationship between increased demand for foreign grain and domestic harvest failures "cannot be unambiguously reaffirmed along statistical lines." (p. 79) This suggests that grain storage played an important role in countering dearth;

was grain held as a matter of public policy or private initiative? Whatever the case, one hopes that Lindblad's article spurs more work on grain price history.

Grain features prominently in articles by Karel Veraghtert and Joachim Blaesing on Antwerp and Rotterdam respectively from 1850 to 1914. Veraghtert traces the shift in Antwerp from colonial and luxury goods to more mundane bulk commodities, grain above all, and stresses the impact of American grain exports in transforming Antwerp as well as Rotterdam, (pp. 83-4, 90) Blaesing, on the other hand, feels that one should not overestimate the role of American grain; (p.379) the Netherlands still received most grain from Russia and Rumania. He emphasizes demand instead, especially that created by German industrialization of the Ruhr area.

Christos Hadziiossif also puts grain at the centre of his analysis of the development of the Greek merchant marine from the eighteenth century to the present. He goes so far as to say that, after 1770, "le commerce des céréales formera la base économique de la marine grecque." (p.235) He demonstrates how thoroughly Greek ships came to dominate the Black Sea grain trade and sketches the process whereby captains became owner-merchants. In outlining Greek merchant behaviour, Hadziiossif highlights individuality and separate operations.

E.S. van Eyck van Heslinga's article on the transport of tea to the Netherlands during 1795-1810 also explores merchant behaviour. Backed by extensive data, she shows how the Dutch continued to import tea during the Napoleonic period when their ships were in constant danger from the British. Elaborate ruses were concocted, involving contracts with the Swedish East India Company and ships sailing under American and other flags. She concludes that the Dutch were able to supply themselves with tea through 1810 despite British harassment but that they paid a heavy price by involving the Americans; the Americans took much of the Dutch tea market when peace returned in 1815.

Space precludes discussion of all the fine articles in this collection; a reviewer is spoiled for choice. M. Balard *et al.* present a detailed and comprehensive (84 pp.!) overview of the Mediterranean trade in foodstuffs at the end of the Middle Ages. Smaller and/or less-docu-

mented ports and companies receive especially good coverage, e.g., Modon in 1358-1500 (R. Gertwagen), the Middelburg Commerce Company in 1720-1745 (C.R. Folmer-van Prooijen), and western Sumatra in the eighteenth century (R. Young). J. Newman convincingly weaves demography, agrarian change and the money supply into the narrative of maritime trade in her study of the eastern Baltic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Almost all the articles rest upon primary evidence and pay attention to the telling detail. For example, M. Bogucka calculates seventeenth-century profits in the Amsterdam-Gdansk salt trade (p. 43) while P. Boulanger describes the crucial role of the cooper in the eighteenth-century olive oil trade, (pp.215-6). The humorous and the curious are also taken aboard: T. Runyan tells of English raiders in 1360 who seized two large cargoes of Gascon wine and apparently drank a sizeable portion of it ("one of the great parties ever held at sea," p.254), and G. Jackson informs us that J.M. Keynes made great sums as a broker in whaling company shares! (p.442) *Maritime Food Transport* gives points of entry into a great variety of trades in foodstuffs and demonstrates just how vibrant and wide-ranging the discipline of maritime history is today.

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Sandra L. Oliver. *Saltwater Foodways: New Englanders and Their Food, At Sea and Ashore, in the Nineteenth Century*. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1995. xiii + 441 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs (b+w, colour), recipes, bibliography, cook's index, general index. US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-913372-72-2.

Food was always of vital concern to sailors, not only to keep them alive, but also because meals broke up the monotony of shipboard life and work. Poor quality food, or food in insufficient quantities, might well set a crew on the path to mutiny. Yet, despite the central importance of food to the sailor, it has received only limited attention from maritime historians. Sandra Oliver's excellent book has now made a major contribution to the study of this subject.

Oliver concentrates chiefly on the 'saltwater foodways' of New Englanders in the nineteenth century, both afloat and ashore. Her chapters are initially closely linked to a number of exhibits at Connecticut's Mystic Seaport Museum. These are three houses, to illustrate foodways ashore; the whaler *Charles W. Morgan*, to illustrate deep sea foodways; the fishing schooner *^, Dunton*, for fishermen's fare; and a life-saving station, to illustrate foodways at the interface between land and sea. The food, cooking equipment, methods of preparation, meal times, and menus are all discussed in detail, and recipes for some of the dishes appear at the end of each chapter.

Later chapters range over a number of subjects, including food in foreign lands, eating in port, special occasions at sea and ashore (Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, Christmas), clam bakes and shore dinners, and the attitude to fish consumption in the United States, for although New England's maritime trade was built on fish, the local people generally preferred to eat meat, believing fish was "not as nutritious as flesh."

The chapters on foodways in deep sea sailing ships and in fishing vessels are particularly interesting because of the sharp divergence in attitudes to eating shown in these two sectors of maritime activity. On deep sea vessels, food reflected and reinforced shipboard hierarchy, with the crew "eating forward" while the captain and the officers were "dining aft." The crew ate a limited diet in rough communal fashion, while the captain and his officers had better food in both quality and quantity, food which was eaten at table in a formal manner. Rather strangely, given the importance of food at sea, cooks and stewards were not very highly valued crew members on deep sea vessels.

The situation was very different in New England fishing vessels. Food was good and plentiful, with the whole crew eating around the same table in democratic fashion. Also the cook was a much more important and valued member of a fishing schooner's crew. Food and social relations on New England fishing vessels were similar to those ashore. The fishermen were not as exploited and powerless as deep sea sailors. There was little hierarchy in a fishing vessel and the skipper ate with the rest of the crew.

This lavishly illustrated book might easily be mistaken for a coffee table picture book. In

fact it is a scholarly, well-researched volume which is both detailed and wide-ranging in its scope, establishing food history as an important new area of study for maritime historians. The modern palate may not relish the idea of eating fried dolphin or porpoise liver, let alone doughnuts fried in whale oil, or drinking coffee made "stronger than love and blacker than sin" to hide the taste of bad water, but the eating habits of sailors are an important area of study. Scholars or general readers wishing to know more about "lobscouse," "dandyfunk" or "joe-floggers" can do no better than consult *Saltwater Foodways*.

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Bob Webb. *From Salthouse Dock: Shanties and Sailors' Songs with Stormalong John and Shanty Jack*. Phippsburg, ME: Richmond Webb Associates, 1995 [Richmond Webb Associates, HC 32, Box 29, Phippsburg ME 04562-9601 USA]. 19 songs, incl. 16 traditional sea songs and shanties; approx. 40 minutes. US \$12.50, audio cassette.

Most readers will understand the difference between shanties, sometimes just harsh calls, sung out to coordinate the work of sailors at the capstan, pump or halliards, and sea songs or forebitters, which were sung for entertainment when the men were off watch. This audio tape gives a blend of both, with some emphasis on American versions of well-known words and tunes. It includes favourites such as "Goodbye Fare Ye Well" and "A Liverpool Packet." But there is also "Strike the Bell," a pump shanty adapted from "Ring the Bell Watchman" by H.C. Work to mark the end of the American Civil War and sung by English and Scandinavian seamen. The very old "Sailor's Alphabet" is also included.

British enthusiasts will be particularly interested in the American flavour of the songs. The "Hogeye Man" of c.1850 which is linked with the development of the transport of goods by barge during the Gold Rush years, is a good example. The origin of the term "Hogeye Man" is obscure, but it refers to the type of vessel concerned and the whole song commemorates a particular and important moment in American history. This is an interesting reflection on the nature and significance of shanties and sea

songs, and of folk music in general.

The songs are performed in as authentic a style as possible, aided by imbibing draughts of beer which were not easily available to seamen afloat. However the thirst for a bit of alcohol was quickly met in port, which explains both how ale house trade was profitable and how tunes and words were transmitted internationally as sailors met and caroused. Few such men could write music although they did make notes of words as can be seen in the manuscripts preserved in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and in private collections.

To recreate the actual conditions in which the songs were sung is very difficult, because the sailing ships and the conditions in which the men worked have almost entirely gone. Hence some sophistication is certain to creep in. But Bob Webb, Stormalong John and Shanty Jack have taken great care to use only historically relevant instruments which is welcome. They sing in a blustery style, giving something of the kind of emphasis that sailors would have used and they are not afraid to be faintly off key or out of chorus which is equally welcome.

The motivation for Webb's energetic pursuit of his interest in shanties and sea songs and for the production of this tape stems from his own family history and from the particular story of his great-grand-aunt migrating alone from Liverpool Salthouse Dock to America in 1862 in a sailing ship, at the tender age of 15. On arrival she made her way by river boat and overland to Utah. Others of her family including Bob's great-grandfather followed in similarly hazardous conditions. This background gives the performance a particular edge. We do not know if Bob ever heard members of his family sing any of the songs, but the writer admires this salute to the family achievements and to the commemoration in this kind of music of what so many Americans succeeded in doing, in the face of great hazards and difficulties.

On a wider plane Webb is to be congratulated on maintaining the traditions of sailors' music. History is recorded and recounted in many ways and the oral and musical can be ignored or forgotten. Fortunately nowadays more private individuals and institutions are aware of the significance of oral history and are doing much more to preserve this, for example Stuart

Frank and his good work at the Kendall Whaling Museum.

This cassette is a worthy contribution to this form of history writing. It should be in the collections of all serious historical institutions and of interested private individuals. Well done, Bob and his crew.

David V. Proctor
Rochester, England

Douglas M. Hinkey. *The Art of the RMS Queen Mary*. Long Beach, CA: Hippodrome Galleries, 1994 [628 Alamitos Ave., Long Beach, CA 90802, USA]. 63 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), annotated checklist, bibliography. US \$35 (+ \$4 s&h), paper; ISBN 0-9630584-2-8.

Since 1967, the *Queen Mary* (launched in 1936) has been permanently moored at Long Beach, California, where it is operated as a tourist attraction, with a hotel and several restaurants. In its heyday, it was one of the most profitable and most popular luxury passenger ships in the world, with its Southampton-New York runs attracting everyone from Fred Astaire to Winston Churchill. Designed to resemble a deluxe hotel, its public and private state rooms were lavishly furnished and decorated. Hundreds of paintings, murals, sculptures and decorative glass, wood and metal pieces, executed in the exuberant style of the period, were placed throughout the ship from first class to third class. Most of these works remain intact and this publication is the first attempt to present them in a comprehensive fashion.

The catalogue is divided into three parts: the introduction, a section of illustrations and a checklist of the illustrations. The introductory essay discusses the interior design and decoration of luxury passenger ships from the turn of the century to the 1930s, putting that of the *Queen Mary* in context. Surprisingly, the main focus of the publication, the ship's art and decorative works, is explored only briefly. There appears to be little reliance on archival material or even on anecdotal sources. Details regarding how the artists were selected, how the themes and subject matter were decided upon, and how the work was carried out is lacking. No mention is made of what happened to the paintings and

murals when the *Queen Mary* was converted for war time service, or how they were reinstalled afterwards.

Next follows a room-by-room picture tour of the ship, starting in the first class dining room with a mural map of the North Atlantic and ending with the cocktail-shaker-shaped ventilation grills in the observation deck bar. Plentiful colour and black and white illustrations (some archival), show details of the works and of the rooms in which they are, or were, installed — "were," because some are identified as "lost." There is no explanation of how or why they became lost — never recovered from storage after the war? stolen? sold? We are not told. The annotated checklist which follows the picture catalogue is no more informative on this point. The list is arranged alphabetically by artist, with a concise biography of each artist and descriptions of the works by each. Each entry is keyed to the illustrations, so it is necessary to flip back and forth between the illustrations and the checklist information. At the end is a bibliography which cites published sources dedicated to luxury liners, Art Deco design, and English art of the period.

The attention lavished on the production of the catalogue — typography, layout and graphic elements - sometimes threatens to overwhelm the content, but certainly gives it visual appeal. Despite the absence of an in-depth discussion of the art works, the catalogue is worthwhile (especially for the illustrations) for those with an enthusiasm for luxury liners and Art Deco art and design of the 1930s.

Lydia Foy
Ottawa, Ontario

Gustaaf Asaert *et al.* *Anvers, un présent de l'Escaut: Le port d'Anvers à travers les siècles.* Special issue, *Bulletin du Crédit Communal*, No. 185; Antwerp: Nationaal Scheepvaartmuseum, 1993. 99 pp., illustrations, figures, photographs, tables. BFr 150 (+ bank costs, BFr 300), paper; ISBN 2-87193-182-8.

On the occasion of the year-long celebration "Antwerp, cultural capital of Europe," a new gallery dedicated to the Scheldt's history was opened at the Antwerp Maritime Museum. This

event induced the Belgian bank "Gemeentekrediet-Crédit Communal" to dedicate an issue of its journal to the history of the Scheldt and the harbour of Antwerp. Eleven authors, each familiar with the rich history of the city, port, and river or with harbour management and operation, contributed by covering a period of time or a particular theme.

The first part consists of five articles describing the harbour's history to the present. Jan Van Roey describes the birth and historical evolution of the city of Antwerp. Tony Oost treats Roman Antwerp, showing that archaeological research has proven that the city on which Antwerp would later develop was already inhabited in Roman times. Gustaaf Asaert fully describes the harbour on the eve of Antwerp's "Golden Age": its favourable geographical location, a river harbour not shut off by locks, the harbour's *intra muros* situation, a cargo harbour owned by the city itself. In the sixteenth century Antwerp was Europe's largest port. This peak period, followed by two centuries of decline after the Scheldt was closed in 1585, is wdescribed by Leon Voet. From 1795, when the Scheldt was re-opened, the harbour of Antwerp thrived. Its speedy recovery and growth to its present-day status as a top-ranking world port, is dealt with by Albert Himler.

In the second part of the booklet, the remaining authors deal with several case studies dating from the last century and looking forward into the future. Lode Hancké studies the political discussions concerning the improvement of the waterway (Great Cut) at the end of the nineteenth century. Hugo Belmans looks into the problems concerning the Scheldt-Rhine connection, while Fernand Suykens discusses the negotiations on water treaties between Belgium and The Netherlands. Hilde Meersman and Eddy Van de Voorde offer a joint discussion of the future of Antwerp harbour. Finally, Rita Jalon presents the new Scheldt Gallery in the National Maritime Museum.

This special brochure, filling about a hundred pages with copy and illustrations, is undoubtedly worthwhile reading, despite some glaring gaps and weak points, especially in the historical surveys. It is obvious that the authors were not given enough space in which to carry out their assignments properly, namely to offer

a chronological survey. Only Oost and Asaert manage to overcome this problem, presenting a brief but powerful and clear summary of their period. Van Roey, who saw himself faced with the impossible task of condensing twenty centuries of the city's history into a mere six pages, nevertheless succeeds in producing a nice survey up to the closure of the Scheldt. The centuries that follow are, however, treated in too fragmentary a manner. Voet, who describes not only the Golden Age but also, according to the title of his essay, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in fact spends on/y twenty lines on these two centuries. On top of that he makes the ill-founded statement that Antwerp's decline was due not in the first place to the closure of the Scheldt but rather to the fact that Antwerp lost its function as the pivot of the European cargo trade to the harbour of Amsterdam. Why this should have happened is not at all clear from the text. One is also then left to wonder why Antwerp managed to overtake Amsterdam as Europe's top harbour so quickly, once the Scheldt was re-opened in 1795. Himler's contribution also leaves some large gaps. Himler, who is an Antwerp engineer with the harbour company, concentrates primarily on the technical aspects of the harbour and the Scheldt. How and why harbour traffic in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries grew so quickly, is sufficiently not explained. Moreover, Himler fails to use recent studies on harbour traffic.

The authors of the case studies had an easier job, since they were able to concentrate on their topics within shorter chronological periods. The authors, each an expert in economics, technical matters or politics, succeed in giving readers thorough insights to their topics.

Anvers, un présent de l'Escaut (Antwerp, a gift of the Scheldt) is a creditable booklet, providing a wide audience with an interesting historical introduction to Antwerp harbour. Most contributions are easy reading and the whole is beautifully illustrated. However, readers (especially English readers) who want to learn more about the history of the port of Antwerp should read Fernand Suykens (ed.), *Antwerp: A Port for All Seasons* (Antwerp, 1986).

Karel Veraghtert
Tilburg, The Netherlands

Michael J. Bird. *The Town That Died*. Toronto, 1967; reprint edition, Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1995. 192 pp., map, photographs. \$12.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-126-7.

From the bridge of the steamship *Acadian* on that cold, calm, sunny morning, while voyaging fifteen miles off the Nova Scotia coast, the captain, looking toward the direction of Halifax, suddenly observed a bright flash followed by a crimson ball of flame travelling skyward with black-grey smoke swirling in its midst. A few seconds later, he heard the thundering report of an explosion. Quickly taking a sextant-angle on the summit of the smoke, he found that it had risen to an altitude of twelve-thousand feet.

A great deal happened very quickly in the historic, World War I seaport of Halifax on that fateful morning. Children prepared for their day at school, office and factory workers began their daily routine and the waterfront buzzed with the usual activities of a busy wartime port, including preparations for assembling an ocean-convoy in Bedford Basin when, without warning, all normal life came to a sudden and dramatic standstill. At 9:06 A.M., Thursday, 6 December 1917, an explosion of unequalled violence occurred, which levelled the city's north-end, devastating the lives of thousands and transforming the area into a wilderness of destruction.

The blast was caused by the detonation of a cargo of explosives on board the French-registered merchant ship *Mont Blanc* when that ship collided with the SS *Into*. Within an instant, much of Halifax almost ceased to exist as it was transformed into a mass of flaming debris that cascaded across the area, levelling homes, factories, schools and churches, leaving scores of dead and wounded in its path. The harbourfront was strewn with the twisted wreckage of railway cars, tracks and machinery and, as the bed of the harbour erupted into a tidal-wave, numerous ships were damaged and sunk.

This is an analysis of that story, too true to be fiction. It is a well-organized, sweeping portrayal of the Halifax Explosion, chronicled in fluent and descriptive prose by the author. The book is organized into nine well-balanced chapters that present a solidly researched account of Halifax as a typical war-time seaport, the arrival of *Mont Blanc*, the departure of *Into*, details of

their traffic-pattern through the Narrows, the collision and initial explosion, followed by the days of rescue and relief, as well as a diverse collection of stories told by survivors, the court of enquiry and finally, the acquittal of those who had previously been charged.

At the centre of the story is the explosion, and here Bird is particularly successful in illustrating the horrors of the disaster even as he leaves readers with a sense of awe. The epilogue suggests that, on the basis of the number of grave-markers provided, some 3,200 people died. Another 9,000 were injured, 25,000 were left with inadequate shelter, 6,000 lost their homes entirely, many were blinded, 1,600 homes were destroyed and 12,000 were damaged. Believed by some to be the most violent explosion prior to the bombing of Hiroshima in 1945, one is also reminded of the devastating blast that destroyed eleven merchant ships, together with the Victoria Docks and a one-mile-radius area of Bombay, when the Canadian-built SS *Fort Stikine* exploded in 1944.

The Town That Died, now in its third decade of publication, continues to provide readers with a vivid picture of the Halifax Explosion and leaves a legacy well worth preserving. The book also continues to receive the audience it deserves and, thanks to the permanent display and film at the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic in Halifax, it still enjoys a wide demand by tourists.

R.F. Latimer
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia

Susanne Störmer. *Good-Bye, Good Luck: The Biography of William McMaster Murdoch*. Koesel, Germany: The author, 1995 [order from: Susanne Störmer, Raiffeisenweg 11, 24354 Koesel, Germany; tel.: +49 43 54 98140]. 142 pp., photographs, bibliography. 40 DM (incl. postage & packing; add 10 DM [Europe] or 20 DM [elsewhere] for airmail), paper; no ISBN.

The books written about *Titanic* probably weigh enough to sink her without any need for an iceberg. Happily, this is not just another book about the *Titanic*: it is a biography of William McMaster Murdoch who, as First Officer, was one of the key players in the final stages of the

attempts to dodge the icebergs. As Officer of the Watch, he gave the last desperate commands which might, with luck, have effected a last-minute escape.

The book has two strong points. In diligently tracing Murdoch's life from boyhood until he went down with his ship, it provides a clear indication of what we now term 'personal development' as it applied among ships' officers in the latter part of last century. In the process, it shows how even highly experienced and well-qualified men could be treated by companies as little more than casual labour. As a sidelight, it gives some clear ideas of what qualities made particular officers popular in head office — one of which was the ability to 'crack on.' The second is that it makes a serious attempt to view the loss of *Titanic* at least partly in the context of the personalities of the principal players in the drama.

There are, however, serious weaknesses. Reading between the lines, this began as a family history project, and in some senses it would have better remained so. The author attempts to place her characters in a maritime context while lacking the background knowledge to do so convincingly: we are told, for example, that there is *a* dog watch. Worse are passing attempts at general social or maritime history: "It was the upper class who provided the money for the rise of the British Empire and held all the main positions in the state, while the middle class made its rise by developing well educated staff out of its group (education was and still is a question of money) and thus getting a piece of the cake." (p.12) A reading of Rubinstein (*inter alios*) would have helped.

It is perhaps churlish for a reviewer whose command of German is pitiable to criticise the English of a German. Yet the use of English in many parts of the book is not merely in breach of some of the arcane rules of a notoriously irregular language, but bad enough to make the meaning unclear. Even where meaning is not obscured, the English can be awkward to the point of being difficult to read. It may seem a harsh judgement, but if the book was worth publishing in English (which on balance it was) then it justified more care in translation. The word processing also needed more care: whole paragraphs have been duplicated, presumably

through misuse of 'drag and drop.'

There were times during the reading of this book when the failings mentioned above aroused irritation. This was not allayed by the absence of specific references to source material, which the reader is left to deduce from the bibliography. Yet with all its faults the book has something to offer. It brings to light useful new information and it may also serve as a partial antidote to the de-personalisation of the *Titanic* disaster as authors move increasingly towards corporate or technological (or conspiratorial) interpretations. It was people who built *Titanic*, people who crashed it into an iceberg and people who died as a result. There must, therefore, be merit in investigating the people, and Murdoch emerges as a worthy case for investigation.

Adrian Jarvis
Liverpool, England

Musée de la mer de Pointe-au-Père, *La tragédie oubliée...Le Naufrage de l'Empress of Ireland: La plus grande tragédie maritime de l'histoire du Canada*. Pointe-au-Père: Musée de la mer de Pointe-au-Père, 1995 [1034, rue du Phare, Pointe-au-Père, Québec G5M 1L8]. 48 pp., illustrations, photographs, map, bibliography. \$9.95, paper; ISBN 2-9804527-0-X.

Peu de guides rivalisent avec celui-ci; matériellement, il répond à toutes les nonnes; littérairement, il est sans faute — c'est un minimum, me direz-vous, mais rarement atteint — et il est en outre très clair, très cohérent et sans lacune majeure. On y trouve tout, à place et avec son exacte perspective.

L'auteur est un collectif, c'est-à-dire un groupe de collaborateurs et de collaboratrices, vraisemblablement animés par madame Annelise Bourassa. Elle a su obtenir l'aide "Québec Téléphone" et les Caisses populaires (hélas, on n'y trouve plus la compagnie de Navigation du Bas-Saint-Laurent) et a puisé, comme c'était normal et nécessaire, dans les Archives nationales du Canada. En fait, c'est plus qu'un guide: la brochure, pourtant peu volumineuse, comporte toutes les statistiques requises et même une bibliographie. Les données sur les deux navires en cause sont complètes: celles sur l'accident même sont accompagnées d'une carte précise;

enfin, le pire mais l'essentiel, celles sur le nombre des victimes par classes de passagers sont également révélées.

L'explication de la tragédie est claire: on la suit minute par minute. C'est un drame de la brume. Manque peut-être, dans le chapitre sur les conséquences de l'accident, les explications relatives aux mesures prises, devant les exigences des compagnies d'assurance: oui ou, le *LordStrathcona* et le *Traverse*, furent-ils installés dans le bassin extérieur du port de Québec comme bateaux de secours en cas d'accident maritime majeur dans le fleuve? En tout cas, ils étaient là dans les années 1930 et suivantes: leurs capitaines étant de très bonnes sources de renseignements pour le journaliste que j'étais, couvrant le front de mer de 1936 à 1940.

Un souvenir personnel: je suis déjà allé à Pointe-au-Père et j'ai même fait un voyage à bord de *VAbraham-Martin* qui avait remplacé *VEureka*. On disait, dans le temps, qu'à marée basse, l'été, on pouvait apercevoir la pointe des mates de *YEmpress*. Légende, sans doute, comme il en pousse toujours sur les rivages des grandes étendues d'eau, car le navire, dit la brochure, s'est couché sur le côté.

Quant à mon voyage clandestin sur *YAbraham-Martin*, n'en parlez pas au ministre! Quoique je crois qu'il y a prescription: c'était en juillet 1930: j'avais passé mon baccalauréat de rhétorique avec succès au Petit Séminaire de Québec. Mon père emmena la famille en voyage, en guise de récompense et nous allâmes chez le Dr Jean-Marie Couillard, médecin de l'immigration à la Pointe-au-Père: c'était mon beau-frère. C'était l'un des très rares médecins capables de grimper aux échelles de cardes des cargos et paquebots pour y faire l'examen des arrivants, quelle que fut la mer: grosse ou calme, Couillard grimpait à bord, son petit sac monté par corde manipulée par un matelot — "deck hand." Beaucoup de médecins qui avaient fait la première guerre, s'y étaient essayés main en vain, devant l'ampleur du travail à accomplir, de jour ou de nuit, par temps plat par tempête, au son du corne de brume ("fog horn") et au grondement sourd des puissantes machines à l'intérieur des coques. Il faut dire que le père de Couillard, de Montmagny, était un capitaine au long cours. Les Anglais diraient qu'il avait les "palmed feet"; les francophones préfèrent sou-

tenir qu'il avait le sel dans le sang!

De toute façon, le Musée de Pointe-au-Père — je l'ai déjà personnellement visité — est très bien et la brochure de Mme Annemarie Bourassa correspond à la réalité, sous une forme vraiment attrayante et complète.

Georges Henri Dagneau
Sainte-Foy, Québec

Michael C. Neitzel. *The Valencia Tragedy*. Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1995. 112 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$11.95, paper; ISBN 1-895811-36-8.

On 22 January 1906, the Pacific Coast Steamship Company steamer *Valencia*, bound for Victoria and Seattle with over a hundred persons aboard, crashed into the rocks off Pachena Point on the rugged western shores of Vancouver Island. Nearly everyone aboard died in the worst maritime disaster in British Columbia waters. In *The Valencia Tragedy*, Michael Neitzel not only recounts the tale but maintains that the disaster was compounded by "the most appalling display of bad luck, incompetence, negligence and lack of compassion for the victims in recorded Canadian maritime history." (p. 10)

Captain Oscar Johnson, running by dead reckoning, missed the Straits of Juan de Fuca and grounded on rocks beneath a hundred-foot high cliff in heavy surf that swept the decks, smashed lifeboats, and began to demolish the superstructure of the iron steamship. A few passengers managed to reach shore and clamber up the cliffs, but then abandoned the scene. Frantic crew-members and passengers vainly watched their Lyle Gun's lifeline reach the empty cliffs and finally fray and break. A second small group also made it ashore and telegraphed for help. The salvage tug *Czar* steamed to the scene, approached the battered hulk, with at least a hundred souls still clinging to the decks and in the rigging, and turned away, her captain claiming he saw no signs of life. When *Valencia* finally broke up, nearly twenty-four hours after the wreck, a few survivors crowded into a remaining lifeboat, made for the open seas, and were picked up by a ship searching for the wreck. Outrage, horror and damnation ensued, and both the Canadian and

United States governments conducted inquiries. The results were the belated construction of the Pachena Point Lighthouse, the installation of the rescue lifeboat station at Tofino, and the grading of what is now the West Coast trail, along the island's rugged western shore, to facilitate reaching shipwrecks.

In 112 pages, Michael Neitzel reconstructs the wreck, heavily emphasizing the perspective from the decks of the doomed *Valencia*. The final chapters of the book summarize the results of the two inquiries, offer a macabre account of bodies and broken lifeboats, and the condition of the wreck today. A number of photographs of the ship, the wreck site, the surviving passengers and crew are very helpful and enhance the book, as does a map that positions the wreck on Vancouver Island's shores and the route of *Valencia's* final, fatal passage. Unfortunately some photographs are miscaptioned; the one on page 55 appears not to be *City of Topeka* but the steamer *Queen City*.

Neitzel has harsh words for a number of parties and individuals. His criticism of a shore party that hiked to the site of the disaster after hearing the news, and arrived to see the wreck break up, is particularly strong. His judgements, particularly about David Logan, the lineman who led the shore party, would have benefitted from a fuller discussion of the events and from trying to understand what happened. Neitzel's condemnation of the shore party's failure to rescue the last survivors does not take into account the difficult terrain or the impossibility of reaching the cliffs edge and "tossing a line" to the wreck. Drawing heavily from newspaper accounts and the government inquiries, Neitzel occasionally goes beyond the criticisms presented in those sources. Indeed, the shore party led by Logan was commended by the US court of inquiry, who found that they had done all that they could under the circumstances.

A journalist and sailor recently returned from a two-and-a-half-year sailing voyage into the South Pacific, Neitzel is currently writing a screenplay about the wreck. This may explain the brevity and the emphasis on drama in *The Valencia Tragedy*. Writing about shipwrecks, particularly one fraught with horror and incompetence, inevitably focuses on the drama of the event. Historians, however, need to look beyond

the drama and the emotions of the time and carefully assess what happened. In the case of wrecks like the *Valencia*, however, any conclusions will probably always be controversial.

James P. Delgado
Vancouver, British Columbia

Frank Galgay and Michael McCarthy. *Shipwrecks of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume III*. St. John's, NF: Creative Book Publishing, 1995. xii + 178 pp., illustrations, photographs, map, appendices, bibliography, index. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-895387-52-3.

With this book Frank Galgay and Michael McCarthy have added another volume to our knowledge of shipwrecks in or near Newfoundland waters. Nineteen essays — listed as chapters — describe a variety of shipwrecks representing various aspects of Newfoundland or Newfoundland-related shipping. Beginning with the sinking of HMS *Sapphire* in 1696 and ending with the double tragedies of the herring seiner *Enterprise* and the Canadian National Railways ferry *Patrick Morris* in 1970, this book covers a long period. However, fifteen of the disasters described occurred between 1856 and 1907.

