BOOK REVIEWS

Frank Broeze (ed.). *Maritime History at the Crossroads: A Critical Review of Recent Historiography.* "Research in Maritime History," No. 9; St. John's, NF: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1995. xxi + 294 pp. US $15 (free to members of the IMEHA), paper; ISBN 0-9695885-8-5.

This collection of thirteen essays sets out to provide a review of the recent literature in maritime history. The inspiration for the compendium grew out of the "New Directions in Maritime History" conference held at Fremantle, Western Australia in 1993. Included in the collection are historiographies for eleven countries (or portions thereof): Australia, Canada, China, Denmark, Germany, Greece, India, The Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire, Spain, and the United States. One essay deals with South America, another concerns maritime labour. The editor is to be commended for including papers on a diversity of maritime nations. The seemingly serious national omissions, such as Great Britain, France, and Norway are the result of lack of space or the recent publication of historiographical surveys elsewhere.

The editor opens with an introduction that stresses the internationalism of the new maritime history, though he also concedes that much of this ideology is mere rhetoric. Only two of the papers, Ortiz-Sotelo's work on Ibero-American maritime history and Trainor's essay on labour historiography, deal with more than one country. Instead the last twenty years of historical publications have produced many parallel developments along national lines. This collection itself is an excellent example of the comparative scarcity of truly international study.

The nations with the most fully developed maritime historiographies reviewed here appear to be The Netherlands and Denmark with Canada an inconsistent third. Both Bruijn's and Holm's essays analyze an abundance of scholarship that is the envy of maritime historians in other countries. But as they readily admit, this writing has two major limitations. Most of it is written from a national (or local) perspective. And perhaps more importantly for the future of maritime history (and its funding), this literature has made little impact on main stream historiography. Not only in The Netherlands or in Denmark but virtually everywhere (with the possible exception of Great Britain), maritime history is on the periphery of historical scholarship.

Of all the national historiographies surveyed in this volume, perhaps Canada's has had the most spectacular growth in the last twenty years. Most of this work has been as a result of the research done by the Atlantic Canada Shipping Project at Memorial University in St. John's. Canadian maritime history scarcely existed before the advent of the project. But while the nineteenth-century shipping of Atlantic Canada has been analyzed, much remains to be done. Work has only begun on twentieth century topics (naval history excepted). Coastal shipping has yet to attract much serious scholarship. Even the maritime side of that hardy perennial of Canadian historiography, the fur trade, has yet to get much attention. Fischer provides a useful commentary on these developments, though for Canadian Great Lakes studies, readers should also consult the back numbers of *Ontario History.*

Greece has also had a recent flowering of maritime historiography, although as Harlaftis readily points out, much still has to be done. Greek maritime historians face various problems such as funding difficulties and secretive vessel owners but there appears to be a profitable future for Greek maritime studies. In contrast, American maritime (or "Oceanic," to use Flayhart's terminology) history is older and better developed. Yet, paradoxically, in the last decade it does not seem to have been as dynamic as the new Greek or Canadian studies. Readers should note that Flayhart does not discuss research on the American side of the Great Lakes nor does he deal with the periodical literature.

The editors of the "Research in Maritime History" series should consider issuing updates of *Maritime History at the Crossroads* at regular intervals. Perhaps the next instalment could include papers on fields such as business history,

the shipbuilding, and maritime law as well as more traditional national studies of Great Britain, Japan, France, and Norway.

M. Stephen Salmon
Ottawa, Ontario

Gordon Read and Michael Stammers (comp.). *Guide to the Records of the Merseyside Maritime Museum*. Research in Maritime History No. 8; St. John's: International Maritime Economic History Association and the Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1995. xiii + 153 pp. US $15 (free to members of IMEHA), paper; ISBN 0-9695885-7-7.

One of the greatest services an archive repository can provide is to publish an overall guide to its holdings. Too much information is locked in the heads of curatorial staff or held only on finding aids in the repositories themselves. What is true of archives in general is particularly pertinent where maritime sources are concerned. The complexity and diversity of the records require researchers to inform themselves to an unusual degree and in this they are too rarely assisted by published guides and surveys. The compilers comment on the pioneering work of Peter Mathias and Allan Pearsall, *Shipping: A Survey of Historical Records* (1971), and it is a pity that it has taken so long for a work to appear which in any way supplements or supersedes it. The appearance of this guide is therefore especially welcome.

The guide is arranged in four chapters. The first describes records deposited or presented under the Public Records Act 1958, principally the Liverpool Register of Merchant Ships. Chapter 2 deals with records of official organizations, but it is effectively a description of the records of Mersey Docks and Harbour Board. Chapter 3 deals with the records of trade and employers' organizations including marine insurance associations. Chapter 4, which accounts for nearly half the guide, is devoted to shipowners' records. It is this last chapter, with its brief histories and bibliographical references, which is of particular interest. It must be said, however, that sometimes the slightness of the records seems at odds with its authoritative context. Does the Anchor Line merit an entry, one might ask, on the basis of a ship's newspaper, a poster and two sheets of headed notepaper? When the bulk of the Anchor Line records are elsewhere (Glasgow University) might it not have been useful to include this information, as has been done with the Cunard archive at Liverpool University?