This is also an eclectic collection with descriptions of shipwrecks involving trans-Atlantic voyages, Canadian voyages, coastal shipping, Newfoundland coastal steamers, British naval ships (and not just the *Sapphire*), sealing and the Labrador fishery, among others. Furthermore, these wrecks do not involve just Newfoundland-based shipping but British, American, Canadian and Norwegian ships as well. Everyone will have favourites here but this reviewer particularly appreciated the essays on the losses of the *Hope* and *Release* during the Labrador gale of 1885 and the losses of the sealers *Huntsman* (1872) and *Lion* (1882).

All of the essays are well written (which is not surprising, considering the qualifications and experience of the two authors) and a wide variety of sources have been used, including both secondary sources and contemporary newspaper. Furthermore, the human element comes forth, with stories of carelessness, incompetence, selfishness and drunkenness balanced by ones of bravery and selflessness. There is a good short

bibliography, a good index and seventeen pages of interesting and informative appendices, though the lack of footnotes is much regretted.

In terms of the authors' selection of incidents, one wonders whether the act of scuttling the *Sapphire* to prevent that frigate from falling into the hands of enemy forces is in the same category as the loss of the *Hope* and *Release* at the White Bear Islands (and it is Islands not Island). However, since the term *shipwreck* can mean the remains of a wrecked vessel as well as the actual loss or destruction of a ship at sea, one can perhaps excuse the inclusion of *Sapphire's* story. On the other hand, the sinking of the American schooner *Albion* is simply a re-telling of a fabricated story by a Newfoundland-born writer living in the United States and working free-lance, as the authors tell us at the end; it does not belong in this collection.

This book will serve three very useful purposes: it is a good introduction to the disasters and shipwrecks discussed; moreover, the bibliography (especially the specific newspaper and periodical entries) can be used for further research; finally, it contains essays — all of which can stand alone — that are informative and interesting in their own right.

Shannon Ryan
St. John's, Newfoundland

Charles K. Hyde. *The Northern Lights: Lighthouses of the Upper Great Lakes*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995. 208 pp., photographs (colour, b+w), maps, further readings, index. US \$32.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8143-2554-8.

This is a re-release of a book first published by the Michigan Department of Natural Resources in 1986. Author Charles K. Hyde, along with photographers Ann and John Mahan, has produced a history of more than 160 lighthouses on the upper American Great Lakes. Within the context of a general history of the US Lighthouse Service and the growth of Lakes shipping commerce, Hyde begins by describing the first lights established on the Great Lakes, and the evolution of the lighthouse system as it passed from colonial to federal control. The slow implementation of new lighthouse technology

during the administration of the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury (1820-1852) disappeared with the formation of the federal Lighthouse Board and its successor, the Bureau of Lighthouses. Lightships and life-saving stations were also important elements in the development of safe navigation on the lakes; Hyde provides brief histories of these services.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a great increase in the construction of Great Lakes lights, and the advent of electricity and radio aids to navigation. By 1939 the US Coast Guard had assumed control of all American lighthouses and the process of replacing lightkeepers with automated equipment was well underway. Chapters three and four look at automation and the abandonment of lightstations, and the life of the lightkeeper and his family. Hyde writes of the hardships suffered by the early families who lived in isolation on remote headlands and tiny islands, and provides interesting anecdotes about the peculiar personalities of some lightkeepers. A selection of archival photographs show various lights under construction, past keepers and their families, lighthouse tenders, lightships, and a marvellous view of a steam fog whistle in operation.

The remaining four chapters deal with individual lighthouses on Lakes Erie and Huron, the Straits of Mackinac, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior. Each chapter is prefaced with historical information about the areas in which the lights were established. Hyde devotes a column or two of text to each lighthouse. Unfortunately the information reads more like a catalogue of construction details and lens types than a history of each site. Tower, fog signal and dwelling building materials and dimensions are interspersed with miscellaneous information about lightkeepers, and the various lights and fog horns used over the years. There are one or two photographs of each of the lights covered in the text. The colour and composition of some of Ann and John Mahan's work is rather lacklustre, although in general the photographs present an interesting study of Great Lakes lighthouse architecture and adequately complement the short history of each station.

The Northern Lights begins in an enjoyable and informative manner, but is later marred by repetitious detail. Although Hyde's background

in conducting inventories of historic industrial and engineering sites and structures in Michigan stands him in good stead, his efforts would have been better directed at a less technical treatment of such a large number of lighthouses. Nonetheless, *The Northern Lights* should inspire amateur pharologists to learn more about the long history and striking architecture of lighthouses on the "inland seas" of America.

Chris Mills
Ivory Island, British Columbia

Lionel and Patricia Fanthorpe. *The Oak Island Mystery: The Secret of the World's Greatest Treasure Hunt*. Toronto: Hounslow Press, 1995. xv + 221 pp., maps, figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. \$18.99, paper; ISBN 0-88882-170-0.

One day in 1795, on Oak Island in Nova Scotia's Mahone Bay, Daniel McInnis, a young settler from New England, discovered an oak tree with a block and tackle suspended from it. The discovery was immediately associated with Kidd's treasure and a hunt was initiated which has intrigued, fascinated, frustrated and killed treasure hunters for two centuries. It is by now a familiar story, as the hunt has provided inspiration for innumerable writers over the years, ranging from serious scholars such as R.V. Harris, whose book, *The Oak Island Mystery*, is a classic reference on early digs, to those vainly trying to promote eccentric theories. Readers should not be persuaded into thinking that this second *The Oak Island Mystery* is an updated version of Harris' book. It is not, and its writers quite certainly fall into the eccentric category.

While their description of the facts surrounding the actual hunt and recorded physical evidence remain fairly accurate, the Fanthorpes miss no opportunity to tie Oak Island, by means of "but what ifs" and wild stretches of the imagination, to all the great mysteries of western civilization. For this reviewer, such efforts reached a peak of silliness by page 22, where it is suggested that the name Gold River is a significant clue to the island mystery, and Gasperaux is a corruption of *cas par eau*, meaning "the treasure box reached by water." In fact, Gold River was named for the gold diggings in

its upper reaches and gaspereaux are still harvested commercially on the river of that name.

This single-minded concentration on such facts as they consider relevant has led to sloppy research and many inaccuracies. As an example, the Kidd treasure theory does not fit in with their supposition, so it is refuted. Yet to do this, the writers had to ignore the other Oak Island at the mouth of Gaspereaux Brook in Guysborough County, where the "KIDD 1670" rock was found, the treasure retrieved by the Governor of New England and Massachusetts Bay from Gardner Island shortly after Kidd's arrest in 1699, and Kidd's offer in 1701 to lead prosecutors to an even greater treasure in exchange for clemency. That such omission are deliberate, and not just the result of poor research, is indicated by the bibliography, where publications are listed that cover these points in some detail.

A less obvious failing is the authors' apparent lack of any real interest in local history. This would have saved them the embarrassment of confusing a township grant, in this case Shoreham, with the establishment of a village, Chester, and attributing to the well-to-do Truro merchants and professionals of the Onslow Company a desire to get back to their farming, fishing, and lumbering.

In the long run, by combining carefully selected fact with legend and folk tales, the Fanthorpes conclude that Oak Island is indeed the repository of not one but many great treasures. It is linked to the Emerald Tablets of Thoth, the treasure of Rennes-le-Chateau, the secret artifacts of the Templars, buried by Sinclair of Orkney (who they also conclude is the Glooscap of Micmac legend). As well, they include Bacon's manuscripts, hidden by Drake, Morgan's treasure and the loot of Havana.

One could, of course, always hope that *The Oak Island Mystery* was written tongue-in-cheek and that the theory it attempts to prove is but an amusing brain-teaser. As such, it might be a worthy addition to the shelves of those of us whose range of interest in Oak Island encompasses other off-beat theories such as William Crooker's flying saucers and Millie Evans' Micmac salt mine.

Robin H. Wyllie
East LaHave, Nova Scotia

Alec Gill. *Superstitions: Folk Magic in Hull's Fishing Community*. Beverley, North Humber-side: Hutton Press, 1993. 174 pp., photographs, illustrations, sources, index. £7.50, paper; ISBN 1-872167-56-X.

Even in ages when folklore was a powerful vein running through so much of English rural life, countrymen regarded their neighbouring fishing villages as being especially steeped in superstition. After the trawling sector replaced the old wooden sailing smacks with iron-built steam vessels in the late nineteenth century and restructured amongst modern capitalist lines, it has sometimes been assumed that the Hull and Grimsby fishermen and their families, living in new and crowded urban communities, cheek by jowl with the modern commercial docks and marine engineering concerns, forgot many of the customs, taboos and traditions associated with the old ways of fishing. Alec Gill, however, in this fascinating account of Hull's Hessle Road fishing community, has demonstrated how folk superstition not only survived but remained an enduring part of everyday life.

The book is well illustrated and contains a wealth of information on almost 400 superstitions and stories researched by Gill through the medium of in-depth interviews with people from the Hessle Road community. Hessle Road was — and is — primarily a working class community. Those who went trawling followed a precarious livelihood where there were high risks of death, injury or unemployment. The uncertainties of everyday life encouraged a superstitious outlook amongst many and, while a good number of those beliefs seem to be almost universal, others seem specific to trawling or at least fishing. A number of commentators, for example, have noted that there were very strong taboos concerning eggs whilst green was considered a most unlucky colour. The book discusses a whole range of superstitions relating to animals and numerous beliefs concerning sailing day. Each is clearly described and often related to other beliefs or customs.

The author has combined his original research with a study of published work on folklore and belief and divides the book into five main sections. The first four deal directly with folk superstitions grouped around life

ashore, vessels at sea, animals and objects. The fifth attempts to tackle the question of why 'primitive' belief remains strong in the modern age. The element of superstitious continuity is a key theme throughout.

This is Alec Gill's fifth book on the Hull fishing community and is a most interesting account of an unusual subject and can be recommended. It contains a full bibliography and will appeal particularly to the general reader while proving useful for those researching the social history of fishing communities.

Robb Robinson
Cottingham, East Yorkshire

Leah Robinson Rousmaniere. *Anchored Within the Vail: A Pictorial History of the Seamen's Church Institute*. New York: The Seamen's Church Institute, 1995 [241 Water Street, New York, NY 10038]. 135 pp., illustrations, photographs, bibliography, notes. US \$18 (+ s&h), paper; ISBN 0-9643657-0-7.

Among the all-too-sparse literature hitherto available within a fascinating field of maritime research this is indeed a worthy and welcome newcomer. Handsomely produced in large letter-size format, it was timed to celebrate the 150th anniversary of America's first floating chapel, consecrated in 1844 at her moorings by the foot of Pike Street, Manhattan. It purposes to portray in picture and print the stirring saga of the Episcopal/Anglican-affiliated Seamen's Church Institute of New York and New Jersey, today indisputably the largest and most comprehensive ministry to merchant mariners in any of the 900 seaports in the world where such ministry exists.

Lavishly living up to its subtitle, the book is superbly illustrated, with an impressive array of judiciously selected line drawings, paintings and photographs. The main body of the book consists nevertheless of narrative, the quality of which easily captures and holds the attention of the reader through the entire seven chapters.

The opening chapter depicts the organization's founders "Finding Their Way" from more diffuse efforts in 1834 until finally focusing from the year 1842 on mission to specifically seafarers. One of the book's manifest strengths is the many excellent vignettes of leading per-

sonalities with which the text is frequently interspersed. Thus, the first of these focuses on the fledgling agency's zealous pioneer "Missionary," the Rev. Benjamin C. C. Parker, whose gift of gaining pastoral confidence with seafarers was palpable.

Another strength is the author's well-researched analysis of the oppressive conditions of life and work confronting merchant seafarers both at sea and ashore over the years. Thus, much of the next chapter, "Waterfront Reforms," is devoted to the challenge posed by the New York version of that nefarious breed of boarding-house keepers called "crimps" and the system of sailor-town exploitation they controlled. The crimps eventually met their match in Archibald R. Mansfield, a combative and gifted young Episcopal clergyman. Serving the agency for more than a generation (1896-1934), he was to make a monumental contribution not only to the history of the Seamen's Church Institute, but also to maritime mission as such. He soon saw the need for fundamental systemic change, and possessed both the tenacity and skill to translate vision into reality. Through three whole chapters of the book, Dr. Mansfield dominates the scene, battling for seafarers' sorely-needed human rights and human needs, providing them with the world's biggest building for such purposes, and resolutely standing by them through the trials of both World War I and the ensuing Great Depression.

The final three chapters all reflect the revolutionary change in world-wide maritime industry in the wake of World War II. To the author's credit the critically important pioneer role of a Norwegian-born sea captain at this juncture is for the first time publicly documented. As the numbers of American seafarers plummeted during the 1950s, it was "Captain George," as Jôrgen Bjôrg was known, who called for and first headed the agency's expansion to Port Newark, New Jersey, and its future focus on international (increasingly Asian-ethnic) seafarers. Later, during the 1980s, it fell to the Rev. Dr. James R. Whittemore, himself an early civil rights activist and avid bluewater sailor, to wind up the Institute's long legacy of hotel ministry, while greatly enhancing its involvement in seafarers' rights, ship safety, nautical education, women's equal opportunity in maritime ministry

and — more recently — multi-ethnic maritime chaplaincy training. Since 1992, that enhancement has been enthusiastically continued by SCI's current Executive Director, the Rev. Peter Larom, who brings to the task a unique combination of personal experience from both foreign-flag sea time and foreign missionary service.

Commissioned and written at least partly for promotional purposes, the book understandably contains copious coverage of the Institute's benefactors over the years. This consideration, coupled with constraints of space, is presumably the explanation for the somewhat scant reference to the wider context of earlier or concurrent maritime ministry. True, the Boston Society for the Religious and Moral Improvement of Seamen of 1812 had, with its emphasis on moralistic tracts, failed to establish "any real rapport with seafarers." Still, that Society constituted a conspicuous exception. During the 1820s and '30s, dozens of more viable agencies sprang up along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Based on contemporary sources, seafarers' level of response to their ministries was such as utterly to dumbfound the cynical. This was especially the case with the New York-based American Seamen's Friend Society, whose multi-faceted ministry was for much of the nineteenth century the envy of its British counterparts.

This does not, of course, detract from the phenomenal rise of the agency which was destined eventually to out-distance them all. Nor does it alter the fact that the record of that rise represents a particularly valuable contribution to maritime studies, while at the same time also attracting a far wider readership. For both reasons, the author is to be warmly commended.

Roald Kverndal
Bellevue/Seattle, Washington

Rita Astuti. *People of the Sea: Identity and Descent among the Vezo of Madagascar*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. x + 188 pp., map, photographs, figures, notes, bibliography, index. US \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-43350-9.

These "people of the sea" are recruits to a way of life centred on an inshore fishery using outrigger canoes and amplified, in some cases,

by schooners built on a western model. The Vezo are an occupational minority in a region dominated by cultivators, with whom they are engaged in trade for daily needs and from whom they regard themselves as a happily devolved social type. Vezo who revert to agriculture are seen to lose the benefits of this devolution, reverting to ethnic identification with local farmers. The book is concerned with the way Vezo handle their resulting motivational and identity problems as an ethnically open minority, notably less "wise" (= responsible, good at managing) than the majority population from which they have been recruited. If they cheerfully admit to unwisdom it is because for everyday needs they must "look for money from the sea." Being Vezo means hanging loose, holding to an un-Protestant Ethic.

Because a child or newcomer "is not Vezo" until he or she is sea-wise, being Vezo means adeptly acting the part — technically, a recruitment role, not an hereditary identity. Since being "really Vezo" also means adopting the "soft" economic attitudes thought proper to their marginal lifestyle, Astuti's study makes a salient contribution to the literature on managing uncertainty in pre-modern fishing communities. The first four chapters are of particular interest to students of maritime cultures; the sequel deals with the way Vezo protect their living identity through the special ideas they have developed about kinship and ritual placation of the dead.

No one having been born Vezo, all must work to acquire the technical skills, role motives and social graces entailed in that identity. Skills include swimming, paddling, sailing, and fishing with various kinds of gear. Role motives include all those serving the work of the fisheries, boat-building and maintenance. These roles should be carried with pride in skill and workmanship, always distinguishable from compulsion, drudgery, or subservience. Other important role-work includes keeping a light heart in coping with marriage and its responsibilities, with spending and the perils of short-term want, and even with death itself. The social graces required are those which smooth the way to easy dealings with others in a community which equally disparages dependency and dominance. You cannot be "very Vezo" if you can't hang loose. Worrywarts need not apply.

One exceptional village, Belo, illustrates by testing the rule. Belo men have taken to building schooners, a craft taught them by a European sojourner a century ago. These are planked, long in the building, and demanding in the upkeep. To compete effectively in the coastal trade for which the craft are suited, Belo owner-builders would have to adopt the profit-driven attitudes of the other coastal traders plying the same ports. But if a first glance suggests Vezo in Belo are too "wise" to be "really Vezo," an observer soon finds that no drive to rise in the world motivates these entrepreneurs. A ship comes into being gradually, seldom having the same significance for a man as his shorter-lived outriggers do, and will predictably retire as gradually as it entered the scene, dying of ill-repair. Ailing hulls litter the beach, slowly sagging beyond help. The problem of keeping a crew is not met with the spirit of a Bligh; a little success in the quest for easy money fails to sharpen the will to compete. Vezo-ness, after all, proves the stronger ethic. If life is a gamble, embrace it. Vezo women won't store up food at home, preferring the fun of going out to market the day's catch, gad about, and get the stuff of an evening meal. Dependency is irksome, as is loyalty. Serial marriage is the norm; binding contracts are troublesome. If good times flow from a bottle, where is the argument for sobriety? Vezo frankly discuss their own taboos in a pragmatic spirit: there are too many — it is not always convenient to observe them. In their adaptation to circumstance, Vezo appear to have found guidance in a sociological Uncertainty Principle their "wiser" neighbours fail to credit.

George Park
Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island

Arne Kalland. *Fishing Villages in Tokugawa Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995. x + 355 pp., maps, tables, figures, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, indices. US \$38, cloth; ISBN 0-8248-1632-3.

This is a splendid book, which gives the reader a rare insight into the economic and social history of the local level economic and social organisation of fishing during a period when Japan was closed to foreigners and was virtually

unknown to Europeans. The book could not have been written but for the peculiar demands of the system of bureaucratic administration during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), which was fed and served not only by the rural peasantry (including tribute in seafood delicacies and maritime transport), but also by the paperwork upon which all bureaucracies thrive.

The account focuses upon a collection of coastal villages along the Korea Strait at the northern end of Kyushu, the southernmost principal island in the Japanese archipelago. In this region is also found the modern-day port of Nagasaki. For centuries before the Tokugawa period, the area had provided fishery products and skilled seamen to be impressed into the service of a succession of chieftains, warlords, princes, and imperial authorities with designs on Korea, a little over a hundred sea-miles to the northwest. Thus the coastal people here, at a close point of contact with the Asian mainland, had a particular strategic and mercantile importance. They were carefully counted and taxed; their labour was frequently appropriated; and they guarded coastal waters against intrusion by foreign ships during the period of Japan's seclusion from the rest of the world. Some of the records made at the time still survive, giving rich if fragmentary detail about the economies and governance of these coastal villages. To these sources is added the author's experience of having carried out three years of anthropological fieldwork. Sharing in the villagers' lives has enabled him to make a distinctive contribution to the understanding of the villagers' history, providing insights into everyday economic and social life that permit unusually subtle connections to be made between the history of events and local-level social organisation.

Excellent examples of the value of combining sound historical scholarship with anthropological fieldwork are Kalland's descriptions of fishing technologies. These convey a far better understanding of the organisational implications of various kinds of fishing regime than could have been recovered from the historical documents alone, without the benefit of fieldwork, for the experience of living amongst the people whose social memory of the past remains strong, and where some of these fishing methods may still have been practised until recently, has

provoked more — and better — questions to be asked of the documentary sources. The method provides some outstanding vignettes, among them the portrait Kalland paints of women abalone divers; of struggles between villages over sea tenure; of the fate of households which lost menfolk at sea; and of the great economic risks involved in whaling.

At the beginning of the Tokugawa period, fishing had already begun to develop beyond the point where it was merely a subsistence enterprise providing a seasonal source of food for the fishers' families. By the late seventeenth century, middlemen and merchants had appeared and chains of trade in prepared and processed fish and shellfish were extending to distant markets. The fishery had become monetised, and there were rudimentary credit and banking facilities; by the end of the period, there were public credit institutions designed to help fishermen buy the means of production. Some forms of fishing could be pursued with little capital equipment (for example gathering shellfish and seaweed along the shore, hand-lining and diving), while others, like seining, ring-netting and whaling, required greater resources of capital and labour than could be provided by a single fishing household. In many cases, merchants owned fishing equipment, which the fishers rented or leased. The beaches and the sea offshore were privately owned, and dues and taxes were collected for their use. Fishers were also subject to a range of miscellaneous taxes and tributes, and their labour could be demanded by the authorities to provide transport, guard duties, or sea products in return for small wages. In addition, the authorities sometimes sought to regulate certain fisheries. It was frequently difficult for families to make ends meet, and like contemporary fishing households in many parts of the world, they survived by employing highly pluralistic economic strategies, spreading risk, capital and debt over a variety of activities. Mercantilism was also beset by high taxes and unstable conditions of trade, and bankruptcy was commonplace.

Kalland's analysis provides a valuable source of comparison on proto-capitalism in the fishery. Over the centuries markets in fish, capital and labour gradually developed in association with one another, ultimately to result in

fully developed markets in the factors of production. This book makes possible illuminating comparisons with the development of capitalist fisheries in the North Sea, the North Atlantic, and elsewhere, and is to be welcomed as a substantial contribution to the economic history of fishing.

Reginald Byron
Swansea, Wales

Sean T. Cadigan. *Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785-1855*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. xiv + 242 pp., maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$45, £29 (\$50, Europe), cloth; ISBN 0-8020-0469-5. \$18.95, £12.50 (\$21, Europe), paper; ISBN 0-8020-7568-1.

Sean Cadigan brings a fresh approach to an old theme: the relationship between merchants and settlers in the Newfoundland fishery, with its far-reaching social, economic, and political implications. This work is innovative partly because it is set in a context that enables social relations in Newfoundland to be evaluated in comparison with those in other British North American colonies, where more diverse natural resources permitted forms of economic development that were constrained in Newfoundland by the inescapable primacy of the fishery. Also striking is Cadigan's use of court records, along with other sources, to fashion a nuanced reconstruction of the working realities of a household-based fishery and of the network of relationships that sustained it. Central to the argument is the author's portrayal of the truck system as "a negotiation between planters, servants, and merchants" (120). While class conflict was evident both in legal disputes and in violent confrontations, Cadigan situates it in a context of interdependence between fishing people and the merchants, and a common vulnerability to the vicissitudes of an unpredictable resource. Thus, the book rejects stereotyped images of grasping merchants pursuing their self-interest by cynically undermining Newfoundland's opportunities for economic diversification. Exploiters in an economic sense the merchants were, in their use of credit to generate profit,

and yet they were also participants in a system that at least reflected the realities of the island's dependence on the fishery. The myth of merchant obstructionism — the "chimera of Newfoundland history" (vii) - is, for Cadigan, largely a product of the efforts of early nineteenth-century proponents of colonial self-government to portray the merchants in an unfavourable light for political purposes. The author maintains that, by diverting attention from the central importance of the fishery, pursuit of the economic diversification which the myth has held out as a realistic goal has cost Newfoundlanders dearly for almost two centuries.

The strengths of this study are many. It not only advances our understanding of the truck system in general, but also portrays convincingly the subtlety of class and gender relationships. The chapter on the role of women in the household economy effectively distinguishes between the unusual degree to which women's work was integrated into market production — women as members of the 'shore crew,' attending to the processing of the fish landed by male relatives — and the concentration on domestic and subsistence agricultural labour that was characteristic of women's work in other British North American economies. Patriarchal as household structure remained, just as the truck system was exploitative, loyalties as well as conflicts were characteristic of the environmentally-influenced pursuit of survival in which both were enlisted. Also refreshing is Cadigan's critical analysis of Newfoundland's political reformers. Resemblances between the likes of William Carson and Patrick Morris, and liberal reformers elsewhere in British North America, are seen as superficial: while reformers in more agriculturally-based colonies sought more equitable distribution of available resources, the St. John's group went about remedying its own exclusion from patronage opportunities by weaving rhetorical webs out of merchant greed and agricultural aspirations. The existence of a linkage between patronage and reform was not, of course, peculiar to Newfoundland. Nevertheless, Cadigan's reappraisal is salutary.

Whether the nineteenth-century liberal reformers deserve to bear as much of the burden of blame for Newfoundland's subsequent econ-

omic travails as Cadigan assigns to them is, even after a reading of the book's persuasively-argued conclusion and its analysis of the baleful influence of the "chimera," a debatable question. There were eighteenth-century British naval captains who condemned rapacious merchants just as vigorously - and, arguably, with as little understanding — as did the reformers. Later on, the failure of such prescriptions as scientific agriculture, the railway, and state-sponsored industrial development, was not unique to Newfoundland. For all that, Cadigan offers a powerful and poignant reassessment of the origins of the preoccupation of Newfoundland's politicians with land-based development at the expense of the effective management of "the island's only successful industry." (p. 170)

This book makes a distinguished contribution to the social history of Newfoundland. It also deserves to be required reading for those who now grapple with the disastrous consequences of the unnecessary depletion of Newfoundland's principal resource.

John G. Reid
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Ishak Haji Omar. *Market Power, Vertical Linkages, and Government Policy: The Fish Industry in Peninsular Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. xii + 192 pp., tables, figures, map, appendix, bibliography, index. Cdn \$73.95, US \$49.95, cloth; ISBN 967-65-3056-5.

Thorough studies of fishing in emerging countries have been rare to date, and this is certainly one of the best that has so far appeared: the fact that Malaysia is now usually categorised as one of the 'new industrial' rather than the 'developing' countries no doubt reflects the situation that has made this study possible. Such studies are very generally handicapped by a dearth of basic information as well as by scarcity of objective research effort. As is general in southeast Asia, fish and fishing is of a high order of importance to Malaysia, with fish accounting for about two-thirds of all animal protein in the diet. Although Peninsular Malaysia is relatively small, there are over 350 landing places from which over 500,000 tonnes of fish are distributed an-

nually to 17 million people. There has been a "mammoth allocation" of public funds to fishing over the years, but development of the sector has been slow and of questionable efficiency.

As well as employing national statistics, the book is essentially based on an adaptation of the structure-conduct-performance paradigm of market research in the light of a two-month questionnaire survey conducted in 1986 of coastal and inland wholesalers, the main pivots of the marketing system. After a brief introductory chapter on the economic setting, a chapter is devoted to discussing the characteristics of the fisheries sector. The main content of the book, however, is in five following chapters which discuss various aspects of fish marketing, while a concluding chapter makes an admirable summary of the main argument.

The structure of the fishing industry from the catcher through to the consumer is elaborated in some detail, and the work is especially good in showing where economic power lies. Credit is found to be the main force in co-ordinating the fish distribution system. An important subordinate theme is the efforts of government to promote development for a sector of the national population — the fishermen — for whom the problems of poverty and lagging development has been especially acute. Associated with this is the imperfect functioning of the market from the point of view of small producers, and this study does succeed in identifying main sources of inefficiency in the working of the market. The main problem is shown to be the weak selling position of the fishermen at the beginning of the market chain in a situation in which there is a high degree of market concentration, with the wholesalers dominating the market. While there have been efforts to promote the formation of co-operatives among the traditional fishermen to correct the market imbalance, these have been futile in face of the co-ordinated strength of the traders. The position of the small fishermen has been further seriously weakened by the majority of the coastal wholesalers with their capital resources acquiring bigger and more efficient vessels which reduces their dependence on the traditional fishermen for supplies. The main power however lies in the hands of a small minority of inland wholesalers, who in addition to benefiting most from the

economies of scale, were able to get additional leverage in the market by buying supplies from outside the country, mainly from Thailand.

Also made clear is "the maze of barriers" to entry into fish marketing, and the serious complications of ethnic factors in Malaysia where the fish trade is completely dominated by the Chinese component of the population. They have successfully resisted to date attempts at intervention by the Malay-dominated government. The main instruments envisaged for remedying the situation is more effective control of licensing of fish traders and producers' associations becoming directly involved in wholesaling.

In all this is a well-organised and well-argued book that represents an important step in the understanding of fish marketing in emerging countries.

James R. Coull
Aberdeen, Scotland

Barbara J. Garrity-Blake. *The Fish Factory: Work and Meaning for Black and White Fishermen of the American Menhaden Industry*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994. xxiii + 160 pp., tables, photographs, maps, bibliography, index. US \$30, cloth; ISBN 0-87049-856-8.

Garrity-Blake has written an ethnographic and historical reconstruction of the menhaden fishing industry on the eastern seaboard of the USA with particular emphasis on the ports in Virginia and North Carolina where this fishery was concentrated in the 1980s. Menhaden is an unromantic fish used to manufacture meal and oil. However, this industrial fishery is commercially important and its practitioners are worthy of the attention received in this study. By the mid-1980s, the menhaden fishery was threatened by tourist developers and recreational fishers. Neither wanted the smelly factories or what they felt was interference with a more valuable industry.

Although about half the menhaden fishers in the study area worked for six months of the year in the Gulf of Mexico, and the impact of this migration is discussed in places, the book appears to be based on field work limited to the eastern seaboard. Unfortunately, the author does not specify exactly when the research was

conducted; nor does she offer any detail on how she collected her data beyond reference to her status as an anthropologist. This having been stated, the book does contain much interesting information.

Garrity-Blake's main objective is to report on the meaning of work, but first she sets the context. The menhaden fishery underwent a critical historical transformation from nineteenth-century, independent, small-scale producers to twentieth-century corporate capitalism, and with this a switch from New England waters to those of the southeast where local blacks became the usual source of crew labour. Garrity-Blake provides considerable detail on the labour process.

Class relations are portrayed sensitively with recognition that power is not asymmetrical — captains and crew know that they depend on each other and this dependence gives each some power. Class and race combine to produce different experiences of the meaning of work, although I would argue that the differences are essentially class-based reinforced by race. For skippers, work is a way of life to which they are emotionally committed. Captains occupy an ambiguous position as part of a corporate hierarchy. They are employees and subject to final authority of the company, but they also cling to notions of autonomy and retain enough control of work for it to be meaningful in itself. However, in recent times scouting for fish with planes has taken away the fish-finding root of the skippers' status - and some of their self-respect. Black crew tend to view their work as instrumental, something that provides a living for their families and a means to maintain their 'homeplace,' yet an occupation that could, in principle, be replaced. Until the power block reduced the need for carefully co-ordinated strength of many workers, there did appear to be a sense of pride and cohesion among them.

This book is clearly written and effective use is made of folk songs, maps and photographs. It is certainly a worthwhile addition to maritime studies. However, the result would have been better with more attention to several points. Despite the main title, there is little reference to work in the fish factories or to the corporate structure of the industry. Although they are not ignored, I would prefer more detail

on the shore-based relations of both blacks and whites that impinge on the fishery. More attention could have been allocated to the state policies that influence the way that work is conducted, because explaining the organization and experience of work requires bringing in the state. Finally, the work book needs an explicit theoretical framework in order to facilitate its use by analysts of other resource industry settings. The reader is left to do much of this task.

Peter R. Sinclair
St. John's, Newfoundland

David Wellman. *The Union Makes Us Strong: Radical Unionism on the San Francisco Waterfront*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xix + 364 pp., photographs, appendix, bibliography, indices. US \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-45005-5.

David Wellman has written a book that can perhaps best be described by a series of opposites: penetrating yet superficial; enlightening yet frustrating; insightful yet naive; analytic yet deterministic; important yet dismissable; convincing yet disturbing. Although space precludes a full exploration of these sharply contrasting judgements, I want to make it clear that *The Union Makes Us Strong* is one of the more difficult books to evaluate that I have encountered in quite some time.

Before trying to suggest why this is so, it is perhaps well to state explicitly what the book is. Wellman provides us with a rich portrait of a San Francisco-based local of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, a union with a long tradition of labour radicalism. Relying primarily upon three years of ethnographic research the author demonstrates, among other things, that it is possible for a labour organization to retain a radical orientation even in the hostile climate of America in the 1980s. As a descriptive work about one segment of the San Francisco maritime world, the book is brilliant and makes an important contribution to our understanding of this part of the "house of labour."

But of course *The Union Makes Us Strong* tries to do much more than simply describe the main contours of contemporary life on one west

coast waterfront. It also seeks to answer a host of questions and in the process to revise the way we think about labour in the modern world. It is in the choice of queries that the book begins to become problematic. Due, I suspect, to a selective and skewed reading of American labour history (Wellman appears to have read almost nothing that is not American and has missed a surprising number of the more important works on US labour history as well), he seeks to demolish a series of myths about the course followed by US labour since the 1930s. One, for example, is that the gradual loss of radical thrust was inevitable given the nature of American capitalism. Yet almost none of the writers cited in his bibliography were so crude as to have promulgated such a deterministic model. Wellman is doing more than merely tilting at windmills here — he is demolishing patently imaginary constructs. He is also being less than sensible in arguing that scholars, including labour historians, ought to stop asking "what might have been?" and start being concerned with "what might be done?" Questions inspired by notions of social activism have their place, but to include historians in a plea to focus on the future rather than the past is naive in the extreme.

Such shortcomings, however, are counterbalanced by some of the insights to be found between the covers. As an example, I was particularly impressed with his discussion of Harry Braverman's ideas, especially since they provided so much of the intellectual underpinning for one of the most important books on maritime labour published in the last decade, Eric Sager's *Seafaring Labour*. When I first read Sager's book, I had some difficulty with his reliance on Braverman without really being able to articulate why. Wellman has been extremely helpful by showing how Braverman's theories were built upon assumptions rather than being grounded in reality, (pp. 30-2) I would urge all who have read (or are planning to read) Sager's book to consult Wellman first. Also to be commended is his overall interpretation of the way in which the San Francisco union was able to retain its radical dynamism.

Yet for all its undoubted strengths, *The Union Makes Us Strong* really remains a book of incongruities. Perhaps I can briefly suggest

why. At the outset Wellman tells us that both his parents were important builders of industrial unionism. As he came of age, he found it more difficult — not atypically — to accept uncritically many of his parents' beliefs. But after writing this book, he says, he has a much better appreciation of their contributions. For a book which, at least in part, involves a son working out a complex relationship with his parents, perhaps there is no more appropriate caution than *caveat lector*.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

Jack and Nora Parsons. *Cornish Fisherboy to Master Mariner. The Life of Henry Blewett 1836-1891. Vol. 1: Mousehole Boyhood and Early Days at Sea, 1836-1861; Vol. 2: Mate and Master Mariner, 1861-1866; Vol. 3: Roseau Days, 1866-1881; Vol. 4: Steam, Sail and Shipwreck, 1881-1891.* Bournemouth: Bournemouth Local Studies Publications, 1993-1995 [available from Mainmast Books, 251 Copnor Road, Portsmouth, Hampshire PO3 5EE, U.K.]. I: vi + 74 pp.; II: vi + 82 pp.; III: vi + 85 pp.; IV: vi + 114 pp.; photographs, diagrams, maps, bibliographies, appendices. £4.50 each, paper; ISBN I: 0-906287-98-7; II: 1-873887-02-7; III: 1-873887-05-1; IV: 1-873887-08-6.

Cornish Fisherboy to Master Mariner recounts the life of Henry Blewett, a ship's captain during the latter nineteenth century, who rose to that position from humble beginnings serving aboard fishing vessels in his native Mousehole. Blewett was Jack Parson's great-grandfather, and the Parsons first conceived of the work in terms of its value to Henry's descendants. However, as they explain in their introduction to part one, they now hope that the work will be of use to anyone wishing to study mariners during the last century.

The "book" actually consists of four short volumes. The Parsons believe that this format provided the most practical way to approach their project, yet one cannot help but wonder if it might not have been preferable to combine it all into a single book, particularly since the entire work is not overly long.

In any event, the format is less of a prob-

lem than the research materials. The Parsons are to be commended for drawing on a fairly wide range of sources in reconstructing Henry Blewett's life. Unfortunately, many of the concrete details of Blewett's personal experiences appear to be taken from official documents, such as the crew agreements of the vessels on which he sailed. There is no doubt that sources of this nature can be very beneficial in historical research, yet they do little to flesh out the nuances of an individual's character and life. This is a common dilemma in reconstructing the lives of persons who were not public figures. While this becomes less of a problem in the final volume, one can still detect the paucity of direct information on Henry's doings. Even the inclusion of family recollections and letters do not adequately fill the gap.

The lack of many intimate details about Henry's life is exacerbated by the authors' tendency to add more detail than necessary to events concerning his career at sea. Some context is always needed in works of history. Yet at times the authors present this information in such detail — as when explaining the proper procedures in loading certain types of cargo — that readers can be excused for losing sight of just whom (or what) the book is about.

Questions can also be raised about the authors' belief that the book might be used as a guide in learning about "life at sea and ashore during the last half of the 19th century." (Vol. 1, p. v) It is necessary to remember that Henry Blewett's life, like all others, is unique. To draw broad conclusions about nineteenth-century seafaring from this one source could well lead neophyte readers of sea history astray.

Nevertheless, *Cornish Fisherboy to Master Mariner* is an interesting introduction to the life of the seafarer a century ago. While serious scholars will find little here that will be novel, the Parsons do remind us of the need for more work on the lives of "common persons." In some respects, chronicling the famous names on the world stage is an easier task. This book may not be remarkable, but it would surely have made Henry proud. Perhaps that is its most endearing trait.

David Clarke
St. John's, Newfoundland

John D. Gilman. *Masts and Masters: A Brief History of Sardine Carriers and Boatmen*. Deer Island, NB: the author, 1993 [John D. Gilman, P.O. Box 72, Lord's Cove, Deer Island, New Brunswick, Canada EOG 2J0]. vii + 191 pp., photographs. \$19, paper; ISBN 0-9697937-0-7.

Around the lower Bay of Fundy, small herring are caught in large, fixed fish traps, known locally as "weirs." Since the 1860s, the catch has been canned and marketed, with something less than scientific precision, as "sardines." While the weirs have been tended by fishermen using the variety of boat types familiar throughout Atlantic Canada, a distinctive form of "sardine carrier" has been developed to transport the harvest to the canneries. It is these boats whose stories John Gilman has compiled from tales told by his grandfather and other carrier masters, along with a search of Registry records.

His book covers upwards of two hundred of them, dating from the 1870s to the 1990s, with a bias towards those operated by Deer Island men. For most, he lists names, builders, captains, dates and places of building and re-building, along with their eventual fates and sometimes an anecdote or two from their, often remarkably-long, careers. For instance, *Casarco No. 11* was built in 1912 and is still in operation as the *HilbertM.*, albeit after repeated substantial repairs. Aside from other sardine carriers, very few Atlantic Canadian fishing boats have survived for half as long.

Around a hundred of the boats are shown in photographs. While the author does not discuss the reasoning behind sardine carrier design, the type is of some interest as being neither a recent import from Europe nor a derivative of the ubiquitous Cape Island and Northumberland Strait boats — perhaps the only extant form of decked Maritime fishing boat which can claim that distinction. The photographs are sufficient to trace its development from pinkies, through auxiliary schooners to modern craft designed for mechanical propulsion.

Besides the boats themselves, the book includes brief accounts of the rise and decline of several sardine companies, a list of their factories and occasional notes on the bewildering shifts in corporate ownership as the industry went through a series of booms and busts. For

all its text format, however, this is essentially a list of data, not a finished history nor even a general account of the technical aspects of sardine carrying. While much can be gleaned from it, readers looking for a thorough account of sardine carrying will be disappointed.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia

Robert D. Turner. *The Sicamous & The Naramata: Steamboat Days in the Okanagan*. Victoria, BC: Sono Nis Press, 1995. 72 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, suggested further readings. \$13.95, paper; ISBN 1-55039-057-0.

Okanagan Lake in the interior of British Columbia was once the venue for many fine stern-wheelers and steam tugs that plied its waters from Okanagan Landing in the north to Penticton in the south. Before the advent of good roads and a railway connection at Kelowna, they were the principal means of conveying passengers and freight in and out of the valley. Many fine ships were built, and fortunately two have been preserved as museums at Penticton, reminding citizens how the rich fruit-producing lands of the valley were opened to settlers.

The glory days of the Okanagan district were just before World War I, when settlers, mostly British, poured in to take up land. The boom also extended eastward to the Arrow Lakes on the Columbia River system and Kootenay Lake. To provide for their needs, the Canadian Pacific lake and river system ordered three of the finest steel-hulled sternwheelers ever to ply BC waters. They were sister ships, four decks high, provided with the luxurious accommodation and service for which the CPR was renowned. The ships were pre-fabricated in Ontario and shipped by rail to their destinations.

Bonnington was employed on the Arrow Lakes while *Nasookin* and *Sicamous* served on Kootenay Lake. Unfortunately they arrived at an inauspicious time, the summer of 1914; the boom was over and soon all the young men in the districts were bound overseas. As a result, the three ships showed substantial losses. *Bonnington* was scrapped after a brief career while *Nasookin* became a government car ferry. In 1935 the CPR finally gave up the Okanagan

passenger service; *Sicamous* was converted to carry freight only, with her upper deck removed. She operated only two years, for she could not pay her way - tugboats and barges could handle the freight more profitably.

For the next fourteen years, *Sicamous* sat neglected at Okanagan Landing. In 1949, she was sold to the city of Penticton for one dollar, then towed and eased into a trench at the western end of the city's famous beach in 1951. But the citizens soon learned that the preservation of an idle ship can be a very expensive proposition, and the poor old steamer, now a landmark on the waterfront, deteriorated badly. A rescue operation began when the SS *Sicamous* Restoration Society was formed in 1988 to undertake her rehabilitation. In 1991 *Sicamous* was joined by *Naramata*, the last of the steam tugs on the lake. It, too, had been laid up for years before being purchased by the Kettle Valley Railway Heritage Society and towed to Penticton where it is now being patiently restored.

Robert Turner, the curator emeritus of the Royal British Columbia Museum, is the author of several fine volumes on the history of CPR "Empresses" and "Princesses." This latest publication is a handsome tribute to the fine service provided by the CPR in pioneer days.

Norman Hacking
North Vancouver, British Columbia

John Jean. *Stories of Jersey Ships*. Jersey, C.I.: La Haule Books, 1987. xiv + 208 pp., photographs (b+w, colour), illustrations, tables, indices. £17.50, cloth; ISBN 0-86120-019-5.

John Jean. *Jersey Ships and Railways*. Jersey, C.I.: La Haule Books, 1989. viii + 183 pp., photographs, illustrations, tables, indices. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-86120-029-2.

John Jean. *Tales of Jersey's Tall Ships*. Jersey, C.I.: La Haule Books, 1994. xviii + 158 pp., photographs, illustrations, tables, indices. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-86120-045-4.

These three books, published in limited editions (the first is now out of print), are mainly anecdotal accounts of Jersey mariners and their vessels which have been assembled by the author

from ships logs, letter books, Lloyds reports, ship registers, diaries, personal reminiscences and newspapers. Many are short essays on individual Jersey masters and seafaring families, successful and disastrous voyages, trade routes, vessels and their builders, and the service of Jersey men in privateers and the Royal Navy. In part these supplement and occasionally correct lists of Jersey shipbuilders and other maritime occupations, Jersey companies in the North American cod fisheries, lists of Jersey-built and owned vessels and Jersey ship masters in the author's earlier work, *Jersey Sailing Ships* (Philimore, 1982).

There are two hundred and fifty historical photos and illustrations in the three volumes. *Stories of Jersey Ships* includes colour photographs of paintings of sailing vessels and the only map in the three books, a chart of the Channel Islands and part of the French coast. Although part of the index for *Stories of Jersey Ships* has been carelessly proofread and the index for *Jersey Ships and Railways* does not list a number of vessels and shipbuilding sites mentioned in the text, the indices are generally quite helpful.

Stories of Jersey Ships has three chapters on Jersey maritime and maritime related stories (most during the 1800s) as well as a chapter on privateering from the English Civil War to the War of 1812. The title of *Jersey Ships and Railways* is deceptive because only about a dozen pages are about railways on Jersey, British railway company vessels operating between Southampton and Jersey, and some Jersey connections with North American railways. Most of the text is concerned with Jersey men in the Royal Navy, more stories of privateering and other maritime activities, and lists of ship builders and their vessels in Jersey, eastern Canada and Newfoundland. The only error this reviewer found concerned Captain Peter Jackson, who is identified as master of the rum runner *I'm Alone* (mis-spelled *I'm All Alone*) when the US Coast Guard sunk that schooner in 1929. In fact, the vessel's master was Captain Thomas Randell. The third book, *Tales of Jersey Tall Ships*, is organized into two parts. The first includes lists of Jersey shipping casualties in World War I and Jersey sailing vessels still ope-

rating in the 1920s and '30s; the second consists mainly of descriptions of fifty-one Jersey sailing ships and twenty-one early steamships.

Overall, the books are a readable potpourri of Jersey maritime stories and events. However, trying to find some kinds of information can be frustrating. Thus, in *Jersey Ships and Railways*, vessels built by Jersey shipbuilders at Fortune Bay, Newfoundland (mis-spelled Fortune Way), Paspébiac on the Gaspé peninsula of Québec, and Shippigan in New Brunswick are listed in the text but missing from the index. The lists are sometimes incomplete, in part because Canadian-built and Jersey-owned vessels were often registered at Canadian ports before 1824. Certificates of British Registry were issued after 1824 and these vessels can usually be found in Jersey registry books. This can lead to erroneous conclusions. James Day, shown in the text to have only built vessels at Paspébiac between 1824 and 1830, had been building vessels there as early as 1792, two of which, the barques *If* (1794) and *Day* (1806), are described in *Tales of Jersey Tall Ships*.

David J. McDougall
Lachine, Québec

David Swayze, Ralph K. Roberts, Donald Comtois. *Vessels Built on the Saginaw, Vol. I: Commercial Vessels*. Bay City, MI: Saginaw River Marine Historical Society, 1993 [order from David Swayze, 3123 S. Concourse Dr., Mt. Pleasant, MI, USA 48858]. x + 158 pp., photographs, illustrations, additional vessel names, maps, partial bibliography. US \$12.95 (plus \$3 p+h), spiral-bound.

The Saginaw Bay region of Michigan has a rich maritime history spanning almost two centuries. However, like many smaller maritime centres on the Great Lakes and elsewhere, the region has not received its proper share of attention by scholars. The reasons range from the perceived narrowness of the topic to the difficulties in locating the necessary source materials. *Vessels Built on the Saginaw* and other similar compilations should help to remedy the situation. The purpose of this first of a proposed two-volume reference work is to provide researchers with an easy-to-use source listing more than six hundred

commercial vessels built in the Saginaw Bay region. Vessel entries are arranged alphabetically by the first official name of each vessel. For the researcher who does not know a vessel's name at launch, there is a list of additional vessel names for name changes and for vessels mentioned in the comments. More than fifty photographs are included as well as maps detailing the locations of shipyards, towns, and shipwrecks along the Saginaw River. The authors have relied on *Merchant Vessels of the United States* as their main source of vessel data and, in some cases, US Customs records and comparable Canadian sources. Local sources and the authors' personal collections and research supplied additional information such as launch dates.

Data for each vessel includes the first official name of the vessel, official number, vessel type, subsequent names when known, date and place of launch, ship builder or ship yard, hull number, length, beam, depth, gross and net tonnage, and a brief comment. The comments focus on changes in registry, rig changes, ownership changes, accidents, and final disposition of the vessel if known. A wide variety of vessel types including barks, schooners, propellers, side wheel vessels, yachts, tugs, and other miscellaneous craft are represented. The basic data for each vessel is the most important required for this type of work and the brief comments on each vessel provide very useful information on ownership and disposition. The photographs selected illustrate a variety of vessel types and are useful, however, they do not reproduce well in this xerographic format.

Vessels Built on the Saginaw should also serve as a catalyst to other scholars to pursue some areas of research suggested by the volume but clearly outside its scope. I for one found myself wanting more details on builders, fleets, trades and trade patterns, and the labour and social history of the Saginaw River region of Michigan. Wheeler, Davidson, and Defoe were major figures in Great Lakes shipbuilding responsible for an impressive array of vessels for the Lakes as well as for salt water and deserving of further study. Many other aspects of the regional history of the Saginaw River region bear on the maritime history of the area and are suggested, however briefly, in the Introduction and comments on individual vessels.

I strongly recommend this volume to maritime historians interested in Great Lakes regional ship building, keeping in mind the geographical focus, although the inherent mobility of the vessels built on the Saginaw gives the volume broader appeal. A better rendering of images and separate *lists* arranged by ship builder would have enhanced the reference value of the volume. Despite these minor criticisms the volume succeeds in its main purpose. Libraries, archives, and museums with a Great Lakes or maritime focus should acquire this inexpensive volume for their collections.

Robert Graham
Bowling Green, Ohio

Garth Wilson. *A History of Shipbuilding and Naval Architecture in Canada*. Transformation series, No. 4; Ottawa: National Museum of Science and Technology, 1994 [Finance Division — Transformation Series, National Museum of Science and Technology, P.O. Box 9724, Station T, Ottawa, ON K1G 5A3]. vi + 93 pp., photographs, illustrations, bibliography. \$15 [payable to Receiver General for Canada], paper; ISBN 0-660-12022-4.

As a tragic statement on the affairs of the Canadian shipbuilding industry, more is being written about the industry's past than its future. This competent and perceptive overview of three centuries of shipbuilding and naval architectural progress is very well researched and presented. The author is successful in stripping away the sometimes impressive factual records to allow the readers to focus on the underlying issues that have caused the swings, so evident in the industry's history, between famine and fortune.

The overriding impact of government policy is seen time and again as short-sighted reaction to immediate war-time needs, restrictive trade practices, or high international demands for new tonnage and political gain. While Wilson has not described all the various attempts to support the industry (there being far too many anyway), he has captured the major ones. A review of these draws the inevitable conclusion that without government action, no organized industry would have developed at all. What is really stunning is the total lack of pro-active government policy.

In parallel with the story of the shipyards is a review of the overseas developments in the field of naval architecture which, time and again, left Canada behind the development curve of Europe and the United States. Once again, the author is to be commended for the depth of research undertaken. While a trained shipbuilder could argue some of the finer points of Wilson's description of design and building practices, the points to be made are minor.

An historian who revels in minutiae might also venture to suggest some minor corrections, yet none would have the least effect in assessing the current health of the industry. A few major areas that would have been worthy of further development would include the very early start (1841) of the assembly of iron ships in remote locations across the country using parts fabricated overseas, the effect of organized labour on the industry, and lastly the lack of strong Canadian cabotage laws such as those in the United States which have done so much to foster unsubsidized, healthy shipyards.

This book is intended as an overview, and is successful at that task. Since it is essentially an historical work, the future is not at issue. The next century may be a surprise for the Canadian industry. The shrinking Canadian dollar may just be attractive in the post-OECD world where subsidizing shipbuilding will be of interest only to historians.

Roland H. Webb
White Rock, British Columbia

Ambrose Greenway (consulting ed.); Robert Gardiner (gen. ed.). *The Golden Age of Shipping: The Classic Merchant Ship 1900-1960*. Conway's "History of the Ship" series; Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 192 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, tables, bibliography, glossary, index. Cdn \$62.95, US \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-339-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The Golden Age of Shipping is the ninth in Conway's much praised, twelve-volume series dedicated to the history of the ship. Like its predecessors, it is a very pleasing book — well organized, richly illustrated and supported by

excellent supplementary material (notably a glossary and an annotated bibliography), the sum of which should prove rewarding to the casual browser and the student alike. It is certainly a work well worth owning, both as part of the series and as a single title. Only the price is likely to give pause to anyone interested in the subject, although this is true for many hard-cover editions today.

The Golden Age of Shipping is a comprehensive survey of the history of the merchant ship, in all its forms, from 1900 to 1960. The book is divided into ten chapters, prefaced by an editor's introduction. Chapters are devoted to the main categories of merchant ships, defined here as passenger, cargo, bulk-cargo, coastal, fishing and service vessels, as well as to the general topics of design and construction, propulsion, economics and navigation. The result is a well-rounded presentation of the trends and technologies that characterized the business of shipping during the first sixty years of this century. One of the qualities inherent in Conway's "History of the Ship" series is its reliance on specialists to produce individual chapters within the prescribed scope of each volume. *The Golden Age of Shipping* continues this laudable practice with no less than twelve contributors, consisting of an appealing mix of academics, engineers, professional mariners, amateur historians and one museum curator. If there is any weakness in this roster, it is the fact that the authors are mostly, if not in fact all, from Britain. More will be said on this later.

In preparing and presenting this volume, a good balance between breadth and depth of information has been struck. Reading from an admittedly idiosyncratic Canadian perspective, I was interested to see how well our country's contribution to merchant shipping was represented. After all, the book covers the period when industrial shipbuilding in Canada took root and, most notably during the two world wars, made a significant contribution to the supply of world tonnage. Beginning with technology, I was pleased to find mention of the celebrated M. V. *Abegweit*. Unfortunately, bare mention is the full extent of the coverage, with nothing said about the considerable international influence she would have on other vessels of her class. In the section devoted to ice-breakers, Canada does

receive a separate sub-heading, although here too the content is mostly descriptive, with nothing said about our development of significant expertise in the design and operation of this particular type of ship. I was similarly disappointed at the rather cursory handling of the Great Lakes bulk carrier and especially the absence of any discussion of the St. Lawrence Seaway. On several occasions, the Great Lakes origins of various modern forms — for example, train ferries, turret ships and bulk carriers — are acknowledged, but to my mind this is itself a topic worthy of greater attention and, for the editor of this volume, a missed opportunity. In other areas, Canada's Allan Line, always a technological innovator, receives due credit for its introduction of the steam turbine to trans-Atlantic passenger travel, while Canadian Pacific's prominence in both ocean and coastal passenger shipping is quite well represented.

My one general criticism has to do with the more abstract issues of conception and definition. The premise of the book is that this period of sixty years was one of evolution, bracketed by "revolution": the triple expansion steam engine, the steam turbine and large steel hulls on one side; containerization, radical developments in size, shape and design, and something called "the accounting-led world..." (p. 13) on the other. Well, at least the intention is clear enough — even if some of the statements are debatable. Nevertheless, and at the risk of quibbling in the face of quality, I must express some disappointment at the promotion of the whole concept of a "Golden Age," and a "classic" ship, especially as it is here framed by the rhetorically effective but problematic idea of technological revolution. As for the possible charge of quibbling, I call to my defence Robert Gardiner's own statement in the preface that "in the matter of interpretation, care has been taken to avoid the old myths." (p.6) To my mind, the notions of technological "revolution," a "Golden Age" and the "classic" ship are nothing if not the rhetorical byproduct of old myths.

The indulgence of myth in the conception of the volume is perhaps best explained by the national bias of the editor and authors. The "Golden Age" referred to in the title is mostly golden from the historical vantage point of the British Isles. Not that this is completely without

foundation; Britain was clearly the dominant force in both shipbuilding and shipping for most of the sixty years covered. But surely there is more nostalgia than substance in this title. Similarly, the notion of a "classic" ship is rooted in a highly subjective, sentimental preference for a particular aesthetic. Even if these values are shared by the majority of readers, a-series of this quality really should not allow such subjective sentiments to tarnish, however slightly, its very reputable appearance and authority.

Garth Wilson
Ottawa, Ontario

Japanese Business History Institute and the Sumitomo Marine Corporate History Office. *Sumitomo Marine & Fire Insurance: The First Century*. Tokyo: Sumitomo Marine & Fire Insurance Co., Ltd., 1993. xii + 250 pp., photographs, maps, figures, appendices, index. Free while in stock; contact Kazuma Shiozaki, Planning Division, International Department, The Sumitomo Marine & Fire Insurance Co., Ltd., 27-2, Shinkawa 2-chome, Chuo-ku, Tokyo 104, Japan.

The rise and development of multinational corporations in Japan have been the subject of much discussion among business and maritime historians. In order to understand the growth strategies of Japanese multinational firms, it is necessary to look at several case studies. One such example is the Sumitomo Insurance Company.

This book basically is a history of the Sumitomo Fire & Marine Insurance Company which has been in successful operation for over a century. The book tries to examine all the prominent features that allowed this company to develop as well as those that hindered its growth. Obviously, the author, Professor Mariko Tatsuki of Keisen Jogakuen College and the translators are equipped with company archives to write a balanced company history that attempts to follow the chronological order from 1893 to the 1990s. Each chapter looks at how the company has evolved at different periods.

The Osaka Insurance Co. Ltd., the forerunner of the present Sumitomo Fire & Marine Insurance Company, was first established in June 1893. Its path over the past hundred years

has not always been a smooth one. It had faced many tribulations, such as the serious recession following World War I, the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, the Muroto typhoon hit the Kansai region in 1934, the Pacific War, and the political and economic change in the post-war era. Each time the company was able to overcome its difficulties and emerge stronger.

There were many restructurings of the company. Sumitomo was the largest shareholder in Fuso Marine which became a non-life insurance company of the Sumitomo group in 1932. (p.64) During World War II, the company extended business in Manchuria, Taiwan and Korea, (p.76) By April 1940 Fuso Marine had changed its name to Sumitomo Marine & Fire Insurance Co. whose agency had been Mitsui & Co., and Sumitomo Marine was merged on the recommendation of the Finance Ministry. The companies finally merged in 1944, and were renamed the Osako Sumitomo Marine & Fire Insurance Co., Ltd. The company achieved outstanding growth. During this period Osaka Sumitomo Marine was fourth in premium income in fire insurance, and second in marine insurance. However, as the tide of World War II turned against Japan, fire insurance was still active but marine insurance had for all practical purposes come to a halt. (pp.79-81)

In the post-war period, Sumitomo diversified the type of insurance available in fire, marine, and automobile. Overseas operations of the insurance company developed rapidly in the 1980s in response to the expansion abroad of Japanese corporations. The modern Japanese entrepreneur of the Sumitomo company is now concerned with insurance products for the future, and package policies covering multiple risks, including life risk, are being developed. Currently, despite the introduction of new and interesting products, automobile insurance is expected to continue to be the principal line of Sumitomo's insurance business. In today's Japan, with a rapidly aging population, Sumitomo Marine & Fire is already marketing products such as nursing care expenses insurance and accident insurance, thereby keeping ahead of competition by anticipating the demands of the future.

Overall, I have few criticisms. I would, for instance, question the objectivity of this kind of

company history that would over-exaggerate the achievements of the company. And while it is arranged clearly in a chronological order, the book does tend to repeat itself in various places, and a few sections are not explained sufficiently. Nevertheless, the author and translators have done an excellent job in attempting to cover most of the company's history. The book provides a large amount of information on the policies of the company, and the managers who led it, and it does draw attention to some of the reasons why large corporations have evolved and what some possible effects of this situation might be, particularly, the importance of forward planning and the need to diversify activities to avoid risk and uncertainty. The book provides a wider historical context as well. Thus, it is a valuable reference not only for business and maritime historians, but also for those specialising in Japanese history.

Chi-Kong Lai
Brisbane, Australia

Himanshu P. Ray. *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994. x + 234 pp., photographs, maps, bibliography, index. Cdn \$37.95, Rs 350, cloth; ISBN 0-19-563551-5.

This book is a study of maritime trade networks of south Asia in what the author calls the Early Historical Period covering the fifth century BC to the fifth century AD. This is done on the basis of a detailed analysis of archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence covering the major sites and centres of the Indian subcontinent and those parts with which it was in contact. The strongest body of evidence used is the cultural artifacts found in archaeological sites from which hypotheses of trade networks and diffusion are derived. This feature gives the work its strength and originality, since much of the current literature on ancient trade tends to rely on literary evidence.

The author has searchingly investigated the proto-historical and early historical sites of the Indian subcontinent. The statuary, pottery, jewellery and coinage yielded by them have been analysed to show early trading contacts between

cultures. From this evidence the author has traced the presence of overland and coastal trade routes within the subcontinent. This evidence has been supplemented by a study of contemporary sites across the ocean which have been in contact with India. Thus the Persian Gulf, southern Arabia, Egypt and in Southeast Asia, Burma, Thailand and Java have been subject to a similar analysis for evidence of contact with the Indian subcontinent.

The author has skilfully marshalled all this evidence to put forward certain interpretations that make a major contribution to the historiography of maritime trade in the early historical period. A few important conclusions emerge. The outbreak of maritime trade from the third century BC was a result of the internal dynamics of the Gangetic Valley and the Deccan. The emergence of centres of political and military power and the formation of states and elites in these areas created increased productivity and consumption that were essential to commerce. The trade exchanges that resulted opened up internal networks and expanded gradually overseas through maritime routes. The author sees the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era as critical to the rise and growth of these networks in India with greater centralization of power and an increase in the number of highly ranked groups.

The author sees Buddhism as of critical importance to the expansion of trade networks. The rise of Buddhist institutions, the communal nexus it promoted and the construction activity it generated gave a great boost to trade within and outside the country. The author brings out the connection between Buddhist missionary activity and trade and makes a contribution to the on-going debate on the link between trade and ideology. She argues for a Buddhist/brahmanical symbiosis which contributed to the spread of Indian ideology into numerous Southeast Asian communities. In keeping with the main thrust of current historiography, she brings out the role of already existing Southeast Asian trade and power systems in the adaptation of Indian ideology in Southeast Asia. In this way, her work supplements the on-going historiography on state formation and cultural diffusion in Southeast Asia.

The author deals with the trade to the west

in great detail and brings together all the available and most recent archaeological evidence of 'Roman' finds on the Indian subcontinent. She is of the opinion that there was little direct trade between the Roman Empire and India but that most of the trade consisted of indirect exchanges. She lays emphasis on the Persian Gulf as a median point between India and the Roman Red Sea trade. In keeping with this hypothesis, she discounts the existence of Roman colonies on the Indian coast.

Throughout, the author asserts that the maritime trade of this period was not merely one in luxury goods but also in articles of daily consumption, particularly agricultural produce and minerals. Using some of the scanty evidence from maritime archaeology, she makes useful observations on ship-building technology of the early historical period.

In sum, we have here an important contribution to our present knowledge of maritime trade and cultural linkages of the Early Historical Period.

Sinnappah Arasaratnam
Armida, NSW, Australia

John Morrison (consulting ed.); Robert Gardiner (gen. ed.). *The Age of the Galley: Mediterranean Oared Vessels since pre-classical Times*. Conway's "History of the Ship" series; London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995. 256 pp., photographs, figures, maps, illustrations, tables, bibliography, glossary, index. £28, hardcover; ISBN 0-85177-554-3.

This is the tenth in the twelve-volume encyclopedic "History of the Ship" published by Conway Maritime Press. The series is aimed primarily at those who already have a significant knowledge of maritime history and technology, and who are familiar with nautical terminology. It is intended to provide scholarly and referenced summaries of different historical periods, and of the development of various aspects of maritime technology for historians and others who wish to delve into areas of interest outside their own specialization. This book meets the objectives admirably for the oar-propelled vessels of the Mediterranean from prehistoric times to the eighteenth century. The sixteen

contributions are well written, present their arguments lucidly, and are supported by excellent and up-to-date bibliographies and references. As well as being a fascinating "read" in itself, it should prove a most useful reference work for anyone interested in navies and merchant shipping before the advent of nineteenth-century iron sailing vessels and the arrival of steam propulsion.

The sixteen chapters fall into two groups. The first eight examine the history of oared ships from the Bronze Age to the early modern (post-medieval) period. The Greek, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Islamic and Italian galleys are described, together with notes on their construction, voyages, crewing and armament. Chapter 8 offers a brief overview of merchant galleys from the ninth century BCE to the Venetian "great galleys" of the fifteenth century. The second part of the book enlarges on the technical aspects introduced in the opening chapters, particularly the problems of the naval architecture and oar systems. Chapter 13 gives an excellent summary of the difficulties facing both galleys and sailing vessels in making passages both east to west and north to south in the Mediterranean. Chapter 14 examines the costs of manning and provisioning war galleys, and makes the interesting observation that for a campaign, wages and provisions for the crews cost more than the galleys. Ancient naval harbours and shoreside facilities for oared warships in the Aegean and at Carthage are discussed in Chapter 15.

For the technically minded, the most useful sections of the book are chapters 9 through 12, which offer extensive discussion of the mechanics and human ergonomics of galley oar systems and a full review of the hull forms, from building by eye to the use of 'rules' to produce the largely uniform galleys of Venice and Genoa. These chapters explore in considerable detail aspects of oared fighting and merchant ships that have hitherto not been extensively investigated, and are perhaps the most useful for the specialist. Chapter 12, a substantial joint presentation by three authors, covers the whole medieval and early modern period, from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries AD.

Although much has been done on oared vessels in the last ten years, there remain major

disagreements and uncertainties about the interpretation of new evidence. For example, when did vessels propelled by oars rather than paddles first appear in the Aegean? The earliest iconographic evidence, from the Cycladic 'frying pan' terracotta artifacts and lead ship models from Naxos, strongly suggests propulsion by paddles. The Minoan seal evidence from Knossos is distinctly indeterminate. Ship frescoes from Thera, dated to ca. 1600 BCE, clearly show smaller vessels being rowed while larger vessels appear to be paddled, although some scholars challenge this interpretation. The larger vessels may be ceremonial boats, meant only for display rather than practical use. The painted reliefs from the Great Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (ca. 1190 BCE) clearly show the Egyptian vessels with oars. In the eighth century BCE, by the time of the Homeric poetry and the Greek Geometric pottery, the galley with a sail for passage making and oars for calms and close quarters manoeuvring was the normal large trading vessel. The *pentecontor*, a fifty-oared ship, was used both as a naval vessel and as a transport in the Greek colonization of the central and western Mediterranean and the Black Sea. A further question is when and where did the two and three banked oared warship develop? Merchant ships in general appear to have continued with sail and a single bank of oars, while sometime between about 800 to 600 BCE vessels with two and later three banks of oars evolved as the primary fighting ships. Phoenician galleys, a mix of warships and auxiliary vessels, with two banks of oars are shown on a relief from Nineveh of ca. 702 BCE, but the warships have a third level, which could be an unmanned third oarbank. Herodotus says that the pharaoh Necos (610-595 BCE) used triremes in both the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. According to Thucydides the Corinthians were the first Greeks to build triremes, possibly shortly after 650 BCE. By 500 BCE the trireme was a well-established type of naval vessel used by all the maritime powers, but there remain tantalizing gaps in our knowledge.

In the past fifteen years much attention has been paid to the Athenian trireme. To answer the many questions about the design, construction and propulsion of the trireme, an extensive research programme culminated in the building

of the full-sized reconstruction of a trireme, the *Olympias*, to test the theoretical reconstruction against the literary descriptions of the vessel's performance. This has been a fascinating and very informative (but expensive) project. With the knowledge gained, it would seem most desirable to build a second replica, modified in the light of experience gained from *Olympias*. The project has shown the difficulty in working only from iconographic and limited literary sources. Reconstructions of some early Scandinavian vessels have been much more straightforward, because we have the substantial body of evidence from excavated and conserved hulls.

In general the various authors brought together by John Morrison have used the sources available to them very effectively. However, like many areas of historical and archaeological research, the more information one gathers and studies, the more the number of unanswered questions seems to multiply.

In general this book will make a valuable addition to the personal library of any scholar or serious amateur engaged in the study of, or research on, oared ships. It provides a large body of up-to-date research on oared vessels in the Mediterranean even as it also highlights new questions and problems, where more research, study and synthesis is needed. It is one of the more substantial volumes in the excellent series published by Conway. The quality of the printing, figures and half-tones is generally excellent.

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Gillian Hutchinson. *Medieval Ships and Shipping*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses for Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994. xi + 219 pp., figures, photographs, maps, illustrations, glossary, catalogue, bibliography, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8386-3628-4.

Gillian Hutchinson has assembled in one volume what she describes as the "material remains" of medieval shipping with the ambitious goal of situating these findings within the context of the social and economic history of Britain in the 500-year period after the Conquest. Noting in her brief introduction that archaeologists and historians have ignored the "practical realities"

of maritime life, Hutchinson seeks to illuminate the lives of medieval mariners and "the creaking, stinking wooden vessels which carried them across the heaving seas from one port to another." (p.1) Odorous prose aside, what the author hopes to evoke is a better understanding of what Christer Westerdahl described as "the maritime cultural landscape" and defined as "the human utilization of maritime space by boat: settlement, fishing, hunting, shipping...piloting, lighthouse and seamark maintenance." (*Nautical Archaeology* 1992, 21: 5) As Curator of Archaeology at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, England, Hutchinson is well-qualified and well-positioned to undertake this assessment of extant pictorial, documentary and written evidence in light of the ongoing discoveries of marine archaeologists.

Following Westerdahl's lead, Hutchinson dedicates the first three chapters of her book to the development of ship design and provides an excellent survey of the current literature on the subject of ship technology and marine archaeology. Clearly an expert in the field, the author deftly guides us through the noteworthy archaeological finds of the last century while consciously avoiding difficult technical jargon. Chapter 1 covers the now familiar territory of the evolution of the northern European ship types (the keel, hulk and cog) while Chapters 2 and 3 survey the technical innovations in construction, fitting, steering, and rigging which sprang from the interaction of independent shipbuilding traditions from across northern Europe and the Mediterranean. The captioned diagrams and photographs that accompany these chapters are particularly helpful and though a few editorial problems are evident (e.g., 62, figure 3.9), they do not detract from Hutchinson's analysis of the secondary literature and pictorial evidence. Especially pertinent to these chapters on ship design are the supporting sections at the end of the book, including a Glossary of shipping terminology, a Catalogue of British and Channel Island ship finds for the period and a twelve-page Bibliography relating to all aspects of medieval shipping.

In the remaining seven chapters, the author turns her attention to the broader cultural landscape of medieval shipping examining patterns of trade, the practical aspects of shipping, the

infrastructure of port towns, inland water transport, the fishing industry, naval warfare, and medieval navigation. The discussion of ships' cargoes, mariners' diets, fishing artifacts, and seamarks adds an imaginable, understandable component to the subject of medieval life at sea. Readers interested in the topography of port towns will appreciate the illustrations of harbour docking, hoisting and warehousing facilities. The author's mastery of the archaeological evidence provides welcomed insight into the study of commercial maritime enterprise, a field dominated by economic historians who rely primarily upon financial records for their conclusions. The fourth chapter, however, entitled "British horizons, foreign ships," is something of a disappointment. While Hutchinson tempts the reader with an interesting description of harbours as an important focus of international exchange where different traditions "rubbed up against each other," she does little more than list known patterns of overseas trade. If she truly seeks to address the cultural backdrop and social aspects of medieval shipping, this was the place to do it.

Although Hutchinson's grasp of the technical literature cannot be questioned, she falls short of rationalizing the archaeological evidence to the findings of social and economic historians. The problem is that the author herself does not provide sufficient context for the discussion of the evidence. To a minor degree, this is a consequence of the method of citation; though convenient in such a work of synthesis, parenthetical references severely limit the necessary expansion of the ideas presented. More significantly, Hutchinson's analysis of the evidence often ends too abruptly and takes on the form of a recitation of the findings of others. Very few concluding remarks are found at the end of chapters and chapter subdivisions, and the absence of a final chapter designed to synthesize the admittedly difficult material on the social, economic and cultural aspects of medieval shipping precludes the author from leaving her mark on the work. Rather, Hutchinson appends to the book's final chapter entitled "Pilotage and Navigation" a brief admonition to those historians who might overemphasize the importance of technology in the development of British seafaring. As a result, the reader is left somewhat confused as to exactly what Hutchinson intends.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, Hutchinson's work represents an important direction in the history of maritime shipping. Without the important findings of marine archaeologists historians will never understand the cultural landscape occupied by medieval mariners, fishers, merchants, and residents of port towns. Her efforts to integrate the technical literature with the findings of social and economic historians must be applauded and *Medieval Ships and Shipping* is recommended to all readers interested in the maritime history of medieval Europe.

David G. Sylvester
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Frederick J. Pohl. *Prince Henry Sinclair: His Expedition to the New World in 1398*. New York; C. N. Potter, 1967; reprint edition, Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1995. 230 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-122-4.

This colourful volume promotes Henry Sinclair, a well-documented late-medieval Earl of Orkney, to the status of Prince. This "Prince" is supposed to have explored northeastern North America a century before John Cabot, visiting not only Newfoundland (here "Estotiland") but also Guysborough, Stellarton and Liverpool, Nova Scotia, as well as Westford, Massachusetts, where his men carved a memorial — which some people can see better than others. This speculative narrative is based on a mid-sixteenth-century Venetian tale, which most historians regard as a forgery of a late medieval document, the *Discovery* (1555), purportedly of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno (c. 1400). Pohl is not the first antiquarian to identify the Zeno explorer-hero, Prince Zichmni, with Henry Sinclair but he pushes the interpretation farther, arguing that Sinclair's visit to Nova Scotia was the origin of Algonkian legends of the culture hero Glooscap as well as other culture traits.

From a selection of early documents and his own speculation, Pohl weaves a series of vivid scenes in Sinclair's life. He makes little distinction between the attested and the imagined, resulting in a tale that will seduce the uninstructed just as it arouses the scepticism of the professional. This is not to deny that parts of this story

have been considered seriously by some scholars; but Pohl mentions the most penetrating critiques of this interpretation, only to ignore them. Some nice drawings apart, the book offers little to those interested in maritime studies. Sinclair's supposed itinerary is ludicrous and, in general, Pohl is better at sketching the political context of his tale than he is in capturing maritime life. Once our hero arrives in North America, the tall tale takes on unpleasant overtones. Pohl argues, for example, that if the native people of the Maritimes used fishing nets they must have copied medieval European originals. In fact, the Micmac and their ancestors were world-class artisans in fibre-crafts. Even more offensively, Pohl is suggesting that one of the central myths of this culture could only be an the result of an illuminating contact with Europeans.

Frederick Pohl is best known as a writer of speculative fiction. The most charitable assessment of this volume might be to take it as an experiment in historical rather than science fiction, despite its copious annotations, professional maps and illustrations. The publisher, on the other hand, appears to take Pohl seriously, presenting this reprint as a "*Nimbus Classic*." It is, in fact, a classic of crypto-history, in which a garnish of historical detail camouflages a stew of unsupported speculation, the whole seasoned with an unsavoury Euro-centric racism, typical of the genre.

Pohl was not the first to resuscitate the forgeries of the brothers Zeno, and will not be the last to equate Zichmni and Sinclair. This is a safe prediction, because crypto-history not only feeds on itself but also satisfies a cultural need. Just as tales of medieval Norse exploration emerge mysteriously in Wisconsin, just where Scandinavians settled in the nineteenth century, so a tale of early Scottish exploration will find a market in Nova Scotia, where Scots likewise represent a late wave of human occupation. If this fresh impression of Pohl's imaginative little book sells well in Guysborough and Stellerton it will do so at the expense of history and, worse, at the expense of cultural sympathy for the Native *gens de mer* who actually inhabited the area in the past and exploited the seas around it.

Peter Pope
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C H. Clough and P.E.H. Hair (eds.). *The European Outthrust and Encounter. The First Phase c. 1400-c. 1700: Essays in Tribute to David Beers Quinn on his 85th Birthday*. Liverpool Historical Studies, No. 12; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994. 348 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, index, select subjects index. £19.50, paper; ISBN 0-85323-239-6.

For fifty years David Quinn, who taught history at the University of Liverpool, and his late wife Alison have been recognized authorities on the history of the interaction of England and America. The Hakluyt Society has benefited from their active support for most of that time. This tribute contains his own reflections on his life, a list of his published works, and ten essays by colleagues at the University and in the Society.

The volume opens with an "Interpretive Essay" by P.E.H. Hair that divides "outthrust" into three stages: the occupation of empty land; the conquest or assimilation of previous (not necessarily aboriginal) populations; and finally the European outthrust starting in the fifteenth century. Of the nine essays that follow, only one is concerned with outthrust in this sense, while four treat directly of "encounter," which Hair defines as conquest, rejection of foreign advances, or co-existence. This review will consider each essay as a free standing paper.

C F. Beckingham writes of "Ethiopia and Europe," where the encounter was slight and the outthrust was by the Ethiopians seeking Christian allies in their wars with neighbouring Muslim powers. Jesuit missions to Ethiopia were in the end expelled, which fits Hair's rejection category. Rebecca Catz writes on "The Portuguese in the Far East," a subject which profits from her comprehensive summary of an important influence on the history of the islands of the northwest Pacific and adjacent mainland. She is followed by "Russian Penetration into Siberia" by Terence Armstrong, a paper that deals directly with Hair's second stage outthrust. It describes the eastward advance of the Russians, first for new sources of furs, then for agriculture to support the traders and grow grain, and finally for minerals. Contrary to the usual belief, convicts and exiles never made up more than five percent of the population of Siberia; the

pressure of population and release from serfdom brought the majority.

David Henige describes a new text of the account of the Columbus first voyage, and compares it with other sources. The differences will interest mainly scholars who have made a close study of Columbus. Norman Thrower does not add much to well known sources in his examination of "Drake on the Pacific Coast of North America." Joyce Lorimer describes John Ley's examination of the Guayana *{sic}* coast at the beginning of the seventeenth century, long after the initial Spanish exploration of the area. Like Henige's paper, this will interest those with a special interest in the subject. "Thevet and the English" by Hair is a study of one of Hakluyt's contemporaries, André Thevet, who was a gatherer of information on voyages and apparently had access to documents which have not survived. Unfortunately, like the de ITsles a century later, he believed in theoretical and speculative geography.

"Anson at Canton" is an account by Glyndwr Williams of the famous Commodore's visit to Canton in 1743. The official account made much of Anson's achievements, but documents that surfaced from a private collection in 1987 tell a different story. They are the work of Edward Page, supercargo at Canton for the East India Company, who felt that Anson had made a thorough mess of the affair.

The last essay, "The New World and the Italian Renaissance" by Cecil Clough, describes the slow emergence of history as an account of what happened, and of geography as a representation of the world rather than as a theoretical concept based on classical sources. Though he examines these developments within the limited context of the Italian peninsula, much of what he says could be applied to other countries where the persistence of error, especially error based on antiquity, was equally strong.

With such diverse material to describe, there is little room left for evaluation. Suffice it to say that each paper is well worth study, though a broad interpretation is required to fit them all within the theme of "outthrust and encounter."

John Kendrick
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Sinnappah Arasaratnam. *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994. ix + 294 pp., maps, bibliographical notes, index. \$36.95, cloth; ISBN 0-19-563424-1.

This is an erudite addition to the expanding literature on the maritime history of India. Though the focus of the study is on the seventeenth century, it has wider implications for debates on several critical issues. An important question relates to the definition of a maritime zone in South Asia. Does this zone include only the coast or does it encompass the hinterland as well? Limiting it to the coast imposes an artificial frontier which has little historical validity. The alternative explanation of incorporating the hinterland erases the boundaries between maritime history and other branches of the discipline and leads to the criticism of maritime history being an artificial construct. The author resolves this by self-imposed limits and concentrates on the four core regions, viz. Gujarat, Malabar-Kanara, Coromandel and Bengal. The *raison d'être* for these divisions are the distinct trading systems both overland and coastal of these zones. This definition therefore differentiates this study from that of other scholars such as K. N. Chaudhuri and Kenneth McPherson who approach the subcontinent from the ocean.

This compromise perhaps stems from the underlying argument of the author that, with the exception of the Mapillas of the Malabar and the Marakkars and Lebbais of the Coromandel, merchant communities of South Asia did not settle in the maritime zones. No major urban centres, market towns, military camps or pilgrimage centres grew along the coast and the coast for the most part continued as an area through which profit was channelled to the interior. As a result, political authority exercised over important maritime zones was often indirect and states did not engage to any great extent in investment in the infrastructure in ports. These concerns also determine the framework of the study. Discussion in the opening chapters centres around the location of ports, the importance of the monsoons which set the rhythm of the trade, and the historical antecedents of seventeenth-century maritime transactions. The developments of the seventeenth cen-

ture are dealt with in terms of the different coastal regions involved, e.g. Gujarat, Malabar and Kanara, Coromandel and Bengal. The participation of Indian merchants in the maritime trade and the extent of state control are two other issues dealt with, before leading on to a discussion on indigenous ships and shipping in chapter nine.

The book then provides an overview of existing knowledge on maritime trade in seventeenth-century India, and Prof. Arasaratnam, who devoted a long professional career of research to the subject, is perhaps best suited to synthesize and draw together the varied strands. A nagging sense of unease prevails on account of the focus of the study on maritime trade as an adjunct to land-based concerns and the continued acceptance of the conventional historical framework which regards maritime trade merely as one of the sources of revenue of land-based polities. Thus the discussion on shipping and seafaring is relegated to the penultimate chapter, rather than the other way round, i.e. by laying the foundation for a discussion on the nature of ships, ports, maritime contacts and seafaring communities.

Studies on maritime history of South Asia continue to be hampered by insufficient technological information on the nature of indigenous ships, as also the workings of local seafaring communities. This results from an increased reliance on European sources to the neglect of ethnographic data, oral traditions or regional literature. Sufi biographical works in Persian, for example, reveal not only a hierarchy of routes in the late seventeenth century, but also indicate interesting details of customs and rules of the sea (S. Digby, "Some Asian Wanderers in Seventeenth Century India: an examination of sources in Persian," *Studies in History*, 9, 2, 1993, pp. 247-264). Similarly, the term 'port' relates to a modern economic concept which represents a complex interplay of physical, geographical and socioeconomic phenomena. Its use to denote all coastal settlements of the pre-modern period has resulted in removing the functional distinctions between centres involved in diverse activities such as revenue collection, ship-repair, ship-building, etc., or merely landing places. The infrastructure needed for these activities would not be reflected in literary

sources, but would require alternative data, such as archaeological evidence to be tapped. Similarly issues such as passenger traffic by sea to Mecca during this period or other long-distance maritime links perhaps required more discussion in the study.

Prof. Arasaratnam is certainly aware of the loopholes and in his writings elsewhere he has stressed the need to pay greater attention to local sources and diaries of indigenous merchants. It is perhaps this that raised expectations that the book might break new ground by using the inadequate data available to present a history of maritime India in the seventeenth century, rather than a history of selected regions.

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Peter Wilson Coldham. *The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage 1614-1775*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1988. xvii + 920 pp., appendices. US \$60, cloth; ISBN 0-8063-1221-1.

Peter Wilson Coldham. *Supplement to The Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage 1614-1775*. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1992. 86 pp. US \$9, paper; ISBN 0-8063-1345-5.

These volumes are a treasure-trove of information on emigrants in bondage not, as the title might suggest in the present-day usage of the word, a compilation of persons engaged in bizarre sexual practices, but rather a collection of documented evidence relating to criminals which the British imperial government sent abroad to settle its colonies during the centuries before the outbreak of the American Revolution. From the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, transportation was a form of criminal punishment separate from the convict hulks, imposed by British courts, which provided magistrates with an effective alternative to the hangman's rope. Such measures also fit well into mercantilist practices by providing struggling overseas possessions with settlers. Before Australia developed into the preferred destination for convicts late in the eighteenth century, some fifty thousand emigrants in bondage

arrived in the Americas. Thanks to Peter Coldham, who these emigrants were is now part of a much more readily accessible documentary record.

An incorporation of some of Coldham's previously published works, this book contains an historical introduction to transportation as well as appendices which inform the reader where to look for information about pardons, the 180 or so convict ships which sailed to the British colonies between 1716 and 1775, a list of principal Assize Court records, and a summary of county records from which the author's information has been gleaned. It is principally organized, however, around the alphabetical listing of emigrant convicts, their origin, occupation or status, their offence and sentence, when and to what destination they were transported, and in which county they appeared in court. At first glance each item of information provided by Coldham needs to be deciphered. For example, one typical entry for a convict reads, "Moore, Anthony. S Dec 1733 T Jan 1734 *Caesar* but died on passage. L." Translated with the help of a list of abbreviations, one learns that Anthony Moore was sentenced to transportation in December 1733 and then transported in January 1734 aboard the ship *Caesar*, only to die on passage according to court records of the City of London. Some entries have slightly more information, others have less.

Coldham is not the first scholar to develop lists of such emigrants. Moreover, some, like Bernard Bailyn, Frederick Schmidt, A. Roger Ekirch, and A.G.L. Shaw, have already utilized some of the same sources in the writing of historical narratives describing the experiences of transported convicts on land and at sea. Nevertheless, these volumes, in conjunction with Coldham's multi-volume series, *The Complete Book of Emigrants* encompassing the years 1607 and 1776, represent a monumental achievement. While Coldham's books are most immediately useful to genealogists, researchers in maritime history can also make use of his efforts in the study of trans-Atlantic migration and this largely neglected aspect of the carrying trade.

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Andrew Hassam. *Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994. x + 235 pp., bibliography, index, paper; ISBN 0-7190-4546-0. Distributed in North America by St. Martin's Press, New York, NY.

This intensely argued and well documented book is not primarily concerned with maritime history despite its nominal subject. Andrew Hassam is more interested in the sociological and literary implications of the diaries than in the external events they record. It is with caution, therefore, that a maritime historian undertakes a review of this work for the readers of a maritime journal.

Hassam's objective is stated promptly enough. 'How did writing a diary,' he asks, 'help diarists make sense of such a momentous and absolutely alien experience as emigration by sail to a continent about which they very likely knew almost nothing?' (p.2) The introduction is a straightforward historical summary of nineteenth-century British emigration to Australia, together with information about the types and availability of surviving diaries. This is followed by seven chapters more or less arranged to reflect the chronology of the voyage, from departure, through the difficult and monotonous weeks at sea, to landfall and disembarkation. Each chapter includes relevant excerpts from the diaries to support and illustrate the author's argument and for many readers these quotations may overshadow, with their sense of immediacy, the accompanying discussion which they are intended to illustrate.

Hassam offers an answer to his initial question although his path to it is anything but direct. In brief we are told that diarists of all levels of sensibility used the daily entry to retain some sense of their identity in the midst of unfamiliar and confusing circumstances. By viewing the diary as a narrative, with a beginning and an end, the writers reminded themselves each day that the journey would also end. In the meantime the diarist created with his entries a semblance of normality within a totally alien environment.

The reader however has much to endure before he can content himself with this conclusion. Hassam has a liking for theoretical

constructs within which the discrete particulars can be placed. Although there are earlier warnings of this it is in the second chapter, 'Making a Start,' that the argument starts to call upon sociological and literary concepts to explain the motives of the diarists. We are in fact being introduced to what might be called the metaphysics of the journey story, with excursions into philosophy, literature and anthropology. Terms such as 'narratable space,' 'stabilisation of space,' 'spatial confusion,' 'articulated space,' 'spatial severance,' 'transgression of space,' and 'the sociological concept of the domain' crowd upon each other here and elsewhere as Hassam seeks to explain the familiar observation that people thrown into unfamiliar and confusing circumstances will try to recreate a sense of order and normality with whatever means are available. The commonplace is transformed by the use of language into the esoteric and arcane.

This pattern, of relevant and valuable historical material accompanied and often obscured by sociological and literary theory, reappears through the rest of the work. Some chapters, such as that dealing with the attitudes of the various social classes of emigrants towards each other, are relatively free from distractions and are full of human interest. The next chapter, however, 'Narrators and Personas,' returns to the analysis of motives introduced in the second chapter. Much is made in it of the diarists' preoccupation with creating anarratable space by concentrating on detailed descriptions of their immediate environment, including the cabin and its fixtures and the details of daily shipboard routine. All this 'obsession with detail,' says the author, is created by the desire 'to arrest transgression and reduce the voyage to a normality that can be narrated.' (p. 144)

Two criticisms of this book may be made, the first being Hassam's predilection for abstractions, the second his insistence on repeating needlessly each of his points long after the meaning has been grasped, a repetition that wearies the reader and threatens his patience. The bibliography is excellent and the list of diaries consulted alone is of great value to historians.

John Bach

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Edward Duyker. *An Officer of the Blue: Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne, South Sea Explorer, 1724-1772*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1994. xvii + 229 pp., b+w & colour plates, maps, glossary, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. AUS \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-522-84565-7. Distributed in North America by Seven Hills Distributing, Cincinnati, OH.

Edward Duyker is an Australian historian with a strong interest in the exploration of the south-western Pacific Ocean. However, where most writers in this field concentrate on the achievements of British navigators like James Cook, Duyker directs his attention to the Dutch and French contemporaries of Cook. Duyker's careful and well-researched study of the competent and colourful French mariner Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne should therefore be a welcome and applauded addition to the libraries of those historians with an interest in the achievements of European explorers other than the English. Duyker also sheds light on the long eighteenth-century struggle between France and England that ended only with Trafalgar in 1805 and Waterloo ten years later.

Dufresne was a middle-class officer of *la marine royale*, and hence he wore the blue uniform coat rather than the red reserved for noblemen. His was a diverse career, including experience as a corsair, disastrous land-owning and slaving adventures, and savage naval battles including La Jonquière's defeat by Anson in 1747 and Quiberon Bay in 1759. While still a merchant officer, he participated in the rescue of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" from Scotland after the failed rebellion and the slaughter of the clans at Cullodan in 1745. There are parallels with James Cook, arising in large part from the Frenchman's interest in exploration and his fascination with tropical archipelagoes and their inhabitants. He discovered the western-most island group in the Indian Ocean, travelled to India and China, and reached Tasmania before the English, making the first recorded contact with Tasmania's aborigines. He was involved with the study of the transit of Venus, and maintained a long fascination with the island of "Otaheite" even though, unlike Cook, he failed to reach it.

Duyker's chronicle of Dufresne's life is

detailed and erudite, and readers will not only enjoy the excellent prose but also come away with an insightful appreciation of how the vast gulf between noble officers and commoners in the French Navy crippled that service, perhaps fatally, at a time when it might have achieved paramountcy over Great Britain's Royal Navy. The rise of James Cook, which might have led to a knighthood had he survived his third voyage, would not have been countenanced in the French service, to its immeasurable loss. Dufresne's life-long struggle against the prejudice of officers of the *rouge* is portrayed clearly by Duyker, and would generate more sympathy for Dufresne were it not that he displayed far less of the humanity and compassion which seemed to mark his great contemporary, Cook. There was, for example, a brutal indifference in Dufresne toward slavery which contrasts, even in an age that tolerated it, with Cook. Dufresne was killed in 1772 during an exploration of the North Island of New Zealand, when his ignorance of Maori *tabu* led to him being clubbed to death in the Bay of Islands and eaten. His experience with non-European peoples showed no outright malice or cruelty, but displayed instead a lack of deeper comprehension or sensitivity. A quarter-deck is perhaps not the place for such nicety, and it is a measure of — again — Cook that he becomes the mirror against which contemporaries are measured, and found wanting. It took only a short while for Dufresne's life to end at Polynesian hands; for Cook, death came only after a decade of voyaging among the islands, when sickness and fatigue may have clouded his judgement and shortened his temper, causing him to lose that calm perceptiveness which had kept him and his crew alive to that point.

But to compare Dufresne to a greater man is to deny the Frenchman his rightful place in history as a remarkable seaman, explorer, and servant to his country in the European expansion into the Pacific. Edward Duyker's fine study of his life is a well-researched and finely crafted volume that deserves its place beside Beaglehole and Hough on the bookshelf of those interested in the history of the Pacific Ocean.

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John Curtis Perry. *Facing West: Americans and the Opening of the Pacific*. Westport, CT and London: Praeger Press, 1995. xxi + 367 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US \$65, cloth; ISBN 0-275-94920-5. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-275-94965-6.

Facing West is a fascinating and wide-ranging mixture of traditional American geopolitics and modern transport history. It chronicles the rise of the United States as the dominant nation of the North Pacific — a subject quite different from what the sub-title suggests. It starts with what some would call the 'opening' of the Pacific, i.e. the conscious linking of its eastern and western shores, by Magellan's expedition and terminates with the United States in the 1990s "providing the essential military balance." During this long period, "More than any other people, Americans pulled the North Pacific together and created the essential framework for the long-anticipated Pacific era, with immense incalculable consequences." (p.307)

For maritime historians this book will be full of interest, even if it is a synthesis based on (sometimes dated) secondary material rather than original research. It has a remarkably broad range of themes and concerns. Some will be familiar to most readers, such as the early voyages to and fascination with China (although there is little explanation of the vital role of tea and opium), the centrality of Hawaii, the 'opening' of Japan, 'guano imperialism,' and the interest of the US Navy in the Pacific. But Perry also gives due weight to the building of the transcontinental railroads and the steamshipping lines which they spawned. The commercial expansionism of politicians like Seward and naval officers like Shufeldt is not overlooked and the many schemes to link America with Asia through Alaska and some form of crossing of the Bering Strait are laid out in detail.

Perry reports on these with enthusiasm to the point where he allows himself to be carried away with hyperbolic statements such as that of America's apostle of air power, Billy Mitchell: "he who controls Alaska will control the world." (p.264) Though it did make neighbours of the United States and Russia, Alaska has never had anything like that strategic importance. True, it often figured largely in the "visions' of many

US strategists, especially when they contemplated the advantages of the shorter great-circle route to China and Japan (and, not to forget, Russian Siberia). Moreover, the Japanese occupation of Attu and Kiska in World War II (and the transpacific Lend-Lease exports to the Soviet Union) did give support to such views to some extent. Nevertheless, the fact remained that Hawaii, Midway and the central Pacific were of far greater importance in both commercial and strategic scenarios. It is here that Perry's idiosyncrasy (perhaps an unavoidable one in a work of this kind) becomes a weakness: Seward's grand schemes are fragmented rather curiously over a number of chapters and, despite a discussion of the theories of Harold Mackinder, there is no equivalent discussion of the ideas of Mahan, Dewey or other maritime theorists and practitioners. Theodore Roosevelt's naval programs are misunderstood and there is no mention of Woodrow Wilson's naval program of 1916. Generally, Perry's handling of strategic matters from the 1890s and in 1941 is less certain and convincing than for the earlier periods.

As his repetition of Mitchell's quotation suggests, Perry is fascinated by air power and civil aviation, a subject that often is an integral part of maritime history. Perry's account of the expansion of US civil aviation across the Pacific is very welcome and interesting indeed. There is also a marvellous chapter on Zeppelins which nicely complements an earlier one on telegraphs. But now, even more than in the earlier sections, his selective interests become visible as structural weaknesses in the book. By comparison to Perry's favourite topics such as the story of Pan American and its rivals, the US Navy and especially its carrier arm — which, after all, gave the United States its strategic dominance in the Pacific — are totally neglected.

Similarly, in the field of transoceanic transportation itself, the discussion of the US merchant marine in the twentieth century is also sketchy and very patchy: the Jones and 1936 Merchant Marine Acts are not mentioned; there is no reference to Robert Dollar's 'round-the-world services (nor of Japanese and other foreign lines); and Flags of Convenience (or Flags of Necessity!) appear *en passant* as part of the international scene of shipping rather than as the specific creations of US shipping interests.

Curiously, there is a discussion of bulk carriers (which the *Dakota* and *Minnesota* definitely were not; cf. p. 153) but hardly anything about the American container ships and companies (e.g., SeaLand, APL, and US Lines) that returned the United States to a position of prominence in the shipping world (and enabled Oakland to challenge San Francisco as a port if not as a tourist destination! cf. p. 131). Equally curiously, in terms of the scope of the book, there is no reference to Matson Lines and its several attempts to make Honolulu an oceanic hub. Perry also commits the sin of calling ship-owners 'shippers.' (p.280)

Facing West deals with far more than the 'opening' of the Pacific, yet with far less than the whole of 'the Pacific' The focus is explicitly on the United States, China, Japan and Russia — in short, the North Pacific. Both Southeast Asia and the South Pacific (the Australasian, oceanic and South American Pacific) are not even given secondary roles. In view just of the controversial role of the USA in the Philippines, Vietnam, Palau and Samoa this seems difficult to justify. Particularly in the field of seaborne transport much can be gained by including American relations with Australia and New Zealand, as the story of transpacific mail subsidies (p. 143) shows. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding its weaknesses, *Facing West* has great strengths. All maritime historians will benefit from mining it for its ideas and information.

Frank Broeze
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R. Bruce Scott. *Gentlemen on Imperial Service: A Story of the Trans-Pacific Telecommunications Cable Told in Their Own Words By Those Who Served*. Vancouver: Sono Nis, 1994. 131 pp., maps, figures, photographs, bibliography, index. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-55039-053-8.

Bruce Scott describes the operation and maintenance of the trans-Pacific telecommunication cables throughout this century. Part of his narrative, in the form of reminiscences of the author and contemporaries, describes service as operating staff in cable stations, often located on primitive and remote islands. Overall, it makes for generally pleasant reading. At the same time, the

book is graphic on life in training and service of a large communication group, with a quasi-military structure and discipline. In the end, high tech proved to be the nemesis of the cable operators. First they became machine watchers and then even that faded, as all became automatic. Most intermediate stations reverted to repeaters until, finally, the great Bamfield station closed down. Nostalgia is rife, leavened by dry humour in staff reminiscences.

Scott draws extensively from the records of the various companies involved in Pacific cable operations, from staff reminiscences, and from archival and newspaper sources. Cables personnel apparently provided information on cable repairs and laying operations. Photographs depict the living conditions of the cable operators and some of the people who figured in Scott's own career. These are of undeniable interest, but some pictures of cable specimens and repeaters would have added immensely to the narrative.

The single map showing trans-Pacific cable routes from Bamfield, Vancouver Island to Suva via Fanning Island, with branches to Auckland, New Zealand, Norfolk Island, Southport and Sydney in Australia omits significant detail. For instance, areas of very deep water are omitted, though this information is vital in understanding the challenge both of laying cable and repairing any damage. After all, for much of the author's service, cable ships, other than large purpose-built laying ships such as *Dominia* and *Colonia* were generally smaller, slower and less sophisticated than those of today; they were therefore handicapped when working in very deep water.

The whole subject of cable repairs is treated rather casually. This is a real pity, inasmuch as every job is different, inspiring officers and men to develop new equipment and methods for over a century. Surely a profusion of cable repair reports were available in ship owners' archives?

One point that is well brought out is that remote cable stations are almost impossible to protect from enemy action in war time, as indeed are cable ships. This was clearly demonstrated by the attack on Fanning Island station by German warships *Nuremburg* and *Leipzig* in September 1914. Great damage was done by a landing party, and cables were cut, though there were no casualties.

Another theme that the author develops

effectively is that of technological change. Following the laying of the second trans-Pacific link, sparked probably by intrusive new radio technology competition, great changes appeared. The new link increased capacity ten-fold, and the speed of operation also improved significantly. A new company was formed to operate the system — Cable and Wireless, while traffic east from Bamfield was carried by Canadian Pacific Telegraph, without automation. World War II brought further changes, with increasing use of electronics that proved demoralizing to operators. Political developments such as nationalization and continued organizational and technological changes continued unabated.

Scott provides some details on modern telephone cables, which have superseded virtually all telegraph equipment. Compac appeared in 1963, with co-axial cable and vacuum-tubed repeaters; vulnerable to physical damage, these were already out of date, though the system was guaranteed by the contractor for twenty years. 1984 saw the inauguration of Anzcan, also with co-axial cable but with solid state repeaters at six-mile intervals over 8,175 miles of cable. Anzcan had a twenty-five-year guarantee, yet is already being superseded by fibre-optic cables, transmitting traffic by laser-generated light pulses over hair-thin glass fibres. The South Pacific will have three such cables eventually.

Overall, the book provides good reading for anyone interested in the subject, giving an idea of the social and professional life of the operators of the early Pacific cable systems.

A. McPherson Ross
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Ruud Filarski. *Kanalen van de Koning-Koopman; Goederenvervoer, binnenscheepvaart en kanalenbouw in Nederland en België in die eerste helft van de negentiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Netherlands Economic History Archives, 1995. 490 pp., figures, tables, maps, illustrations, photographs, English summary, bibliography, indices, f69,90, cloth; ISBN 90-71617-89-0.

The Netherlands were (and are) extremely rich in natural and man-made waterways, most of them indispensable as drainage canals. Yet

before 1800, there really was not an integrated network, in part because of the many different capacities of ships, waterways and locks, in part because of some strange prohibitions. Then came the collapse of the French Empire under Napoleon Bonaparte in 1813, a collapse which also brought an end to the Dutch Republic. William I (1772-1843) became the first King of the Netherlands (which then incorporated the present Belgium). He proved to be a very enterprising man, determined to restore the former richness and power of the country and for this he was called the Merchant King. William I not only promoted trade, manufactures and industry but he considered infrastructural improvements of prime importance as well. Under his government (1813-1840), the first of a successive number of canal construction programs was launched to improve the system. Some 480 kilometres of newly constructed canals came into being, not to mention 340 kilometres of improved waterways. This is why some prefer to call him the Canal King.

Not every endeavour was a success. He started a canal to link the rivers Meuse and Mosel through the Ardennes Plain in Belgium and Luxembourg. The canal would have to surmount a height of 374 metres and would need over 150 locks! The project was called off when Belgium separated from the Netherlands in 1830. Filarski's thesis is not about failures, however, for he is mainly interested in the condition and improvement of the network of waterways and in processes that led to the quick realisation of the program. He therefore leads us through a web of financial tricks used by William I to avoid severe parliamentary control and reveals that on occasion, he even acted against his ministers' advices. In this way he shows William to be the real initiator and not simply a puppet.

Some results of his canal program were the *Noordhollandsch Kanaal*, a canal meant to improve Amsterdam's access to the North Sea, and the *Zuid-Willemsvaart*, which connected the east Belgian mining and industrial area to the port of Rotterdam. Filarski shows that such canals made inland shipping competitive to road and rail transport in the Netherlands by 1850. But he does little to link this important observation to the well-known fact that railway con-

struction in the Netherlands - contrary to Belgium — was relatively late. Railway connections competitive to these two canals only came into existence after 1870. By then, Amsterdam had become dissatisfied with the economic effects of the *Noordhollandsch Kanaal* and began using another seaway, while Antwerp had taken Rotterdam's place. The economic success of canals was greater in the southern parts of the country where enormous coal transports took place along new waterways like the *Canal Mons-Condé* and the *Canal Brussels-Charieroi*. But after the separation of Belgium, where the main industries concentrated, these canals were no longer Dutch, and therefore no longer contributed directly to the Dutch trade economy.

Filarski has brought an enormous amount of archival sources to daylight. Possibly because of his background as a civil engineer, he uses sources that other historians might have overlooked, such as files belonging to the *Department of Waterstaat*. He really succeeded in interpreting them in an economic, historical and even geographical perspective. More importantly, he has transformed them into an accessible publication which, notwithstanding the many tables, never gets lost in mathematical or technical details. Finally the book is a link between J. de Vries's *Barges and Capitalism* and H.P.H. Nusteling's *De Rijnvaart in het tijdperk van stoom en steenkool*, two authoritative theses on water transport in this country. No doubt *Kanalen van de Koning-Koopman* will now augment these much-cited works. It certainly deserves attention abroad as well.

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Chris Ware. *Conway's Ship Types: The Bomb Vessel. Shore Bombardment Ships of the Age of Sail*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. 111 pp., figures, tables, illustrations, photographs, notes, sources, index. US \$38.95, Cdn \$54.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-071-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This new offering from Conway Maritime Press will not disappoint. Chris Ware examines the

neglected "shore bombardment vessel" which appeared from the 1680s to the 1850s. It was a vessel type which was unique in that age as the only warship not designed to fight other warships.

The first and longest of the book's two sections, "Design History," proceeds chronologically, starting with the French origins of the Bomb in campaigns against Moorish ports in North Africa. The French Bombs used two fixed mortars mounted abreast, firing over the bow of the ship. The first ketch-rigged (two-masted) British version appeared in 1687. Immediately the British improved the design by mounting the two mortars in line on traversing mounts. This allowed for narrower ships, and greater aiming flexibility. The high point for the type came in 1693-1697, when coastal bombardments to draw French forces away from the Rhine were a major goal. Thereafter the Bombs declined, but interest revived in the 1730s with the Spanish threat to Gibraltar, and designs advanced here with the introduction of the trunnioned mortar, which allowed variations in trajectory, heretofore only possible by altering the powder charge. Bombs also served against Spanish-American ports during the war of 1739-1748.

Bombs always suffered in peacetime economy drives. When the Seven Years' War became official in 1756, only three remained in service, and more had to be produced quickly, especially as harassing French coasts once again became a favoured strategy. Ware points out that the major innovation in the new models was their ship rig (three masts), a practice which became standard. Only one survived until the War of American Independence, and not many more were produced, because after Spain and France entered that war the Royal Navy could not guarantee sustained command of the sea to support Bomb operations. In the 1793-1815 wars the need to bombard French invasion craft brought a revival in Bomb vessels, some purpose-built, some converted from merchant ships and small warships (including HMS *Discovery*, Vancouver's ship). The last major designs were produced in 1813, partly in response to the War of 1812, when attacks on the American coast were contemplated. This batch contained the *Erebus* and, in 1826, the *Terror*, which loom large in the history of Arctic exploration.

This first section does a creditable job of explaining design changes and developments. There are reproductions of Sailing Quality Reports for several classes, which make it plain they were indifferent sailers. There are analyses of building and outfitting costs, and precise lists of the ships, complete with dimensions, measurements, armament, and fate. The main question to emerge, as Ware identifies it, involves the cost effectiveness of these specialty built ships. Regrettably he concludes the question is "almost impossible to answer," which is a bit disappointing, and it is also impossible for the reader to form a judgement because hardly a single example of a bombardment is given. We are told attacks were carried out, but not a word on the damage done in any of the wars. Obviously the Navy found it worthwhile to maintain the type for 150 years, but hard evidence for the rationale is lacking here.

The second section of the book is on "The Ships," and here Ware discusses the structure of the Bomb, and how the vessels were handled in action. A brief section on the use of Bombs for exploration finishes the volume. This part will be of particular interest to students of the Franklin expedition, as the original plans of his ships are generously reproduced.

As with all Conway books, the illustrations, diagrams, and reproductions of original plans and cross sections abound, and most are models of clarity. Criticisms are few. As noted, some examples of actual performance would add strength. There are a dozen spelling errors of the sort which pass a spell check but not a thorough proof reading, and Table 44 has skewed labelling. Ware has probed the Progress Books and Navy Board Estimates to ascertain spending on construction and maintenance (p.46) but one should be warned the two sources seldom match, nor are the Progress Books necessarily complete records.

Those small points aside, this book represents a thorough piece of research which amply fulfils its promise to explain the Bomb vessel. The ghastly price may well be the major factor in any decision not to purchase.

Paul Webb
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Karl Heinz Marquardt. *Anatomy of the Ship: Captain Cook's Endeavour*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995. 136 pp., sources, figures, illustrations, photographs, tables. £22, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-641-8.

Karl Heinz Marquardt requires no introduction, for his work is well known from a variety of publications, but this is his first title in Conway's popular and ever-expanding 'Anatomy' series. If we judge the importance of Captain Cook's first voyage of discovery, we must also conclude that, as the vehicle for Cook's success, his first vessel, *Endeavour*, must be of equal importance and while much has been written about the journeys of Cook, it is now good to see an in-depth study of this small ship. For the most part, the 'Anatomy' series has been devoted to ships of war, so it is refreshing to have a merchant ship, one of the seemingly ubiquitous small transports of the British Isles from the last half of the eighteenth century, represented. It is also interesting to see how she was adapted to suit the Royal Navy's exploration needs.

The appearance of this book coincides roughly with the building and launching of a replica of *Endeavour* in Fremantle, Australia under the sponsorship of the Bond Corporation through the *Endeavour* Replica Pty. Ltd. The author was therefore able to provide us with photographs of the replica under construction. He does, however, take exception with a number of aspects of this ship, as he does indeed with most models of *Endeavour*, because his research indicates that modern interpretations of the ship are erroneous where stern windows and decoration are concerned. As well, the mizzen mast is too short and bumkins are missing. His points are well taken and he is convincing in his arguments. To promote these arguments he includes a number of primary source tables, with rationale, for the mizzen mast, and gives reproductions of sketches of the ship in the photograph section that were produced by Sydney Parkinson, one of *Endeavour's* draughtsmen. These show her stern decoration and bumkins at the bow, albeit vaguely. To his credit Marquardt offers us opposing arguments as well as comments by other experts.

The 'Anatomy' format has been well

established and as usual we begin with an introductory text. For this, as with the items given above, the author has put aside recent notions and has utilized primary sources. These include Cook's Journals and the draughts of 1768 and 1771 that were prepared for the Royal Navy. Of particular interest is his discussion of the term 'cat-built,' a hackneyed adjective traditionally used to describe *Endeavour's* hull form and which, while very misleading, was specifically used by the Navy Board in reference to this type of vessel. Further, we are given an analysis of hatches, companionways and skylights that were installed on *Endeavour* as compared to those employed on larger Navy ships and this nicely demonstrates the need for more information on merchant ships of the period. We are also shown a plausible binnacle design that straddles a skylight.

It must be noted that the photograph section contains not only the pictures already mentioned but also photographs of models of *Endeavour*, of which the most important is a recent one that has been built to the author's drawings.

Finally, the last section of the book contains the drawings and this of course is the backbone of the work. The author's talents as a draughtsman have already been established - and they are exceptional. As well as being technically accurate and professionally executed, the drawings are complete in that they show the whole of *Endeavour's* picture and are therefore very pleasing to the eye. Needless to say, virtually all of the ship is shown, from keel to truck, in standard two dimensional form but the joys of these illustrations are Marquardt's sketches and expanded assembly drawings that demonstrate building techniques so clearly.

This is decidedly one of the best in the 'Anatomy' series and can be recommended to anyone interested in the building of eighteenth-century ships of any type. My only criticism is one of a complimentary nature — I enjoyed the text so much that I wished there was room for more. I do not know if large-scale drawings are available to model makers; certainly at least the lines drawings would be of great value to them.

John McKay
Langley, British Columbia

Priscilla Napier. *Black Charlie: A Life of Admiral Sir Charles Napier KCB 1787-1860*. Wilby, Norwich: Michael Russell, 1995. xvii + 238 pp., illustration, maps, select bibliography, index. £17.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85955-209-8.

Admiral Sir Charles Napier, KCB, was the second son of a retired naval captain who was himself so disillusioned by the treatment he had received while in the service that he was determined his son should not experience similar disappointment. However, Napier's blood had a high saline content born of some one hundred and thirty years of sea service, and as was to be expected, Charles was unrelenting in his efforts to persuade his parents of his determination to go to sea. They relented and, at age eleven, he joined the Royal Navy. By the time the Admiral died, he had served for over sixty years.

Never one to take the easy option, "Black Charlie" (so nicknamed because of his jet-black hair and swarthy complexion) distinguished himself at an early stage while commanding the brig *Recruit*. Having alerted the fleet that three French '74s had made a dash from Lorient, Napier shadowed the enemy vessels, harrying them as the opportunity rose and thereby enabling the slower elements in the fleet to catch up and capture the *d'Hautpoult*. Returning to sea after the war, service around the Azores brought Napier into contact with the Portuguese into whose service he entered to defeat the rebel Miguelite squadron in 1833. In 1840 he was to see further action in the Levant, becoming involved in both land operations and political affairs, sometimes acting without proper authority but nevertheless to good effect. Entry to the House of Commons and further sea service followed. In 1854, on the outbreak of the Crimean War, he was placed in command of the Baltic Fleet, an appointment he received by default, because those senior to him on the Navy List were either infirm or employed elsewhere.

Throughout his service Napier maintained a steady stream of correspondence with the Admiralty and through the pages of *The Times*, urging what in time were seen to be sensible reforms. These included the abolition of flogging, regular pay for seamen and their dependents, promotion on merit rather than by patronage and the potential of steam. Then in the early

months of 1854 Napier found himself charged with the responsibility of forming a fleet that was grossly undermanned, with a mixture of traditional sailing warships and underpowered small steamers, and with an almost complete absence of vessels of suitable shallow draft for operations against fortifications in rock strewn inlets. It was as if Fate had decreed that he should be confronted with all the problems that, over the years, he had advocated should be eliminated. His subsequent trials and tribulations (about half the book is devoted to events in the Baltic) make compelling reading.

The author presents a convincing and balanced account of Admiral Napier's career. He was, at heart, a simple, bluff sailor, at home with the elements while viewing objectively what was going on around him. He was uncompromising in his advocacy of reform and technical innovation, yet naively offended when his seniors failed to take up his arguments. Mrs. Napier has drawn extensively on family papers and diaries and these are clearly indicated by inset paragraphs. Unfortunately she has not annotated these so that a reader wishing to follow up a reference would be unable to do so. That said, this is a satisfying read about a man of action who had his first close shave with death at the age of eleven and who, at the age of seventy-one, was negotiating to command naval support for Garibaldi off the coast of Italy. Had he lived for another seven weeks he would have seen his vision of a purpose-built steam fleet begin to come true with the launch of *Warrior*, Britain's first ironclad.

Norman Hurst
Coulsdon, Surrey

Bernd Langensiepen and Ahmet Guleryuz; James Cooper (ed. & trans.). *The Ottoman Steam Navy 1828-1923*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995. 201 pp., maps, photographs, figures, ships' listings, appendices, bibliography, index. £35, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-610-8.

The long descent during the nineteenth century of the Ottoman Empire from great power status was one of the major international "problems" of the time. While the diplomacy of this collapse is

well represented in western European historiography, the "sick man of Europe's" navy has long been a neglected subject. The authors have provided a useful and entertaining introduction to that navy, from the acquisition of the Sultan's first steam-propelled vessel to the formal proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The book begins with a brief overview of the Ottoman Navy from 1828 to 1870. This is followed by a chronology of the Empire's naval affairs from the Russian War of 1828-1829 to the end of 1923. The reorganization and reconstruction of the fleet which began in the 1890s and continued until 1914 is also discussed. Then follow sixty pages of photographs and a further sixty-page fleet list. Next there are no fewer than twenty-five appendices on a wide variety of topics. The study concludes with an all too brief bibliography and a two-page index devoted mostly to ships mentioned in the text.

Canadian readers will find that the most interesting portion of the chronology relates to the reconstruction of the fleet, and its performance during the Balkan Wars and World War I. The Empire's financial problems in the late nineteenth century and the navy's various reconstruction schemes left the fleet with an odd assortment of obsolete (or worse) ironclads with a few slightly more modern cruisers and torpedo craft attached. Even with the addition of two former German pre-Dreadnought battleships in 1910, the Turkish fleet was no match for the Greek navy during the Balkan Wars. It is doubtful whether the Turkish navy could have successfully operated the two Dreadnoughts being built for it in Great Britain. In place of these two battleships Turkey entered World War I with replacements from Germany in the form of the battlecruiser *Goeben* (later *Yavuz Sultan Selim*) and the light cruiser *Breslau* (later *Midilli*). The authors' maintain that the two vessels' strategic importance has been overrated by western historians, arguing that Turkey would have joined the German side even without the presence of the two warships. Certainly their tactical accomplishments were few. After the German/Turkish attack on Sevastopol in October 1914 the Russian fleet quickly gained control of the Black Sea. The Russians were able to sever shipments of coal to Istanbul from the Anatolian coast and thus strangle the Ottoman war effort.

In contrast the defence of the Dardanelles against the combined British and French fleets was a successful if costly operation for Turkish navy.

The heart of this volume are the photographs, most of which have never before been published. From these the reader can plainly see the extraordinary efforts that went into rebuilding the Turkish ironclads from 1890 on. The made-over vessels sometimes emerged with a modern warlike appearance as did the *Osmaniye* class in the 1890s. The *Mesudiye*, after her rebuilding by an Italian shipyard in 1903, almost looked like a contemporary battleship. Sometimes the results were bizarre, as with the *Asari-Tevik* after her reconstruction at Kiel. But whatever their appearance these facelifts were a waste of scarce funds for they only produced a group of not very armoured gunboats. Indeed, during the Balkan Wars the obsolescent Greek armoured cruiser *Georgias Averoff* was more than a match for the entire Turkish fleet. To the authors' credit they have not neglected the more humble ships of the fleet. The photographs and plans of the Empire's gunboats reveal sturdy workman-like vessels which were better value for the money than the rebuilt ironclads.

The fleet list gives details of every vessel in the fleet, from screw ships of the line to motor launches on the Tigris River during World War I. Each listing supplies the full particulars (where known) of each vessel but does not provide details of the armour carried by the ironclads or battleships. This is a serious omission. Included with the listings are numerous plans of the ships. Unfortunately, the publisher has reproduced many of these on too small a scale. The publisher has also failed to furnish adequate maps.

The Ottoman Steam Navy is recommended for those readers interested in nineteenth-century naval affairs or World War I because it fills an important gap in the English language literature. Let us hope that the authors can be persuaded to turn their understanding of Turkish naval affairs into a more detailed study of Ottoman naval policy for the 1890-1923 period.

M. Stephen Salmon
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Robert M. Nicholls. *Naval Notations: Warships in the Illustrated London News 1842-1891*. Balmain, New South Wales: the author, 1994 [25 Duke Street, Balmain, NSW 2041, Australia], iii + 57 pp., illustrations, appendices. AUS \$17, US \$13, £10, spiral-bound (payment by International Money Order; tel/fax: +61 2 810-7417); no ISBN.

This novel publication provides a handy reference to all the warships pictured in the first fifty years of the *Illustrated London News*. The pictures are almost all drawings and can be useful sources of reference. Over 600 warship pictures were published throughout the period, but there were high points, including fifty-five pictures in 1855, the second year of the Crimean War, and close to thirty in 1865, 1876 and the Jubilee Year of 1887. The most popular subjects were British warships. The wooden screw battleship *Agamemnon* is featured six times, including her launch, action off Sevastopol in 1854 and laying the first Trans-Atlantic Cable; the early broadside ironclad *Agincourt* appears six times; the later broadside ironclad, *Sultan*, appeared seven times (the last four covering her stranding, loss and subsequent refloating) and finally the coast assault turret ship *Glatton*, another six-picture star. More obviously famous ships, such as the *Alabama*, *Monitor* and *Warrior* all appear. The coverage tends to reflect new ships, new types of ship, current events, wars and crises and, like all popular journals, a distinctly unhealthy interest in disasters of every type.

Bob Nicholls has already published two important books on Australian defence issues in the nineteenth century. He is to be commended for this thorough and neatly turned out research aid. It will be an invaluable tool of reference in every naval library, and has already seen service in mine. The illustrations are generally linked to a feature article, and provide the only quick guide to the naval content of this journal. The book is thoroughly recommended as an addition to the limited reference material available for nineteenth-century warships and a useful entry into the popular perception of warships and navies in Britain.

Andrew Lambert
London, England

Anthony J. Watts. *The Royal Navy: An Illustrated History*. London: Arms & Armour Press, 1994. 256 pp. photographs, figures, illustrations, maps, appendices, glossary, indices. £19.99, cloth; ISBN 1-85409-124-7.

Any history of the centuries-old Royal Navy calls for a very large canvas indeed, yet Anthony Watts' book covers it within a remarkably short space. He does so by concentrating on the RN's "modern era" — from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 to 1994 naval estimates during Balkan strife. He thus begins at the dawn of the Industrial Age, and fittingly, his story of the development of the Royal Navy is one of increasingly fast technical innovation. There is detail galore of new methods of making steel, of rapidly improved engines, better ships, and guns, and navigation methods.

Technology aside, the navy's human element is kept to the fore as well. Life was brutally hard on the lower deck in 1815; flogging, physical injuries from overwork, too much rum, and too little food. Small wonder that the Royal Navy then had one man in 1,000 insane, while in Britain as a whole the figure was one in 7,000. A thread of gradual improvement in serving conditions for both officers and men is followed through war and peace to the present day.

The nineteenth century was known proudly as the time of *Pax Britannica*, with the RN supplying much of the peace-keeping muscle. As a result, it found itself involved in scores of sea-actions - from patrolling against the African slave-trade to battling the navies of Her Majesty's enemies throughout the world, from the Crimea to Kagoshima. Watts shows how this huge commitment generated a surge of invention, rapidly changing vessels, equipment, and armament. Various ship classes and types are covered, including how they often involved dramatic power struggles between designers, admirals, and politicians. While vessels evolved from steam to sail to dreadnought, there was a need for ever more powerful guns too; this theme is well illustrated and described. Seamanship was always prized in the RN, yet the service had its share of maritime disasters which could be blamed on poor navigation. Accounts of several of these wrecks and collisions makes one give thanks again for the modern advantages

of radar and communication technology.

The second half of the book covers the two world wars and afterwards. Specific ships are followed, some from keel-laying to eventual sinking. Clear diagrams showing the course of naval battles help the reader understand the outcome of a score of epic actions such as Coronel, Dogger Bank, the Bismarck, Dieppe, and the Normandy landings. Technical descriptions explain how and why submarines and aircraft-carriers became rapidly more important in naval warfare. In both world wars, German submarines presented the Royal Navy with its most effective enemy, and several chapters are devoted to describing the enormous effort required to defeat U-boats.

The author presents information on each of these aspects in a series of brief chapters of between four and twelve pages. It is a tribute to his conciseness that he manages to convey so much detail within these confines. An up-dated version of an earlier work, this book is based in part on the author's previous two-volume guide to the Royal Navy, published about twenty years ago. Numerous illustrations throughout are comprehensive, and many of them do not seem to have been published elsewhere before. The book is therefore recommended for its entertaining style and breadth of historical coverage in a relatively short volume.

Sidney Allinson
Victoria, British Columbia

Aidan Melvor. *A History of the Irish Naval Service*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994. 256 pp., photographs, maps, tables, illustrations, ship list, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$39.50, cloth; ISBN 0-7165-2523-2. Distributed in North America by International Specialized Book Services, Inc., Portland, OR.

With its long indented coastline, numerous small fishing harbours and several major ports, the Republic of Ireland clearly needs an armed coast guard appropriate to the size of the country and its population. This is provided by the Irish Naval Service. Aidan Melvor's account of this organization's comparatively short history is comprehensive, readable and well illustrated. It also provides interesting insights into nautical

episodes during the war of independence and the subsequent civil war, the careful path that Ireland, as a neutral power, had to tread during World War II, and the tribulations of a Service until recently perennially short of money and with equipment inadequate to its assigned task.

The first part of the book describes various maritime episodes during the period just before World War I, when arms for the uprising against Great Britain were being smuggled into the country. It is ironic that the most critical and active operations carried out by the Service in recent years have been the interception of just such operations, as it tried to prevent the IRA bringing in arms for onward transmission to Northern Ireland. The war of independence was followed by the civil war between the Free State and the "irregulars" of the Old IRA. Episodes of that era, little known outside of Ireland, include the story of the ultimate fate of Erskine Childers (author of the classical yachting/spy story, *The Riddle of the Sands*), who smuggled in from Germany the guns used in the Dublin uprising of 1916, but who nevertheless was executed by the Free State side during the civil war.

The position and policy of Ireland during World War II is examined at some length. During the 1920s and '30s Britain had retained certain fortified ports in the Republic but these were given up by the Chamberlain government just before the war broke out. This was regarded as a triumph in Ireland but Churchill was furious, as it certainly resulted in much longer transits for Allied escort forces and consequent losses of ships and crews. On the other hand, it may have helped in dissuading the Germans from trying to invade Ireland. The requirement for enforcing neutrality resulted, in 1939, in the formation of a Marine and Coast-watching Service, which received its present name, the Irish Naval Service, in 1947.

Until recently this small force was dependent for matériel and training on the Royal Navy, a rather delicate relationship based on necessity. Wartime MTBs were succeeded, postwar, by Flower-class corvettes and these by Ton-class minesweepers, all of which were practically worn out by the time they were discarded. Now, however, all is changed. Due to Ireland's entry into the European Economic Union in 1975 and the establishment of a European 200-mile Econ-

omic Zone, the Naval Service is today, with EEC assistance, at a peak of efficiency and provided with suitable vessels: a photo of the flagship, the modern corvette *Eithne*, adorns the book's dust cover. This book is recommended for anyone with an interest in recent Irish history or in the organization and employment of coast guard services and minor navies.

Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

H.W. Wilson. *Battleships in Action*. 2 vols., 1926; reprint edition,; London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995. I: xix + 337; II: xiii + 384 pp., illustrations, maps, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index. £50, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-642-6 (for the two-volume set).

Herbert Wrigley Wilson was a prominent naval writer from the late nineteenth century until his death in 1940. He was a founding member of the Navy League, a member of the Naval Records Society and a newspaperman of some repute. These two volumes, first published in 1926, constitute a history of iron-clad fighting ships from the 1840s to the end of World War I.

The first volume covers the period 1840 to 1914, and is drawn largely from the author's two earlier publications, *Ironclads in Action* and the *Downfall of Spain*. In it, Wilson deals with all of the naval actions prior to 1914, with conflicts ranging from the navally significant, such as the American Civil War and the Russo-Japanese War, to the navally insignificant such as the encounters during the Austro-Italian War of 1864 and the Chile-Peru War of 1879. The second volume is an in-depth examination of World War I, with attention paid to the more obscure aspects of the naval struggle in the Baltic, Black and Far Eastern Seas.

What is the value of these two volumes? In short, the answer is not much. The material upon which the volumes are based is both dated and skimpy, while the mode of analysis (what there is of it) is journalistic and lacking in rigour. The contrast between Paul Halpern's superb survey, *A Naval History of World War I* (London, 1994) and Wilson's volume two is striking, and reflects both the progression of scholarship and the difference between the work

of a trained historian and that of a gifted amateur. For those interested in the development of the battleship as a weapon, there are much better modern works. Andrew Lambert's *Battleships in Transition: The Creation of the Steam Battlefleet, 1815-1860* (London, 1984) and Oscar Parkes' *British Battleships, 1860-1950* (London, 1957) offer far more to those interested in technology than does Wilson. And, of course, the recent work of Jon Sumida (on naval fire-control) and Nicholas Lambert (challenging the entire basis of the "Dreadnought revolution") indicate just how much further modern scholarship has progressed since Wilson's time.

This having been said, Wilson's two volumes are a convenient source for anyone seeking quick facts about naval warfare in the era from about 1850 to the end of World War I. His judgement of the naval strategy followed by individual sailors (for example, those in the Russo-Japanese War), while largely undocumented, is shrewd and penetrating. Both volumes have useful maps, charts and photographs, while the index (which includes ships' names) provides a very helpful way to determine the fate of individual encounters. However, at £50 the set, *Battleships in Action* must necessarily have a very limited audience. The professional historian will find nothing new here, while the interested general reader would be well advised to look elsewhere, at more modern surveys.

Keith Neilson
Kingston, Ontario

Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels. *Remembering the Maine*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995. viii + 358 pp., photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-56098-474-0.

H.G. Rickover. *How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1976, 1995. xxi + 178 pp., photographs, figures, appendices, notes, sources, index. Cdn \$41.95, US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-717-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Remembering the Maine by Peggy and Harold Samuels presents an absorbing but flawed

account of the events surrounding the 1898 sinking of the US battleship *Maine* in the harbour of Havana, Cuba. The book covers familiar ground in recounting American sympathy for the efforts by Cuban rebels to oust their Spanish colonial masters. US public opinion was especially hostile to General Weyler, a Spanish leader noted for his brutality. Diplomatic pressure from Washington contributed to the Spanish recall of Weyler from Cuba in 1897 and to Madrid's decision to grant local autonomy to the island. Not surprisingly, both the followers of General Weyler and the Cuban insurgents opposed the autonomy compromise. This was the volatile situation that existed when President McKinley deployed the American battleship *Maine* to Havana. There, on 15 February 1898, a massive explosion sank the ship and killed 260 crew members.

A US Naval court of inquiry soon concluded that *Maine* was the victim of a sea mine. The Navy's investigators could not identify the agents responsible for the mining, but most Americans felt that Spanish authorities were to blame. That belief was a major cause of the Spanish-American War. In 1911 a second investigation began when US Army engineers exposed the remains of *Maine* by building a cofferdam around the site. A detailed examination of the wreckage now became possible and many photographs were taken. A report submitted by a new naval board of inquiry agreed with the 1898 finding that an external mine initiated the ship's destruction. Due to the type of damage seen on the hull, the board concluded that the lethal charge was a low-explosive device.

Nevertheless there were individuals in the United States and abroad who argued from the outset that an accidental internal explosion, not a hostile mine, caused *Maine's* loss. These recurring challenges to the government's official findings led a group of historians and engineers, organized by the late Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, USN, to undertake a new assessment of the evidence. Based on a study of the 1911 photographs of the ship's mangled structure and modern knowledge of the effects of underwater detonations, the Admiral's team completed *How the Battleship Maine Was Destroyed*, a report first published in 1976. (In the interest of full

disclosure, this reviewer should note that he participated in editing and publishing that book.) Rickover's study stated that an internal explosion was responsible, a situation almost certainly exonerating any hostile group in Cuba from blame. He was less certain in identifying the cause of the internal blast. But it seemed likely to the Admiral and his associates that the chain of events began when spontaneous combustion produced a coal fire that, in turn, caused a massive explosion in an adjacent powder magazine. Rickover's group faulted the Navy for failing to use technical experts in its investigations. If that step had been taken, Rickover argued, the truth could have been revealed in 1898 and the Spanish-American War conceivably avoided.

The Samuels believe that Rickover was mistaken. They allege that the Admiral's judgement was affected by his desire to seek revenge against the US Navy, which, in the Samuels' view, consistently humiliated Rickover. They also make the improbable claim that the Admiral's engineers failed to understand the structure of nineteenth-century steel ships, the effects of low-level explosives, or the nature of spontaneous combustion. Finally, *Remembering the Maine* accepts an alternative explanation offered by Alexander Brice, who served as US consul in Matanzas, Cuba in 1898. Brice alleged that an unnamed, former Spanish Army officer warned him two days before the event that fanatic followers of the ousted General Weyler planned to blow up the *Maine*. The Samuels uncritically accept this story, despite the fact that it remains unconfirmed by other sources, involves an anonymous informant who did not see the actual deed, and was not made public by Brice until 1911.

Neither the Samuels nor the surviving members of Rickover's research group, who prepared a revised edition of *How The Battleship Maine Was Destroyed*, appear to have read each other's books, both of which appeared in 1995. The heart of Rickover's original study was a technical assessment of *Maine's* wreckage by two experts on structural dynamics and the effects of underwater explosions. In the 1995 edition, those engineers add an addendum to their earlier report that rebuts criticisms of their analysis. Unfortunately, due to the timing of

their revision, they were not able to respond to the Samuels' critique.

Despite the claim by the Samuels that Rickover had vengeance in mind, the Admiral makes it crystal clear that his overriding purpose in preparing *How the Battleship Maine Was Sunk* was to enunciate his deeply held belief, as a professional engineer, that national leaders must seek the best technical advice before they make important decisions. Rickover's dispassionate study should be as useful to governmental policy makers as it is to historians. In this reviewer's opinion, his thesis that an internal explosion caused *Maine's* destruction remains the most likely explanation for that fateful event.

Dean C. Allard
Arlington, Virginia

Malcolm H. Murfett (ed.). *The First Sea Lords: From Fisher to Mountbatten*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. xiii + 309 pp., chapter endnotes, select bibliography, index. US \$59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-275-94231-7 [credit card orders, call 1-800-225-5800].

Malcolm H. Murfett's book is a collection of essays that traces briefly the careers of various individuals who held the position of First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, in the Royal Navy from 1904 until 1959. The contributors range from relatively new scholars in the field, such as Nicholas A. Lambert, to established doyens, like Donald M. Schurman, John B. Hattendorf, and Bryan M. Ranft. Murfett's introduction claims that the work will do many things: assess the role and performance of the individuals in office; reveal the influence of each on British naval policy; and utilize hitherto neglected primary sources. What this book does is provide a useful introduction to the men who held the office and some aspects of their effectiveness as naval commanders and administrators. It is not a celebration of the use of extensive or new documentary evidence.

The chapters which deal with the post-1945 First Sea Lords have more to recommend them than the earlier ones. The problems facing these men — reduced budgets, the introduction of nuclear weapons and propulsion, and changing

strategic visions - are put into the British Cold War and NATO alliance context. Insights into maintaining a large naval force in the early years of the developing welfare state in Britain can also be gleaned. Obvious problems with limited access to documents due to security and archival restrictions are acceptable and natural in these cases. However, the lack of documentary variety and imperial context that is apparent in most of the first thirteen chapters is not acceptable.

The incorporation of useful primary materials is not one of the stronger aspects of the collection. Lambert's two chapters on Admiral Sir Arthur Knyvett-Wilson and Admiral Sir Francis Bridgeman-Bridgeman are the exception. They are by far the best in the book as far as documentation and scholarly research is concerned. Anyone who knows Lambert's other work on the pre-1914 Royal Navy has to wonder why the chapter on Admiral Fisher was not given into his capable hands as well. John Hattendorf and Don Schurman, whose chapters are by no means definitive, have at least incorporated the necessary imperial context or some non-Admiralty sources into their narratives. Their traditional intellectual history approach to the subject matter, for which both men are respected, is also useful. These aspects of originality and thoroughness are not apparent in the other chapters that cover the period 1904-1943.

The documentation in these other chapters is limited to the relevant private papers or Admiralty collections. They also rely heavily on the established works of Arthur Marder and Stephen Roskill for their intellectual framework. Practically no effort has been made to delve into other departmental or political files to see what other useful contemporary views of these First Sea Lords existed. Nor is any attempt really made to ascertain what impact the naval officers had on British Grand Strategy or foreign policy. The vast volumes of useful evidence present in the files of the Committee of Imperial Defence (CID), Chiefs of Staff (COS), Foreign Office (FO), Oil Board, Principal Supply Officer's Committee (PSOC), and the Defence Requirements Sub-Committee (DRC) are largely ignored. This is a case of either a lack of knowledge of the existence of many of these valuable collections, or the intellectual legacy of the

practice of the study of naval history in its most limited form: a narrow view of naval history that cannot lift its gaze past the traditional Admiralty view and Admiralty files, supported by the various private papers of the Admirals themselves and other naval officers.

This narrow view leads to the other problem present in most of the chapters in the first part of this collection: the lack of any acknowledgement of the Imperial context in which these First Sea Lords worked, and the lack of any acknowledgement that the Royal Navy and its leadership were merely another governmental department involved in the defence and foreign policy aspects of the British empire. This is a major contextual omission and one which is vitally important to the understanding of what these men thought their role and the role of the Royal Navy was. Where are the discussions of bases, money, technological problems, regional strategies, disarmament negotiations, naval treaties and Dominion issues that were the day-to-day reality of these First Sea Lords? Certain chapters, such as those by Nicholas Tracy on Admiral Sir Charles Madden and Admiral Sir Frederick L. Field, and Eric J. Grove on Admiral Sir Ernie Chatfield, border on the ridiculous in their attempt to prove the standard, narrow interpretations of these men as 'naval' leaders to the exclusion of all else. Tracy is superficial and vague in his interpretation of what the two First Sea Lords he is writing about were really trying to do in the disarmament-ridden inter-war years. Therefore, the historical record on either is not significantly enhanced. Eric Grove is similarly ill-informed on the inter-war budgetary and strategic issues on which Chatfield's performance as First Sea Lord must be evaluated. These specific chapters reflect the key overall deficiency of much of this collection: the lack of a broader, more comprehensive definition and understanding of what a First Sea Lord is. Overall, this collection should be considered a basic, but limited, starting point for anyone interested in a serious investigation of the role of the First Sea Lord in the guidance of British naval affairs.

Greg Kennedy
Kingston, Ontario

Keith Yates. *Graf Spee's Raiders: Challenge to the Royal Navy, 1914-1915*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press and London: Leo Cooper, 1995. xix + 336 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, select bibliography, index. Cdn \$45.95, US \$32.95, £18.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-977-8 (NIP), ISBN 0-85052-451-2 (Leo Cooper). Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Keith Yates has taken up the story of Graf Maximilian von Spee and his squadron of German cruisers (the "Kreuzergeschwader"), who in the early days of World War I threatened Allied sea communications in the Pacific, Indian Ocean, and South Atlantic. The book's reach is wider than that, as Yates covers the light cruisers *Dresden* and *Karlsruhe*, operating in the Caribbean, and SMS *Konigsberg* and her sad end in the swamps of German East Africa. The bulk of the book of course revolves around the travails of the core squadron (armoured cruisers *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau* and their consorts) and SMS *Emden*.

Yates begins with a brief survey of German colonial expansion in the Pacific, and the usual summary of the events leading to the outbreak of war in Europe. The strategic options in front of von Spee are outlined succinctly but well. As always, coal was the overwhelming preoccupation of the rival commanders — and Yates makes the additional point that ammunition supply for the German ships was also a major problem. They had no hopes of getting more, whereas it was possible to seize enemy colliers.

Karl von Müller and *Emden* receive very good coverage—almost capture-by-capture, with lots of human interest thrown in (perhaps the best example concerning the number of "professional ladies" on board the Russian *Zemchug* when she was lost). *Emden's* impact on the Royal Navy's strategic dispositions, and on the world press, is well handled. The escape of Hellmuth von Mücke and forty-eight of *Emden's* crew in the schooner *Ayesah* is left for an appendix, but their amazing trip back to Constantinople is not neglected.

The Battle of Coronel is well described. Yates' reasoning as to Craddock's acceptance of battle, and the poor direction provided to him

from the Admiralty, is sensible. Outmatched at the start, in weather that rendered most of their armament useless, with the Germans holding the light gauge, the British squadron fought to little effect. *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* were lost with all hands, while the Germans emerged almost unscathed. The only offset to this tragedy was the expenditure of so much irreplaceable ammunition by the Germans.

Coronel led directly to the dispatch of HM battlecruisers *Invincible* and *Inflexible* under Sturdee to the tip of South America, and thus to the Battle of the Falklands and the loss of von Spee and the bulk of his squadron. The political ramifications in the UK are highlighted, and the battle itself is covered in good detail. An appendix covers the art of naval gunnery at the time, and touches on the Pollen-Dreyer controversy and why the British battlecruiser gunnery was disappointing. At the end, the author sums up nicely the true strategic impact of the German raiders, and his hypothesis that von Spee should have released his other light cruisers as independents, instead of keeping them with *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, is reasonable.

There are fifteen maps scattered through the book, and although they show the tremendous distances steamed by the German ships (and their opponents), at the tactical level they are not very good. Coronel and the Falklands are the only two battles thus illustrated, and the maps are much too cluttered to be useful. The few (twenty-five) photographs, all of which are fairly well known, are nice, but certainly the book would be improved with more: in particular, the "remarkable" aerial photographs of *Königsberg* in the Rufiji delta Yates mentions. The illustrations and lack of footnotes are the only real complaints that this reviewer has — there are many teasing references that cannot easily be followed up.

Although the book is aimed more at the general reader than the naval specialist, Yates' volume has something to offer both, with many interesting nuggets of information scattered from beginning to end. The story told is an engrossing one, and the author has written a book that makes a fine winter's read.

William Schleihauf
Pierrefonds, Québec

Leonard Sellers. *The Hood Battalion. Royal Naval Division: Antwerp, Gallipoli, France 1914-1918*. London: Leo Cooper, 1995. xvii + 334 pp., photographs, maps, appendix, references, index. £25, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-386-9.

If truth be told, this is a sad book of a heroic if less-than-successful episode in the long history of the Senior Service. For the activities of the Royal Naval Division's Hood Battalion constitute not the account of sailors in their own element but rather that of sailors-turned-soldiers. Unskilled in the specific capabilities of the Royal Marines, untrained as soldiers in the British Army, officers and men of the Royal Naval Division took to the land under orders of the Admiralty and ended up under the direction of the Army. In many cases they were as capable as the other military arms of government. Their services ashore were nothing short of gallant. Officers and men faced savage circumstances which over and over in this portrait of one of the units most outstanding battalions we are reminded of the limits of sea power.

"Winston's Little Army" is applied to the Royal Naval Division, which consisted of the 1st Brigade (including the following battalions - "Benbow," "Collingwood," "Hawke" and "Drake") and the 2nd Brigade ("Howe," "Hood," "Anson" and "Nelson"). Recruiting posters called for "handy men to fight on land and sea." A third brigade was made up of four battalions of Royal Marines ("Portsmouth," "Plymouth," "Chatham," "Deal"). They trained in Deal, near Kent, had Lee Enfield rifles, and were equipped with Vickers-built Maxim machine guns. Many of the personnel were naval reservists keen on going to sea. However, when they were told by the Commodore that they were destined for the Western Front they held a mock funeral with all the solemnity imaginable and lowered a copy of the *Admiralty Seamanship Manual* into the Thames. All of them knew they were destined for a different kind of war.

The author (whose great uncle Albert John Walls served in Hood Battalion) tells his tale with affectionate devotion. Using official reports, reminiscences, and poetry, Leonard Sellers reconstitutes the experiences of this battalion in Antwerp, Gallipoli and France. Numerous illustrations enhance the text. The

lengthy quotations may alarm some readers; however, many will be pleased to see them written into the record for future reference.

Of particular charm in this otherwise morose tale is the account of the war experience of Rupert Brooke, then a Sub-Lieutenant, age 27, one of England's greatest poets. Brooke dined with all the key figures of the powerful Liberals of the day. Writing to his friend Violet Asquith he said that in setting forth for Gallipoli he could not have been happier, for he imagined himself gloriously on a military expedition against Constantinople. To others he said that he was not likely coming home. And it was Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, who announced Brooke's death in the House of Commons: "his life has closed at the moment when it seemed to have reached its springtime." (p.68) And so it was with so many other lads. Brooke, in fact, had died from a terrible infection from a mosquito bite and ended his last days aboard a French hospital ship. He was buried on Lemnos — "some corner of a foreign field / That is forever England." Brooke's loss was multiplied by the thousands (total casualties [killed, died of wounds, wounded, prisoners]: 1,965 officers; 44,829 other ranks).

Sellers tells his account with care and a sense of the vivid. This is not academic history, and the strategic and political circumstances that led the British government to deploy Hood Battalion as it did are not the author's concerns. What he set out to do he has done nobly — to provide a record, both detailed and evocative, of one unit of the Royal Naval Division. His book will be a model for histories of other battalions.

Barry Gough
Waterloo, Ontario

Richard W. Fanning. *Peace and Disarmament-Naval Rivalry and Arms Control, 1922-1933*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995. xiii + 224 pp., photographs, illustrations, notes, select bibliography, index. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 0-8131-1878-6.

Studies of naval disarmament rarely, if ever, make enthralling reading and Professor Fanning's new book on the post-Washington period is, alas, no exception to that general rule. What-

ever it lacks in excitement, however, *Peace and Disarmament* makes up for in sobriety and technical proficiency.

Naval disarmament in the inter-war period has, of course, been examined in many general works and specialist tracts since the 1960s and this reviewer wondered initially what new angle Fanning was going to bring to this familiar topic. Astutely and resolutely, Fanning tackled that question in the promotional literature that accompanied his book. He contends that *Peace and Disarmament* would break new ground in looking at pressure group activity and the role of public opinion in Britain, Japan, and the United States on the issue of naval disarmament, as well as the activities of the leading naval and political personalities of the day in these three countries on this same issue. Although hyperbole is to be expected on dust-jackets and advertising flyers, in this case the author's claims are not so much exaggerated as slightly misleading. While Fanning succeeds to some extent in sorting out the cultural underpinnings of the disarmament movement in the United States, he does not give equal attention to the British cause and is much less precise about the situation in Japan. This apparent error becomes more explicable if the claims of the dust-jacket are ignored and the first sentence of the introduction is read instead. This makes it very clear that *Peace and Disarmament* is essentially a book about American naval arms control in the 1920s and early '30s.

After a short introduction, the first substantive chapter of Fanning's book opens with a discursive account of the Washington Conference and the on-going cruiser issue that was to dominate discussions between the leading naval powers throughout the rest of the decade. While the material is well known, the author has nonetheless produced an essay that serves as a useful background text for the period leading up to President Coolidge's momentous decision in December 1925 to have American representation at meetings of the newly-formed Preparatory Commission. It was this body which was supposed to pave the way for some future League of Nations-sponsored disarmament conference.

Chapter Two begins by identifying those pressure groups in the three nations that either promoted disarmament by tapping into what Fanning describes as the peace psychology of

the time, or those that staunchly defended the navy and sought increased expenditure on new ships whenever possible. This rather unleavened section gives way eventually to a thorough, if tedious, account of the machinations of the various powers' representatives to the Preparatory Commission. It is not difficult to see why Calvin Coolidge was frustrated by the lack of success at Geneva. What is simply astonishing, however, is that the American president — a person not given to making many initiatives — could have entertained any hope that a successful naval accord was possible at this time, let alone one that would have to be forged by the very same people who had already been conspicuously unsuccessful in their tortuous deliberations at Geneva.

In the following two chapters, Fanning provides a summary of what took place at the fraught naval conference at Geneva and explains why there was a lack of collective political will to achieve the naval accord sought by Coolidge. Much of what he has to say on this topic is admittedly sound, even though he seems reluctant to embrace the notion that this ill-fated conference marks the nadir in Anglo-American relations after the war.

Thereafter Fanning dwells upon the post-Geneva period and discusses some of the repercussions that followed in the wake of that well-publicised failure. He also gives attention to the formation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact in the summer of 1928 and the passing of the US Navy Bill in February 1929, before considering the influential role performed by the new men in Pennsylvania Avenue and Downing Street in setting the stage for another attempt at naval disarmament in 1930.

After a chapter devoted to the London Conference — in which he is fairly critical of everyone involved in this latest diplomatic gathering — Fanning follows with an overview of what happened to disarmament in the aftermath of the Wall Street Crash. There is little that is provocative or contentious in these remarks and his overall conclusions are also sensibly drawn.

It is clear that Fanning has gathered material for *Peace and Disarmament* from an impressive range of manuscripts and official documents, as well as from a wide selection of

secondary sources, including doctoral dissertations and a few of the more important newspapers and periodicals of the period. Apart from a few minor typographical blemishes, this book looks destined to become a useful and informative reference guide to what is, sadly, an often vexatious and dreary subject.

Malcolm H. Murfett
Singapore

Nicholas Tracy. *Canada's Naval Strategy: Rooted in Experience*. Maritime Security Occasional Paper No. 1; Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1995. x + 82 pp., notes, maps. \$8 (plus \$3.06 p+h, \$4 in Nova Scotia), paper; ISBN 1-896440-00-2.

I cannot recall being taught naval strategy, as such, to any extent during my early years in our navy. We certainly studied world-wide naval history at Royal Roads for two years, and in our second year, a voluntary discussion group on international affairs was established. As I recall, we spent a lot of time trying to predict the date of D-Day! (which occurred a month before we completed our final exams).

Nicholas Tracy sets out the political and naval evolution of our national strategy from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through both World Wars and the Cold War to the present, with most of the stops in between. His thesis is that the rationale which formed the basis of Canadian naval development has continued for over eighty-five years. He also says there is no need to re-invent the wheel to respond to every fluctuation in international policies. In a privately circulated quarterly, Richard Hill described this book as "The latest attempt, and one of the most lucid, to explain how Canada is seeking to preserve its equilibrium in the field of naval strategy..."

The author reviews, in as much detail as sixty pages of text allows, our relationships with our British naval ancestry, the political requirements that developed our fisheries protection services, the establishment of our navy in 1910, the experiences of World War I that identified the need for our own foreign and defence policies, and our administration of those new policies through the 1930s. He then shows how

World War II saw the large effort of our expanded maritime forces, leading to some measure of operational control of our escort forces, though our equipment, training and operational intelligence were not always the best. Tracy explains how our post-war activities with NATO forces improved our expertise in anti-submarine warfare and gave us bargaining chips and access to intelligence and hardware. He reminds us that we used our talents well during the Cuban crisis, that we have reacted quickly to United Nations requirements and have an established international reputation for getting things done. He identifies the policies that secure our continental requirements, maintain our European connections, and acknowledge a growing commitment in the Pacific. In short, we are flexible and we can cope with those fluctuations in the international political arena.

Having said all this, I found this crowded book, with its seventeen pages of references, a difficult read. That is probably my fault (see my first paragraph!). Nevertheless, this is not a user-friendly book. It did, however, make me dig into the references — and I do have, or have access to, quite a number of them — and for that I am grateful. The four maps, which look a bit skinny, indicate the dimensions of our continental waters. The book is another worthy contribution to the study of maritime affairs from Dalhousie University's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, and I am sure that readers will realize this, as I have.

We have certainly come a long way from the Admiralty's opinion that "Colonial ships of war cannot operate independently of the Royal Navy." (p.6)

Ian A. Macpherson
Newport, Nova Scotia

I.C.B. Dear (gen. ed.) and M.R.D. Foot (consultant ed.). *The Oxford Companion to World War II*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. xxii + 1343 pp., maps (b+w, colour), illustrations, figures, tables, sidebars, chronology, place-name changes. Cdn \$73.95, US \$49.95, £30, cloth; ISBN 0-19-866225-4.

This stupendous compendium contains articles by over 140 distinguished historians. It spans a

very wide spectrum — everything from subversion to the consequences of the war (in a lengthy essay by the Peter Calvocoressi). The editor explains that the text has "an Anglo-American orientation." There are, however, entries by scholars from other areas, as with the long entry on the USSR by a German specialist. The all-star lineup includes Canadian-historians Marc Milner and J.L. Granatstein. Milner's essay on the Battle of the Atlantic is full of dispassionate insights. It also puts this prolonged maritime campaign into a wider context by raising the question of whether the losses of shipping had a real impact on the course of the war.

Your reviewer was asked to focus on the value of this book as a reference, a daunting task in such an encyclopedic work! On the one hand many of the major essays by experts on the warring powers and campaigns are distillations of years of scholarship, and thus provide a wide range of information in a reasonably compact form. Shorter entries cover a surprising range of subjects. These features make this a valuable general reference, limited perhaps only by the lack of an index (partly offset by the use of cross-references in the text).

On the other hand, coverage of maritime aspects of the war is not rigorously uniform. For example, though the merchant marines of the major powers are covered briefly, the quality of analysis varies depending on the background of the contributor. The best entry on this subject is an excellent essay on US merchant shipbuilding. Canadian wartime shipbuilding is covered briefly but is not placed in a wider framework: the reader is not told, for example, that by 1943 the new Canadian industry was turning out only 15 per cent less merchant tonnage than the UK.

Readers might also wonder why the major article on Germany includes the grandiose pre-war "Z Plan" which projected what the fleet might have looked like in 1947 had war not intervened, but fails to cover actual programs during the war. Readers must look elsewhere to learn how mass production was eventually applied to building U-boats, and how bombing caused serious interruptions.

Discussion of the "whys" behind some key maritime warfare developments is also absent. For example, there is no searching analysis of the slowness of the Allies in closing the air gap

over the North Atlantic. Similarly, there is no mention of the Anglo-American disagreements about allocating landing craft between the European and Pacific theatres. In his introduction the Consulting Editor writes that the *Companion's* aim is to describe events as they actually happened and to eschew speculation. Perhaps this explains why these two maritime issues are not dissected. Yet both issues arguably had far-reaching effects on how events actually unfolded, both illustrate the difficulties of allocating resources in coalition warfare, and both involved key strategic decisions.

The numerous maps are unimpressive, for they lack sufficient contrast between boundaries and rivers and overlaid information. Fortunately the graphs, excellent diagrams and organization tables are clear and informative and the dramatic photographs (many of them classics) were well chosen.

To sum up, the more than 1,700 entries by international experts with impeccable credentials make this an authoritative reference book. It provides information on a staggering range of topics all associated with World War II. Those seeking insights into the "whys" of maritime aspects of the war will however have to consult more specialized sources.

Jan Drent
Victoria, British Columbia

William H. Garzke, Jr. and Robert O. Dulin, Jr. *Battleships: United States Battleships, 1935-1992*. Rev. ed.; Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1976, 1995. x + 386 pp., photographs, figures, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. Cdn \$104.95, US \$75, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-174-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

In the twenty years since the publication of the first edition of this work, the US Navy has reactivated and again deactivated all four of its *Iowa* class battleships. These developments, and the gradual, but ever-progressive accumulation of knowledge on all of the last generation of American battleships, more than justifies the release of this revised edition. Furthermore, some of Robert Sumrall's drawings have been updated, and new ones by Thomas G. Webb

have been added.

As its title suggests, this volume looks at all the American battleships designed since the end of the "battleship building holiday" in 1935. Each of the five classes projected or built is the subject of an individual chapter, while a new chapter discusses the reactivation of the four *Iowas*, and the last one offers the authors' conclusions. The well-written and researched text is buttressed by four detailed appendices, a bibliography, and an index. The text is profusely illustrated, and many of the photographs are new to this edition. Most of the photos are excellent, and add greatly to the intrinsic value of this volume. The full-view and detail drawings are very well executed and compliment the text. However, modelers will be disappointed to learn that there is only one full-length deck and profile view per class in each of the five chapters dedicated to particular classes. As a result, it is very difficult for readers fully to appreciate and pick out the various design and A A A armament differences that differentiate even the closest of sister-ships. Also, there are no samples of the various camouflage schemes carried by these ships.

The authors have done an excellent job in distilling the mass of information available to them, and are well-versed in design differences not only between classes of American battleships but those of other nations as well. They manage to highlight several often ignored areas of ship and equipment design, including the USN's decision not to employ cartridge shells for its big guns. While the *Iowa's* tragic turret misfire of 1989 is the subject of a detailed twelve-page summary, one gets the feeling that there is still more to the story. The overall merits of the *North Carolina* and *South Dakota* classes are certainly worthy of the authors' high praise. However, one must question the capability of the *Iowas* to survive a gunnery duel with the *Yamatos*. On the other hand, the criticism of the *Alaska* class battlecruisers is certainly on target, and their argument that the US Navy would have been far better to cancel these ships in favour of completing the last two units of the *Iowa* class is certainly sound.

The amount of new information that has been integrated into the text is remarkable. This is particularly true of the seventh chapter, which

provides much insight into the outfitting of these World War II veterans for modern warfare. The reasons behind the re-activation of these ships are well documented. As the authors note, some of the more radical reconstruction schemes mooted seemed to ignore the fact that the US Navy wanted these ships because of — not in spite of — their 16-inch cannons! The post-World War II projects to convert the incomplete *Iowas* and *Alaskas* to aircraft carriers are also covered. As well, there is a good summary of the successful employment of the *Wisconsin* and *Missouri* in Operation Desert Storm. AH four of these ships have again been deactivated, and the *Missouri* is slated to become a war memorial. The authors believe that the battleship's role as a shore bombardment vessel is far from over, hinting that the US Navy learned enough from the short-term service of these goliaths either to seek new ships armed with large calibre guns or to reactivate members of this class should the need arrive.

Overall, this is an excellent work, and it deserves to be examined - not merely read - by anyone interested in the use and design of battleships throughout the better part of our often violent century.

Peter K. H. Mispelkamp
Pointe Claire, Québec

Michael L. Hadley. *Count Not the Dead: The Popular Image of the German Submarine*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. xxv + 253 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1282-9.

No weapon in the two World Wars was more controversial than the U-boat. Germany twice staked its fate upon it as the war-winning weapon capable of bringing Great Britain to its knees. As such, the U-boat has cast an enduring spell over the minds of Germans and inspired over 250 novels, memoirs, and films. Through these works, Michael Hadley's *Count Not the Dead* traces the changing popular image of the submarine in Germany from World War I to the 1990s. He is concerned more with the collective impact of this literature than with its aesthetic merits.

The success of German submarines early in the 1914-1918 war stunned the world. *U-9* torpedoed three British cruisers within an hour on 22 September 1914, a feat that spawned an outpouring of propaganda that idolized Captain Otto Weddigen and emphasized the romance and gallantry of the undersea war. Hero worship set the pattern for U-boat books for decades to come. The defeat of Germany in 1918 did little to stop the flood of literature. New themes arose in the interwar years such as the need to address the distortions of Allied wartime propaganda and the desire for retribution. However, the genre was largely unchanged at the outbreak of World War II, when the U-boat again emerged as Germany's most potent maritime weapon. Propagandists breathed new life into the cult of the hero. Gunther Prien followed in the footsteps of Weddigen by sinking the battleship *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow in October 1939. His memoirs appeared in 1940 and were soon followed by the stories of other "aces."

German fascination with the U-boat continued in the post war era. Hadley argues that in 1952 Harald Busch's *So War der U-Boot-Krieg* broke with the past. Busch freely confessed German failures and recognized Allied successes while introducing the theme of tragedy. German submariners were honourable men doing their duty, betrayed by the immoral political leadership of the Nazis. During the 1950s and 1960s, the image of the U-boat continued to be presented to the public largely through a steady flow of novels and veterans' memoirs, rather than the works of professional historians. Although several titles followed Busch in putting a more human face on the experience, the image of "steel sharks" or "grey wolves" persisted. Then in 1969 Herbert Werner, a former submarine officer, demythologized the U-boat in his autobiography *Iron Coffins*. The German submarine was now the hunted not the hunter, an iron coffin for tens of thousands of deceived German youths. The book was a tremendous popular success but, as Hadley demonstrates, it was riddled with factual errors and fabrications.

Lothar-Günther Buchheim carried this image further with *Das Boot* in 1973, the most popular U-boat novel ever. The book and the film based upon it that appeared in 1981 ignited fierce controversy in Germany by appealing to

the anti-war sentiment of the 1970s and '80s. As Hadley shows, the debate took on a life of its own independent of the book and the film, and polarized around the political right and left. Buchheim offended many veterans by arguing that the glorification of war and naval traditions seduced German submariners as much as the Nazis. Veterans considered that they had served the fatherland honourably and had been above, or at least divorced from, politics. Their critics, often journalists, contended they could not remove themselves from moral responsibility. Hadley reveals that while this debate remained unresolved, many naval officers, such as Erich Topp whose memoirs appeared in 1990, came to terms with the past and accepted new values.

Hadley has rescued a century of German language literature on the U-boat for English readers and distilled it with thoughtful commentary. He concludes that this writing, if often engaged in myth-making, has reflected the changing nature of German society in the twentieth century. With the exception of *Das Boot*, the books have mirrored social change rather than caused it. In this light *Count Not the Dead* is almost as much a work of social and intellectual history as of naval history. Still, it is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand how Germans have thought and felt about the U-boat. In addition, it has a superb bibliography of German sources which will be invaluable for all scholars interested in submarine warfare.

Robert C. Fisher
Nepean, Ontario

Arthur Bishop. *Canada's Military Heritage, Volume III: Courage at Sea*. Whitby, ON: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1995. xii + 191 pp., illustrations, photographs, sources, index. \$29.99, cloth; ISBN 0-07-551640-3.

We are in good company from the beginning: the author has served with distinction overseas in World War II in the Royal Canadian Air Force as a fighter pilot in Spitfires; his father, "Billy" Bishop, VC, was the highly decorated hero of World War I. Arthur Bishop does not mince his words, telling us that relatively few people in Canada may know that the first of the four Canadian seamen to win the Victoria Cross

was the son of a freed slave from Halifax who served in the Royal Navy and took part in a land action in 1857 during the Indian Mutiny; three more VCs were won, one in World War I and two in World War II when a total of 1,677 British and forty-four foreign decorations were also awarded to serving members of the Royal Canadian Navy. The author feels strongly (and says so in his Introduction) that, ironically and regrettably, little is known outside the Navy itself about the recipients of these awards for valour. They have received little or no public recognition in Canada, and the same is true about countless other Canadian seamen — yet these are the men who helped build the Royal Canadian Navy into one of the finest fighting leading navies of the world. In this third and concluding volume of "Canada's Military Heritage" trilogy — the other two are *Courage in the Air* (1992) and *Courage on the Battlefield* (1993) — the author sets out to redress what he calls "this grievous omission" and to acknowledge what these men did, their contribution to the history of Canada and the esteem they so fully deserve. In this he succeeds admirably.

The book is a collection of individual episodes arranged in a chronological order from the Indian Mutiny to the Korean War, describing the various actions at sea and the corresponding acts of bravery. There are also short separate historical commentaries about the war and about naval developments and strategy affecting Canada during the inter-war periods (if these thumbnail sketches were put together in a suitable booklet it would make a neat concise history of the Royal Canadian Navy). There are good, clear headings and subheadings, generously spaced and providing an easy instant reference guide. As well, there is a good name index. Regrettably, there are no maps, though possibly the publishers felt that none were necessary in a book of this type. The book is well illustrated with a drawing and good black-and-white photographs, one capturing a tense and nostalgic moment when Sir Winston Churchill boarded HMCS *Assiniboine* at an anchorage in 1942.

Some of us still remember, and it is apparent from the author's descriptions of convoy battles and other actions in World War II, that while the war at sea was brutal and barbaric, it also had its occasional lighter moments. Bishop

describes in vivid detail some of the episodes and muses at times with the participants over the strange Chaplinesque or Kafkaesque connotations. In one sense, the title of the book may seem a misnomer: the book is not only about courage at sea, it is also about good seamanship, professional skills, tenacity and total devotion to duty, without which courage alone might become a mere fatal exercise in futility. But then, on second thought, without courage under fire none of these qualities could ever materialize anyway, so we can have no quarrel with the title. We can have no quarrel either with the definition of courage: the author quotes Titus Maccius Plautus. The Churchillian definition, more than two thousand years later, is curiously similar. *Courage at Sea* is, by all accounts, an excellent and a timely book. Vice-Admiral D. N. Mainguy has contributed a Foreword that should also appeal to sailor or landlubber alike. He states that the deeds recorded in the book should continue to serve as a model for the youth of Canada — a sobering and challenging thought in these confused and uncertain times, if only someone would listen. Librarians, educators and parents, please note.

George Q. Parnell
Kirkland, Québec

Joseph Prim and Mike McCarthy. *Those in Peril: The U-boat menace to Allied shipping in Newfoundland and Labrador waters World War I and World War II*. St. John's: Jespersion Press, 1995. 176 pp., photographs, maps, appendix, tables, bibliography, index. \$13.95, paper; ISBN 0-921692-65-X.

There was a wonderful Nova Scotian tradition of family evenings around the fire, where the adults regaled each other with stories — usually about the depression or the wars — and the kids, who were allowed to stay up because the uncles and aunts were visiting, sat enthralled. This book took me back, and proves that in this respect Nova Scotians and Newfoundlanders have a great deal in common.

Both authors are obviously steeped in the life of Newfoundland, and Captain Prim is a veteran of the wartime merchant marine. They have woven together personal memoirs with

material from published sources to produce a narrative of German submarine operations against Newfoundland ships and in Newfoundland waters during the two world wars that emphasizes the human element. They have covered most of the significant incidents. Some of the accounts are digests of published work on well-known events such as the sinking of the *Caribou* and the frigate *Valleyfield*. In other cases, like the destruction of the steamer *Erik* in 1918 and the *Livingstone* in 1944, they have added important first person accounts from newspaper research and Captain Prim's own correspondence. In general, they have used the secondary sources conscientiously. Nevertheless, significant errors have crept in. On p. 21 there is startling news of previously unsuspected Li-boat operations in the Strait of Belle Isle during March and July 1917 that claimed four ships. These events did indeed take place, but off Belle île-en-Mer on the coast of France. (Admiralty, *Naval Staff Monographs (Historical)*, Vol. XVIII. *Home Waters, Part VIII* (Np. 1933), pp.310-11, 323-4)

At the end of the book are eight short memoirs that nicely round out the volume. Captain Prim's reminiscence of his service in SS *Fort Amherst* and Tom Myrick's memories of the operations of the Cape Race radio station are stand outs. The most powerful personal statement, however, is the foreword by Dr. John Collins. He writes of his merchant service on the harrowing Murmansk run, and concludes with this timeless paragraph:

So little regard to those who initiate wars are the crushing anxieties suffered by parents of sons and daughters serving in overseas and near-shore war zones. At the time of my brother's death, when I myself was at sea, my mother became aware of the local priest sorrowfully approaching our home on Patrick Street in St. John's. On opening the front door to him, her first words were, "Which one, Father?" No mother should ever have to ask such a question, (p. 11)

Roger Sarty
Ottawa, Ontario

Chris Howard Bailey. *The Battle of the Atlantic. The Corvettes and their Crews: An Oral History*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton for the Royal Naval Museum, 1994. xxvii + 156 pp., photographs, maps, select bibliography, index. £18.99, cloth; ISBN 0-7509-0598-0.

In 1994 two books were published on corvettes, their role in the Battle of the Atlantic, and the recollections of officers and men who served in these gallant little ships. *Corvettes Canada* recorded the wartime experiences of personnel in the Royal Canadian Navy based on written accounts of over 250 men who served in one or more of fifty Canadian corvettes. *The Battle of the Atlantic. The Corvettes and their Crews: An Oral History* was published in the United Kingdom. In this instance, the Flower Class Corvette Association was consulted by the Royal Naval Museum to select a number of corvette veterans and wives to relate their recollections orally. Interviews of seventeen men and four of their wives were conducted by Ms Chris Howard Bailey, the Head of Oral History and Publications at the Royal Naval Museum, Portsmouth and eventually incorporated into this fascinating book. One hundred and fifty-one Flower Class corvettes were built in Britain and another 107 were built in Canada, so these recollections will form an important historical resource.

There has been nothing quite like the Battle of the Atlantic. It was the longest, fiercest, and most crucial campaign of World War II. Today there is a tendency to rewrite history. Certainly good cases can be made for poor leadership, mis-spent effort, faulty judgement and so on. Recent television programmes have thrived on this sort of thing. However, all credible history in a general way must relate to the nature and spirit of its times. The memories of veterans of the Battle of the Atlantic were shaped by dreadful weather, seasickness, wet, inefficient and inadequate clothing, exhausting and miserable duties while always hunting and always being hunted. Oral recollections become an invaluable component of modern historic research.

On picking up this book, one notices on the end papers the excellent map of the convoy routes covered by the corvettes. The next illustration is a splendid explanatory drawing of a corvette, first presented in a 1943 edition of the

Illustrated London News. On every other page or so are about one hundred photographs, mostly from the private collections of the narrators. Unlike most photographic records these are informal pictures of day-to-day life at sea.

The book consists of sections describing the corvette role, recruitment, training, working-up, crew duties, convoys, technological developments, weather, attacks, merchantmen, survivors, conditions on board, families, distractions, anxieties and final reflections. Of course, most conditions were common to the Royal Navy and our own. We had the great disadvantage of a minuscule pre-war force so that few permanent force officers or men were available to back up the Reserves. Although the British corvettes were mainly manned by Hostilities Only men, they had relatively more experienced back-ups than we had. For the same reasons, the British training facilities also were much ahead of our own, at least for three years. Like the Canadians, British discipline in ships was largely self-imposed because it was essential to survival. One of the spin-offs was the wonderful comradeship engendered and which lasts to this day.

Another important point is that these men, like our own, realized that their role as close escorts was protecting merchant ships, not sinking U-boats. A U-boat turned away ceased to be an immediate threat. It was the job of the support group to hunt and to sink U-boats. For two or three years we provided close escort only, we had no support groups. To condemn the RCN for not sinking submarines in early 1943 displays a lack of understanding of our role.

This excellent book belongs in the library of everyone interested in naval history.

L.B. Jenson
Queensland, Nova Scotia

Melanie Wiggins. *Torpedoes in the Gulf: Galveston and the U-Boats, 1942-1943*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1995. xiii + 265 pp., photographs, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.50, cloth; ISBN 0-89096-627-3. Distributed in Canada by UBC Press.

At one point there were "so many German U-boats in the gulf of Mexico that "it's a wonder

they didn't torpedo each other," Wiggins' popularly-written account informs us. (p.98) Faced with a seemingly constant stream of books and articles on German underwater adventures in two world wars, readers of maritime warfare might conceivably take up a similar cry. In this case, however, Wiggins has attempted something new: a comprehensive treatment of a largely ignored sector of World War II. Drawing her statistics from the American edition of Jirgen Rohwer's *Axis Submarine Successes* (1983), supplemented by the corresponding U-boat logs, she narrates the tale of the twenty-four submarines that sank fifty-six merchantmen and damaged fourteen others while operating either singly or together from May through September 1942, and February through December 1943. In all, the Germans emerge as gallant, chivalrous gentlemen. Of those taken prisoner and held in the USA, only a few "were especially strong in their socialistic and naziistic [sic] beliefs." (p.192)

Wiggins' strength lies in sketching the American response to incursions into sovereign territory. Taking as her source the *Galveston Daily News* and the memories of old timers, she reveals a litany of myth and supposition common to wartime landlubbers from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cuba: suspicions of German spy-rings and saboteurs, of secret refuelling bases, fears of bombing attacks and invasion, of German sailors visiting the movies in Galveston, and "wily" U-boat men who spoke perfect English and knew the intricacies of gulf navigation as well as the local salties themselves. Even the "funny papers," like the Jane Arden column in the newspaper comics section, underscored the myths. But Wiggins also recites the hard facts of an unsuspecting and unprepared region scrambling at the last minute to buttress up home-defences: rapid construction of land fortifications and gun-batteries, formation of the US Coast Guard Beach Patrol Unit known variously as the "Cajun Coast Guard" and "Swamp Angels," air-raid evacuation exercises, and building an air-station for blimps. Finally galvanized for war by the U-boat presence, citizens held bond drives, volunteered for air raid patrols, hanged Hitler in effigy — but still fought the dim-out as bad for business.

The book is a pleasant read with some

delightful characterizations, like that of World War I ace Edgar Freiherr von Spiegel. A "U-boat author" in his own right, he had also translated American war correspondent Lowell Thomas' best-selling *Raiders of the Deep* (1930) into German because of its adulation of German derring-do. Spiegel served as consul-general in New Orleans from 1937 until June 1941 when President Roosevelt ordered German and Italian representations closed. Thoroughly familiar with the Gulf coast because of his journeys and fishing expeditions, von Spiegel triggered much of the spy mythology.

Knowledgeable readers will be irritated by a major shortcoming of the book: the author does not really understand the naval operations she describes. Failing to communicate any strategic context, she tends to portray the attacks in the Gulf of Mexico as random forays spun off some general enterprise in the Atlantic. She is vague about convoys, shipping and technology, confuses distinctions between codes and cyphers, and shows little mastery of nautical terminology and lore. Had she known, for example, that the term "Amerika II" was actually the name for a frequency used off the North American coast she would have avoided needless speculation that German panic about communications had perhaps led to deploying a vessel called *Amerika II* to relay U-boat radio traffic. Her assertion that U-boat commanders were siphoned off to training flotillas "when too old or reached their breaking point" (p.216) disregards the need to engage instructors with hard-earned front-line experience. She quotes newspapers on Germany's "new and more deadly torpedoes," but fails to inform us that these were the T5 acoustic torpedoes. Such examples are legion. It could be argued, of course, that expert readers can fill in the blanks themselves and leave the tale to the general reader. But even when we depend on her for technical information on the local Galveston scene, she lets us down. At a number of locations along the coast, to take but one example, "the Corps of Engineers was building 'military instrument' towers a hundred feet tall, with surface craft detectors to locate enemy vessels and provide directions for the seacoast artillery gunners." (p.119) With just a little sleuthing beyond the newspapers she might have told us what these range-finders, radars and guns

actually were. The audience for whom the book seems to be intended will probably not worry about such things, and simply enjoy the tale.

Michael L. Hadley
Victoria, British Columbia

Hans Herlin; John Brownjohn (trans.). *The Survivor: The True Story of the Sinking of the Doggerbank*. London: Leo Cooper, 1994. x + 163 pp., photographs, illustration, maps. £15.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-409-1.

Those who follow details of military actions will know the term "friendly fire," when one's own forces are fired upon by erstwhile "friends" in the heat and fog of battle. The German *Doggerbank*, alias *Ship 53*, was the ex-British Bank Line's 5,154-ton *Speybank*, captured by the raider *Atlantis* in January 1941 and sent back to occupied France. She was fitted out as a mine-layer as well as a supply ship for U-boats and raiders, then in June 1942 sent to Japan where she underwent a refit as a blockade runner. She loaded vital supplies of oils, precious metals and rubber for beleaguered Germany and in addition to her own crew of 109, took aboard 256 men from other ships that had been marooned there, mostly with injuries suffered in explosions in Yokohama.

North of the Azores her captain expected to be met by a U-boat to escort his ship into Bordeaux. Instead he was intercepted by *U-43* sent to attack a convoy heading for North America. Commanded by Oberleutnant Hans-Joachim Schwantke, she sighted *Doggerbank*, steaming on a steady northerly course, on the night of 3 March 1943. Anxious to open his scoring, he put three torpedoes into the ship, which sank within minutes. While there were many survivors, only a small ship's dinghy got away, which eventually held fifteen seamen, including the captain and the only surviving source of the story of what actually happened, Bos'n Fritz Kuert. While the U-boat approached the men in the water, the captain reported later they thought the swimmers were British, and not surprisingly the survivors presumed the submarine was British and called out in English for help. Without even making sure who her victim had been, Schwantke left the scene for his assigned

attack on the convoy.

The first half of this book sets this scene and describes, in Herlin's somewhat melodramatic words and from the perspective of Fritz Kuert, the last days of *Doggerbank*. With no sail and without any food or water whatsoever, the survivors, assisted by a seaman who had been a small-boat fisherman, rigged a square sail out of canvas and three oars lashed together and set off down wind for the West Indies, 1,600 miles away. The rest of the book is the harrowing story of surviving "the savage sea." At one point the boat was swamped in a gale and most of the men were lost, some to sharks. The rudder was also lost at that point. After twenty days, many of those who remained gave up; at their urging, the captain shot three men and then himself. This left only Kuert and the ex-fisherman, who died on the twenty-first day. With only occasional rain-water and a flying fish or two, Kuert survived, eventually to be picked up by a Spanish tanker twenty-six days after the sinking. Of 365 men, he was the only one to survive.

Kuert was taken to Aruba, admitted to hospital, and transferred to the States for treatment of his extensive sores and dehydration. He was repatriated to Germany in a prisoner exchange in January 1944. There, he became incensed upon learning that his ship had been sunk by a U-boat that in his view did not even bother to stop and discover that it had sunk a German ship. He expressed his view so strongly that he was put under open arrest, only to escape into hiding in Hamburg until the war's end. The loss was, of course, suppressed in Germany, although British intelligence soon worked out what had happened, which in turn bothered the Germans, who blamed Kuert for disclosing the loss.

While Herlin transcribed onto tape every word Kuert told him in interviews in the 1960s, some of the memories, conversations and even thoughts would seem somewhat inventive. Nevertheless, this is one of the most harrowing yet carefully crafted stories of small boat survival, and one well worth adding to one's collection.

Fraser McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Alfred B. Palmer. *The Pirate of Tobruk: A Sailor's Life on the Seven Seas, 1916-1948*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. xi + 205 pp., photographs, figures, maps, illustrations, index. US \$26.95, Cdn \$37.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-667-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This autobiography describes the nautical life of a delightful, swashbuckling rogue. This period of Alfie Palmer's life started in 1916 when he shipped out as a cadet in the barque *Burrowa*. Next he joined the Royal Navy, finishing World War I as a seaman. Palmer then joined the Commonwealth Line which ran ships between Australia and the United Kingdom. Released from company service in 1929, Palmer subsequently joined a ship going to China. By then Palmer held his Master Mariner's papers. It is at this point that his tale takes on the characteristics of a "salty dip" of astonishing proportions.

After spending nine years in and around Shanghai, Palmer was "invited" in 1939 to join the Royal Navy, and soon found himself a Sub-Lieutenant RNVR. Palmer must have been the oldest (40 years) and only RNVR Sub-Lieutenant with Master Mariner's papers. His first appointment was to a Royal Navy Yangtze River gunboat where he was introduced to the caste system so dear to the hearts of those who sustained and thrived thereon. Being an Australian reserve officer probably didn't do much to enhance his acceptance in the Ward Room.

In Singapore Palmer was appointed to HMS *Medway* — the submarine depot ship. He soon attracted command attention by taking the Captain's Standing Orders quite literally. He enforced the rule that strangers coming on board required an approval pass. This astonished and eventually discouraged the horde of lunch time free-loaders from the shore establishment.

Medway was soon ordered to Egypt, where the war was in full swing. Palmer left *Medway* in late 1940 to take command of a self-propelled lighter — the X39. After being bombed out of his first command, he was given command of a captured Italian 340-ton three-masted schooner — HMS *Maria Giovanni*. Palmer ran his ship in and out of the various ports that needed supplies or had prisoners to evacuate, doing anything and everything to further the war against Italy and

Germany. He became famous for his runs from Alexandria to Tobruk - his dash and bravery earned him the sobriquet "Pirate of Tobruk."

Palmer's pirate days ended in November, 1941 when, whilst avoiding an ambushing surfaced German submarine off Tobruk, he ran onto a reef. The *Maria Giovanni* was finished and Palmer and his crew of six were put in the bag by the Italian Army. He seems to have felt that, at the very least, he should have been captured by someone in a blue suit.

Palmer spent the next three years as a roving prisoner of war. During an escape attempt Palmer jumped from a moving train as it passed through a tunnel; in the course of the melee that followed, his right arm was almost severed and it was subsequently amputated. In September 1944, Palmer was selected for repatriation to England via Sweden. It appears that Palmer was the only one on the ship to spend the whole five-day voyage to England in a bunk — a pleasantly crowded bunk it turned out.

Back in England Palmer was given sundry tasks to do on behalf of the Admiralty. This work took him to the Mediterranean and eventually to Hong Kong and Shanghai. There the bureaucracy caught up with him and he was released from the Service in 1948.

This book is *not* a scholarly treatise on survival of the wily — it really is a salty dip in every sense of the term. It appears that the text was prepared from a tape recording and unfortunately Palmer died before he could provide a final text edit. There is no bibliography, the whole book being Palmer's personal recollection of a full and exciting life.

Douglas G. Meredith
Westbank, British Columbia

Stan T. Richards. *Operation Sick Bay*. West Vancouver: Cantaur Publishing, 1994. xx + 265 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, appendices, index. \$32 (+ \$4 s&h), cloth; ISBN 0-9693362-1-7. Distributed by Christie and Christie Associates, Cookstown, ON L0L 1L0 and Cordillera Publishing Company, Box 46, Vancouver, BC V6P 4Z9.

With this account of the Sick Berth and Medical Assistant Branch, Stan Richards makes an im-

portant contribution to the growing volume of works relating to the Royal Canadian Navy. In doing so he has also paid a well deserved tribute to this unheralded branch of the Service. He begins with an historical survey of naval medical services, commencing with the Laws of Oleron dating about 1194 in which is to be found the first record of health care for mariners. Richards goes on to sketch the medical services available in Royal Navy ships and establishments in British North America in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. He traces the emergence of the Sick Berth Branch in the Royal Canadian Navy after 1910, and follows it through World War I with particular attention to the individuals, British and Canadian, who laid the foundations and struggled to maintain them during the lean years of the 1920s.

The work develops rapidly with the chapters on the outbreak of World War II, the tremendous expansion of the navy in men, ships and shore establishments and with the arrival of members of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service as Wren SBAs. Here the narrative is supplemented by the reminiscences of the men and women who served in a variety of capacities in the Sick Berth Branch. Indeed, in the opinion of this reviewer, these personal anecdotes of life ashore and afloat are the real strength of the book.

Some of the anecdotes are humorous, such as Manning M. Wright's account of how he practised the RCN lantern tests and was accepted as an SBA despite his poor eyesight, or Jack Copeland's story of the illicit coffee boat established in RCNH Esquimalt which, despite the Captain's disapproval, was patronised by so much brass that the SBAs were discouraged from using it. There is also the tragic account, related by LSBA John N.M. Allan and others, of the fire at the Knights of Columbus Hostel in St. John's. George Barr and his colleagues contributed a piece on the origins of *You Name It*, the Medical Branch newspaper at *Cornwallis*. Elsewhere, Helen Rose Woolsey offers an account of how her wedding plans were constantly at the mercy of the exigencies of the service and how the ceremony itself was almost cancelled because of the fire at the Bedford Magazine. Likewise, life at sea is covered by a series of personal accounts. One chapter is

devoted to "Experiences, Commendations and Death" and others to "Corvette Life" as well as the experiences of Sick Berth personnel in *Prince Henry*, *Prince David*, *Prince Robert*, *Athabaskan*, and the LCI(L)s. The book concludes with chapters on the post-war period which contain much technical information about the amalgamation of the medical services, the rank structure and the rationalisation of service standards with those of the equivalent civilian professions. Appendices provide nominal lists of SBAs and Wren SBAs indicating prewar, wartime and post-war service.

While the author is to be commended for his painstaking account of the development of medical services in the Royal Canadian Navy, the book should not be approached as a history of the naval medical services. Rather, it should be seen largely as an anecdotal portrayal of the contributions of the men and women of the Sick Berth and Medical Assistant Branch to whom so many of us, in so many ways, owe a debt of gratitude.

C.B. Koester
Kingston, Ontario

John W. Davies. *Jack: The Sailor With the Navy Blue Eyes*. Durham: Pentland Press, 1995. xiii + 284 pp., photographs. £17.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-254-5.

Mr. Davies — or Jack — writes about his World War II experiences as a member of Great Britain's "Small Vessels" (auxiliary naval craft) or to be more precise, its MGB (Motor Gun Boat) flotillas, an inspiring branch of naval warfare by virtue of their shape and great speed.

Upon joining and completion of basic training he was assigned to *MGB 320*, a first-class gunboat, seventy feet in length with a crew of thirty-two. Most of his recorded experiences took place while on this vessel. *MGB 320* was stationed at a great many south coast ports (a map would have been useful) and was mainly occupied in warding off possible attacks on larger vessels by torpedo-carrying, much superior German "E"-boats. The Navy staffed these MGBs with officers from the Royal Fleet Reserve, a calibre that understandably tended to be lower than the regular personnel on larger

ships. As a result, the spirit and discipline was sadly deficient. They all felt more like a family sharing an inconvenient but necessary existence.

In the fall of 1941 Naval Command selected *MGB 320* for a dangerous shuttle of Dutch spies to and from the North Sea port of Scheveningen. Among them was Eric Hazelhoff, later to become a writer but who now played a very important role indeed in the overall war effort and who, in consequence, would receive the highest Dutch military award, the Militaire Willems Orde from Queen Wilhelmina. This shuttle became a routine for *MGB 320* for a good deal of the war. Although it had no bearing on *MGB 520*'s location at the time, Jack also makes mention of the infamous Channel Incident, when in quiet bravado in the early morning of 12 February, 1942 the pocket-battle-ships *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau* and *Prinz Eugen* sailed in close proximity to Dover north through the Channel, unnoticed by the British until they were well into the North Sea.

After about three years in *MGB 320*, Jack's entire crew was moved to one of the new "D"-class MGBs, *MGB 611*. This much-improved version had a length of 115 feet, could carry a few torpedoes, and had a crew of thirty-eight. It was equipped with four Packard engines, each capable of lifting a small airplane, and generating a maximum speed of thirty-four knots. The armament was also much improved, and Jack was promoted from his .5 machine gun to a pom-pom for which he was entirely responsible.

It is on *MGB 611*, stationed at Newhaven, that Jack finally saw his first shooting action, only it turned out to be action against friendly ships, another MGB-flotilla from Britain's east coast, caught in the fog and failing to use proper signals. Also of interest is an overnight sortie to an area inside Le Havre heads. The object was to provoke enemy fire in order to map their shore positions — very dangerous indeed.

Eventually Jack was accepted for a gunnery course at HMS *Excellent* and later posted as Gunnery Instructor to Algeria. However, he provides no details about this year-long experience.

Upon reflection, what we have here is a book that, despite its fresh and promising dust-jacket, left me wondering why it was ever published. Mr. Davies is no James Lamb; he has no writing skills and is only a so-so essayist. His

descriptions of shipboard life and camaraderie are skimpy and dislocated, and his pride at being part of the war effort is virtually non-existent. His memories have stayed with him all these years and now at a much-advanced age, he wishes to vent them. But his memories are presented non-selectively, with many long-winded stories about bars, dance-halls and girls that consume at least a third of the book. What is astonishing is the presumed wealth of material that is not used: the spy assignments, the daring Le Havre sortie, a thrilling ride on *MGB 611* with all four Packards wide open — all are lost to the expectant reader. To Jack's credit I must mention his proper and faultless use of English (perhaps the result of a good proof-reader?) and his novel way of relating a chance meeting with someone today to a war-time experience. On the whole: sorry Jack, at thirty-four knots you missed the boat.

Hendrik (Hank) J. Barendregt
Langley, British Columbia

Robert Clarkson. *Headlong Into the Sea*. Durham, UK: Pentland Press, 1995. xiii + 237 pp., photographs. £17.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-286-3.

Cdr. R. A. Clarkson, LVO, RN (Ret) joined the Royal Navy as a paymaster cadet by the Special Entry scheme, reporting on board the training cruiser HMS *Vindictive* 1 May 1939 aged 18. He then served in HM Ships *Revenge* out of Halifax, *Emerald* based at Singapore then *Kilindini*, and *Carlisle* in the Mediterranean, had a spell ashore in Malta followed by a year with the Naval Officer in Charge at Ancona during the Italian campaign, and service as Flotilla Supply Officer in Landing Ship (Tank) 3028 on the East Indies station in 1946. This autobiography ends as, by then a lieutenant (S), Clarkson is appointed ashore in Colombo in April 1946.

"I have tried to recall the atmosphere of those days," the author says in a prologue, and he succeeds admirably. The book is comprised mainly of his experiences and observations on the course of the war, including many comments in hindsight on the state of the Navy. However, the book is not the "powerful, and often controversial, treatise" claimed on the dust jacket —

that, I surmise, must be the publisher's invention. Interspersed among Clarkson's ships' bombardments and air defence actions are the seizure of the French battleship *Paris* and submarine *Surcouf* in Devonport, the last pre-surrender days in Singapore and Batavia, dodging the Japanese sweep into the Indian Ocean, the invasion of Sicily, re-opening the port of Ancona and establishing social contacts in Italy, and clearing up after the Japanese in Southeast Asia, with cheerful runs ashore as opportunity offered.

Clarkson's writing is lively and usually amusing: easy reading, with understated humour. He is a bit of an iconoclast, taking swipes at Churchill, the naval executive branch, battleships and other large targets. I found some of it grating: "Specialist signal officers were not drawn into the drudgery of cyphering, being more concerned with the intricacies of maneuvering (sic) by flags and preparing seating plans for lunch and dinner parties." (p.110) He also has a sensitive touch, as when informed of an action in which his last ship was savaged: "Absurdly, I felt disconsolate that I had not been there. I expected the feeling would pass, but it has not." (p.184) This reviewer detected astonishingly few errors (*KMS Hipper* is described as a pocket battleship and Canadian destroyers of 1939 as *Tribals*) but, after all, Clarkson was on the RN Staff College directing staff (1962-64) and became a lawyer, so knows how to check his facts. It is a pity he veils the identity of his shipmates and there is no index, reducing the book's reference value.

Canadian relevance, *per se*, is not strong. The author was on the bridge when *Revenge* accidentally sank the Halifax gate vessel, HMCS *Ypres*, there is a photo of five Halifax beauties at a Junior League dance in the Lord Nelson Hotel on Easter Monday 1941, a Canadian midshipman is mentioned in *Revenge* and an American RCNVR lieutenant called Hank in *Emerald*. Nevertheless, his yarn is remarkably similar to Frank Wade's *A Midshipman's War* (Cordillera 1995) and will strike a note familiar to hundreds of other Canadians, many of whom may remember him from *Vindictive* (special entry 47) or the Staff Course.

Richard L. Donaldson
Victoria, British Columbia

Andrew Hendrie. *Short Sunderland in World War II*. Shrewsbury: Airlife Publishing, 1994. 185 pp., photographs, bibliography, appendices, maps, index. Cdn \$48.95, £18.95, cloth; ISBN 1-85310-429-9. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book will interest mainly World War II veterans of RAF's Coastal Command and readers with a well-developed interest in war-time flying boat operations. Hendrie focuses on anti-submarine activity, with some mention of rescue and reconnaissance operations, of Coastal Command Short Sunderland flying boats based in the UK, Europe, and parts of Africa. He also describes Sunderland operations by Canadian squadrons in Coastal Command, No. 4 (Coastal) Operational Training Unit, No. 57 Maintenance Unit, and the Norwegian Squadron. The final chapters cover Sunderland attacks on U-boats in 1944-45, and post-war RAF Sunderland operations in southeast Asia, Korea, the Berlin Airlift, and the 1951 British Greenland Expedition. There is material on Sunderlands in the Royal Australian Air Force, the South African Air Force, and the Royal New Zealand Air Force, and an interesting account of the role of Sunderlands in flying medical supplies to HMS *Amethyst*, which was damaged in 1949 by Chinese Communist artillery on the Yangtze River.

Appendices contain information on German and Italian submarines sunk or damaged by Sunderlands, and on the service and fate of all Sunderlands ever produced. The research for these appendices must have been prodigious. The collection of personal accounts of Sunderland anti-submarine attacks by surviving participants, both Allied and Axis, also represent a tremendous effort. Yet Hendrie's style is dry and sometimes obscure. Accounts of incredibly dangerous and dramatic engagements and rescues read like a ship's log. Except for occasional references to various official histories and to works by Winston Churchill, there is little political or historical context for campaigns. Thus, while Hendrie refers to the Atlantic Gap, when air cover in the mid-Atlantic was not available for convoys in late 1941, he does not discuss the command decisions to divert long-range B-24 Liberators, which could have closed the Gap, from anti-submarine duties. Such omissions may

well make the book uninteresting to younger readers who know little of World War II.

Similarly, Hendrie provides few technical details of the Axis vessels and aircraft with which Sunderlands were mainly engaged. For example, there are several dramatic accounts of attacks on Sunderlands by Junkers 88 fighters but there is little information about the range, speed, armament of Ju 88s or their role in maritime operations. There are no cutaway drawings of U-boats or E-boats, let alone the Sunderland.

Despite these limitations, specialists on wartime flying boat operations and veterans of Coastal Command will welcome this book.

Dennis Battels
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Robert J. Cressman. *"A Magnificent Fight": The Battle for Wake Island*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. xiv + 324 pp., maps, photographs, figures, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-140-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

A recurring theme among many national histories is that of the glorious defeat. From the Serb rout at Kosovo in 1389 to the Alamo's loss five centuries later, such disasters become the tools of myth-makers in the cause of building or maintaining national pride. In December 1941, as seemingly invincible Japanese task forces swept through Asia and the Pacific, the gallant but hopeless defence of Wake Island by American Marines and civilian contractors, armed with a few coastal defence guns and aircraft, offered hope that America, badly shaken by Pearl Harbor, could resist and defeat its newest foe.

Robert Cressman's fine study illuminates the struggle for Wake while remaining firmly outside the myth-making realm. For Cressman, an historian with the Naval Historical Center in Washington, DC, the battle's effect on America's morale at one of the nation's darkest moments is far less important than the impact it had on the men that took part in it. Skilfully integrating photographs, maps, diaries, interviews, personal papers, and Japanese primary sources (for the first time in a Western account), Cressman presents the fight for Wake at its most

elemental level. From the first bombing of the archipelago on 8 December to the confused fighting that forced the garrison's surrender fifteen days later, the lives, and deaths, of many of the participants are traced throughout the siege. What emerges is a story of human fortitude and heroism far more powerful and interesting than the melodramatic and inaccurate film that emerged from a Hollywood studio a year later.

On the grander strategic plane, Cressman traces Wake's place in American and Japanese planning in the prewar period, demonstrating clearly that American efforts to hold the island were badly hurt both by a lack of resources and disputes over Wake's importance in a war. Some American commanders viewed the archipelago as a vital advanced post that could be usefully employed to detect and harass Japanese forces; others worried that Wake's isolation rendered it too vulnerable for such use if it managed to avoid capture in a war's opening phase.

Yet, as the Japanese discovered when they tried to grab Wake, vulnerability did not necessarily mean easy pickings. Poor Japanese intelligence and tactical planning contributed to the bloody collapse of their first landing operation on 11 December, when Marine gunners and pilots sank two destroyers and damaged a number of other ships, a rebuff one Japanese admiral described at the time as "one of the most humiliating defeats" ever suffered by the Japanese navy. Learning from this disaster, the Japanese returned to Wake with more ships, including two aircraft carriers. Faced with such overwhelming strength, and very reluctant to risk its own scarce flattops in the wake of the disastrous losses suffered at Pearl Harbor, the United States Navy abandoned plans to lift Wake's siege, thus sealing the garrison's fate.

I have only one minor quibble with the book. In attempting to name nearly every participant in a particular skirmish, the author often tends towards a tedious listing that detracts from the narrative flow. That aside, I thoroughly enjoyed the monograph and admire the author's sure handling of this small but surprisingly complex operation. Moreover, as someone who remains interested in the battle for Hong Kong (that fight ended on 25 December), I am struck by the fact that while Canadian historians continue to point fingers for that defeat, Cressman

approaches his nation's loss in a far more balanced and constructive fashion. Perhaps this is indicative of a disparity in national outlooks.

Galen Roger Perras
Gloucester, Ontario

Alvin Kernan. *Crossing the Line: A Bluejacket's World War II Odyssey*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. xiv + 173 pp., photographs, maps, index. Cdn \$34.95, US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-455-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Alvin Kernan enlisted in the US Navy, the "Old Navy," in March 1941 at age seventeen. He trained as an aviation ordnanceman and spent most of the next four years on active duty in the Pacific. Fifty years later and after a distinguished academic career at Princeton and Yale, he committed an account of his wartime experiences to paper for the benefit of his family. Another distinguished Pacific War aviator-turned-academic, Samuel Hynes, persuaded him to publish it. The result is a fascinating, eloquent perspective on five years that Kernan acknowledges as the defining ones in his life, just as they were for millions of others.

Kernan's memoir traces the wartime fortunes of the US Navy carrier forces in the Pacific as seen from the lower deck. This provides a somewhat different perspective from accounts authored by commissioned aircrew such as Winston, Guyton and Hynes himself. The US Navy was, in Kernan's characterization, "medieval" in the gap that it fostered between commissioned and enlisted ranks and Kernan recounts several instances of such behaviour and treatment which find no equal reference in the recollections of others. He is, though, in no doubt about its accomplishments or the trials through which it went to learn how to wage war on a grand scale.

He was assigned in November 1941 to Torpedo Squadron Six aboard the USS *Enterprise* and escaped the attack on Pearl Harbor by a day, then participated in the early raids on the Marshall Islands, escorted the USS *Hornet* when she launched the Doolittle Raid on Japan, and fought at Midway when his squadron lost nine out of fourteen crews and their obsolete Douglas

TBD Devastators without scoring a hit. Assigned to USS *Hornet*, Kernan survived the Battle of Santa Cruz, the destruction of his ship by the Japanese, and a further cruise on USS *Enterprise* during the invasion of the Gilbert Islands.

By then he had re-mustered to air gunner in the squadron's newer Grumman TBF Avengers. In this capacity he won the Navy Cross during a series of experimental night interceptions flown from the *Enterprise* in which his aircraft, fitted with early airborne radar, controlled a pair of fighters. After an abortive attempt to gain his wings and a commission in 1944, by which time the US Navy was oversupplied with pilots, he reverted to enlisted rank and was assigned to his last Pacific cruise aboard USS *Suwanee*, an escort carrier that supported the Okinawa landings. By the end of 1945 he was discharged as a Chief Petty Officer at the tender age of 21.

Kernan sprinkles interesting asides throughout. He notes that the American strategy for Midway was common knowledge throughout the fleet prior to the sailing of the carriers from Pearl Harbor and he comments on the different attitudes towards the original USS *Lexington* — a much loved ship — and her sister the USS *Saratoga*, which was considered an unhappy one. He is also disarmingly frank in recounting his perceptions about his likely unpleasant fate in the event of the opposed landing on the Japanese Home Islands which was considered inevitable and he makes no bones about the relief and gratitude he felt when the use of the atomic weapons made his participation in close air support unnecessary.

Kernan tells a wonderful tale and his book should be read for its unpretentious wit, honesty, and its evocative depiction of the culture of the wartime United States Navy and the United States in wartime. Appropriate maps are included along with photographs depicting Kernan's wartime service. Though the selection of photographs is good, some are too dark, with consequent loss of detail. The major criticism which might be levelled at the book is its Canadian price, which pushes at the boundary of what is acceptable for a fairly slim though eminently readable volume.

Christopher J. Terry
Ottawa, Ontario

Bruce Loxton, with Chris Coulthard-Clark. *The Shame of Savo: Anatomy of a Naval Disaster*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1994. xxvii + 319 pp., photographs, figures, maps, appendices, end-notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-763-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

American Vice Admiral Frank Fletcher, Operation Watchtower Expeditionary Force Commander, was yellow and ran away. HMAS *Canberra* was torpedoed by the USS *Bagley*. US Navy leadership was dominated by the legacy of peacetime thinking and methods. These are some of the conclusions offered by Commodore Loxton, a retired Australian naval officer who served at Savo as a midshipman, in a carefully researched and tightly written analysis of the battle fought after sunset on 9 August 1942. In turn, Loxton carefully lays out and discusses each component of Operation Watchtower, the opening campaign to regain the Solomon Islands. Of particular interest are his studies of the senior commanders, their command structure and relationships, his review of the communications problems, the coordination of air reconnaissance, and the relaying of that information.

Loxton is well qualified to write this account, having held command at sea, known the responsibility of senior rank, and with considerable experience in intelligence. His judgments have the authority of one who understands implicitly the complex nature of the problems of battle and the difficulties of circumstance which serve to limit a commander's options. This is particularly useful in his assessment of Rear Admiral V.A.C. Crutchley, VC, R.N, who was on loan to the RAN, and was a subordinate commander under USN Rear Admiral Turner, Amphibious Force Commander. His background is also evident in his support of the Japanese decision to withdraw, even though, had they followed up their tactical victory at sea by attacking the US Marines on their beachhead, the strategic loss to the Japanese of Guadalcanal would have been prevented. Although Loxton's conclusions may have the superficial gloss of nationalism, the careful reader is compelled to note that the book is based on extensive archival research, and the author offers comprehensive

discussion of all the contentious points. He is clearly a master of detail. If he is more critical of the USN than he is of the RAN, remember that the RAN had been at war for over three years, and the USN barely eight months. One aspect of this, lost in an endnote, is that in any given rank, USN officers were on average five years older than their RAN counterparts.

The Japanese had two important advantages. First was their ability to fight at night and at long range. Not only had this been practised repeatedly in the 1930s, but it had been successfully concealed from foreign naval attachés in Tokyo. After 1939, British intelligence resources were focused on Germany. The US Navy discounted early evidence of significant developments in the range and power of torpedoes because it was beyond the capability of their own technology. This sort of racial attitude was all too common. The second was that their enemy was an allied fleet. As Loxton points out, commonality of doctrine and the routine practice of multinational forces under a single command are developments of the Cold War. The prejudices of American isolationism had fostered suspicions which only time could overcome. Nonetheless, sensible steps were taken to develop effective cooperation between the ships of the two navies. One important action to minimize the difference of communications procedures and standards was to exchange signalmen.

A particular strength of the book, and one where Loxton uses his own naval experience to great advantage, is the analysis of the night instructions and disposition of forces, and the fighting itself. In clear terms, the options available to the commanders, the ambiguities of their instructions, and the tactical implications of arrangements and actions are all reviewed. His first-hand knowledge of ships' systems is also helpful in the discussion of what happened to HMAS *Canberra*. His appreciation of service politics is evident in his discussion of the various studies conducted after the action, and in the following years.

The Shame of Savo is a model of a battle analysis. It is recommended without reservation to all who are interested in the Pacific war, battle studies, or the origins of inter-service and international military cooperation. Disastrous as Savo may have been, Loxton notes that the USN

profited from the experience, and used it as a stepping stone to victory.

William Glover
Ottawa, Ontario

William A. Owens. *High Seas: The Naval Passage to an Uncharted World*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1995. ix + 184 pp., photographs, figures, tables, notes, index. Cdn \$38.95, US \$27.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-661-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

High Seas reflects the views of a key US naval officer on the global transformations today and the consequent changes required in the US Navy. This is an insider's perspective of a complicated process, written to provoke discussion and explain decisions. On the whole Owens' succeeds in writing a readable, interesting and provocative book.

The author begins by reviewing the geopolitical impact of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This is a sensible choice as the USSR's collapse had — and still has — significant implications for the US. Owens covers these well, dwelling on the implications of deterrence in the new global environment. He argues that the results of the Gulf War will cause potential opponents to try and undermine the will of the US to actually use its military, since the US is likely to prevail in the event that it does use force. He identifies four strategies that might be employed by aggressors, ranging from threatening a protracted conflict through attempting to split coalitions. Owens argues that the US must be more flexible in the way it employs military force to counter these strategies.

This discussion leads to an assessment of the so-called Weinberger Doctrine. Developed in the wake of the Vietnam war, this doctrine set up strict criteria that limit the use of military force to those situations that are vital to US interests. Owens suggests that the caution implicit in the Weinberger doctrine remains valid in situations where there is a high risk of a major regional conflict. However, in the more ambiguous situations common in the post-Cold War world, Owens argues that US policy makers should follow a pragmatic approach, one in

which they be allowed to use force in lesser situations. He suggests that military force, in concert with other measures, can ameliorate deplorable humanitarian situations or perhaps improve a difficult international situation. Owens argues that too close an adherence to the Weinberger doctrine might only serve to encourage aggressive 'predator' nations, while a more pragmatic doctrine that allowed a more flexible use of force would create greater uncertainty as to when the US might actually employ military force, thereby increasing the deterrent value of a strong US military.

Naturally, greater options to employ military force means that such force must be available. In the second half of the book Owens discusses how the US Navy is adapting to the new world. This section is part history and part prognosis. Owens quickly sketches how the US Navy developed into the force it is today, and then covers the intellectual efforts to grapple with the dissolution of the Soviet Union during the early '90s. This is a very interesting insight into how an influential group of senior US naval officers reacted to these developments. Owens argues that concurrent with the sweeping changes in geopolitical affairs, there has been a revolution in military technology which may enable the US to achieve a significant advantage in military effectiveness over potential opponents, an advantage that could perhaps be retained if institutional changes to harness this military revolution were also undertaken.

Owens presents his case cogently and concisely. While there may be debatable points, the overall argument deserves attention. The main point revolves around the harnessing of communication and computing advances, integrated with new 'smart' missiles and bombs, to provide a precise means of applying military force. This could possibly be done with low casualties to US forces. The implications for the US Navy are explored in significant detail, with force structures for 2001 and 2021 outlined. The first structure represents an extrapolation of changes now in train; that for 2021 is more speculative. The overall thrust is toward a navy firmly focused on projecting force ashore. Sea control and presence missions remain important as well, and Owens provides cogent links between peaceful operations and wartime roles.

Particular attention is paid to the integration of different types of forces and the concepts involved in joint and combined operations.

Owens includes a number of anecdotes from his naval career which provide a human dimension to the sometimes abstract concepts he outlines. These vignettes are a good touch, and help keep the realities of his analysis in perspective. There is also a good selection of pictures, as well as graphs detailing many of the force structure changes and implications. This is a very useful book for those interested in contemporary maritime strategy and force development.

D. M. McLean
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Colin S. Gray. *The Navy in the Post-Cold War World: The Uses and Value of Strategic Sea Power*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. xii + 204 pp., index. US \$32.50, cloth; ISBN 0-271-01107-6. US \$14.95, paper; ISBN 0-271-01108-4.

Colin Gray has in recent years emerged as one of today's foremost maritime strategists. *Leverage of Sea Power* (1992), his much-acclaimed historically based description of the "strategic advantage of navies in war," covered the period up to the end of the Cold War. He now carries his analysis forward into the post-Cold War era. His question is set out in the prologue: "How do the forces of the land, the sea, the air, space, and the electromagnetic spectrum interrelate to comprise a unitary military capability geared to generate overall strategic effectiveness in times of peace, crisis and war?"

The book begins with the sea power versus land power debate. Gray agrees with the classical British theorist Sir Julian Corbett that, since people live ashore, sea power is only relevant in terms of its impact on land. Nevertheless, to Gray sea power remains the 'great enabler.' It "connects the islands of the world, binds together and sustains coalitions, and enables land power and short range air power to achieve the reach to engage distant foes."

Gray is a historically minded strategist rather than an historian and as such — a little unfashionably, perhaps, for some — looks for patterns in world events. He argues that British

sea power remains a "relevant past" for the careful exploitation of theorists — who must nevertheless realise the historically unique aspects of all events. He provides a useful counter to the view that sea power is in decline in comparison with other media for the deployment of military power. Indeed he makes the point that "there are some abiding reasons why the plainly discernible advantages in modern times (post-1500) of sea power are likely to continue."

One reason that Gray takes this view is that he regards sea, land and air power as complementary. There is no alternative to a joint approach at sea (though Gray prefers the old usage of "combined"). The aim is strategic advantage obtained by "fire and manoeuvre in several geographical environments." Moreover, as "sea power and land power in conflict cannot grip each other effectively to compel a military decision; some of each needs to be translated into the currency of the other." This is one of the book's fundamental ideas.

The author takes the opportunity to discuss at length one of his pet hobby-horses, the interaction of space with strategy in the other more terrestrial dimensions. The result is an interesting exposition of the basic principles of space strategy which, Gray argues, look very like the principles of maritime strategy.

Finally, Gray addresses the post-Cold War problems facing *the* navy of the title — the US Navy — as he sees it. He rejects the option of the rise of "geoeconomics" at the expense of geopolitics and the decline of the unity of force and military power. Lasting peace is unlikely; "bad times assuredly follow good." Instead, he sees a strategic environment conditioned by continued military dominance by a United States declining in political and economic influence, an increase in regional and cultural conflicts, the proliferation of high technology and mass destruction weapons, the growing importance of space, increasing concern with the environment as a security problem and an increase in the maritime dimension of US national security. The problem will therefore be reconciling the need to prepare for the more likely forms of conflict and the need to develop and maintain the capacity to deal with the most important.

Although a little breathless in tone at times, the great strength of this work is that much of

the literature is preoccupied with "littoral warfare" or the current perceived primacy of "power projection" over "sea control." Gray has produced a necessary counterbalance to those who go as far as seeing the end of naval strategy or the need for a complete restructuring of naval platforms to reflect current — perhaps passing — strategic preoccupations.

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Ann L. Griffiths and Peter T. Haydon (eds.). *Maritime Forces in Global Security*. Halifax: Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1995. xi + 362 pp., tables, figures. \$15 (plus \$4.55 p&h, \$6.33 in Nova Scotia), paper; ISBN 1-896440-01-0.

Maritime Forces presents twenty-two papers that were presented at a colloquium hosted by Dalhousie's Centre for Foreign Policy Studies in June 1994. Beyond the keynote address and introduction the papers are classed according to four broad subjects: "New Issues in Maritime Security"; "Cooperative Security: Internationalism or Regionalism"; "Maritime Strategies of Medium Maritime Powers"; and, "The Canadian Conundrum: A Coastal or a Blue-Water Navy."

The several discreet sections make worthy contributions to a number of issues, from the control of maritime resources, to UN peacekeeping at sea, technological change, recent trends in international maritime law, naval developments by China, and Japan, India and in Latin America. As well, recent trends in French naval policy and that of the Royal Navy are addressed as is the plight of the former Soviet navy. Some of the essays demonstrate an unsound grasp of naval or maritime history, but that is to be expected from serving officers wrapped up in the present day. But history and presentism are not always at logger heads. The stimulating discussions found throughout the first three sections clearly inform those found in the last.

The editors are to be commended for integrating the papers and discussion in the manner they've chosen. Moreover, the introduction by Peter Haydon renders a very solid summary of all the papers and highlights most of the major themes or maritime issues which

they address. For those interested in Canadian maritime policy the introduction alone is worth the price of the book. Those looking to embark on new research projects would do well to mull over its discussion and consider the many unmined seams it identifies. One will have to read it oneself to find out what those themes are.

The essays on Canada's maritime problems and policy revisit the tension between internationalism and parochialism (coastal defence). Dan Middlemiss in "Money, Missions, Machinations or Madness" argues that, notwithstanding the weight of logic or history, the exigencies of our current fiscal plight means the politically soft target of the defence budget and the navy can only anticipate significant hardships. Similar sombre notes are struck elsewhere.

Admiral Hill's reconsideration of the term "Medium Maritime Power" is of particular value to Canadian readers. The term is not original to him, but he certainly popularized it with his *Maritime Strategy for Medium Powers* (Croom Helm, 1986). Hill revisits the term to find it currently bantered about with little rigour. His suggestions for reconsidering its applicability when used in reference to countries like Canada is very sobering. Canadian foreign policy literature has employed the term "middle power" in a different context to explain policy thrusts since the end of World War II. Once a helpful fixer, reliable middle-man etc., we are no longer either a "middle" country nor can we be classed a "power" in anything like its classical usage. Middle "entity" or "minor power" may appear too insulting to our foreign policy elite but Hill clearly intimates the term "middle maritime power" cannot be truly applicable to Canada. Hill has more clearly expressed his misgivings about Canada elsewhere (*Naval Review*, July 1995, pp. 268-70), but the implications of his piece here should sober the perceptive. Many might agree with him that Canada has dropped the ball, yet even if one does not, it is clear that across the Atlantic the perception is growing of Canada's dec/iw's/tendencies. Our naval purpose and wider global position are clearly at issue. It is a sour note that should not be missed. If Canadian maritime interests are to be assured in peace and war we shall require our traditional allies, but that also demands that our traditional friends judge us worthy of attention. Our new

frigates may provide that entry to the big-leagues for only a moment.

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Walter W. Jaffee. *Appointment in Normandy*. Palo Alto, CA: The Glencannon Press, 1995. xvi + 572 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, figures, appendices, index. US \$31.95, cloth; ISBN 0-9637586-4-0.

The construction of 2,710 Liberty ships during World War II has been described as the greatest shipbuilding effort in history. The contribution these ships made to the war effort has been similarly praised. That one of the two remaining US-owned Liberty ships could successfully undertake a voyage from San Francisco to Europe and back, fifty-one years after being launched, is a remarkable achievement for a vessel belonging to a class once disparagingly dismissed as having been "built by the mile and cut off by the yard."

Appointment in Normandy describes the momentous voyage of the *Jeremiah O'Brien*, a trip made all the more remarkable by the fact that the ship's crew was an average age of seventy, the master being a spry seventy and the Chief Engineer three years older. The voyage took five months and five days. Its purpose was to take part in the ceremonies marking the fiftieth anniversary of the D-Day landings in Normandy. For the *Jeremiah O'Brien*, it was a return visit to this theatre of war, having made eleven trips to the beaches in June 1944.

This is Walter Jaffee's second book about this particular ship. On this nostalgic voyage, he served as Chief Officer and as such, was in a perfect position to chronicle the day-to-day activities right down to the most trivial detail. Thus, readers are provided with the names of every pilot and every tug employed during the voyage.

Built in Portland, Maine in 1943, the *Jeremiah O'Brien* was moth-balled three years later and remained in that state until 1979, when she was given to the National Liberty Ship Memorial organization to become a living museum ship on the San Francisco waterfront. Since then the venerable Liberty has been lovingly restored and maintained by an enthusi-

astic group of volunteers. Three times a year excursions were made around San Francisco Bay. However, when it came to meeting the strict requirements for a North Atlantic crossing, it was a different matter. Another formidable obstacle was finding the necessary funding for such a voyage, with good will as the only cargo.

While the US Coast Guard were reluctant to relax the rules, corporate and individual donors bent over backwards to lighten the financial burden. The author has written a full account of a successful enterprise rather than a story of a momentous sea voyage. This is not unexpected, considering the passage to Europe and back was uneventful and accomplished in almost perfect weather. As if to compensate, author Jaffee has gone to great lengths describing the overwhelming welcome the crew received in the various ports of call and of the receptions, banquets and the sightseeing trips taken in. One short chapter is devoted to the ship's participation in the cross-channel armada to the Normandy beaches, while many more pages describe a visit to Cherbourg, Rouen and a voyage down the Seine in the company of a number of "tall ships" (*sic*).

Appointment in Normandy is profusely illustrated with photographs of everything from pubs to paddle-steamers. Newspaper stories and text of speeches are freely quoted. Obviously the aim is to provide the crew and other interested parties with a documented souvenir of the enterprise. There are a few minor errors. I would have thought an experienced mariner such as the author would have included Nova Scotia as part of Canada, (p.397) I wonder, too, about the accuracy of the statement that large number of trawlers were encountered on the Grand Banks without lights, (p.400) On the contrary, it is this reviewer's experience that trawlers are usually a blaze of lights.

Overall, this is an interesting book about a ship which ironically had boiler trouble on her maiden voyage, but survived to add another remarkable chapter to its history fifty years later. Unfortunately it is far too long for the subject matter, filled as it is with too much extraneous trivia. In short, it is a book to be borrowed from a library rather than purchased.

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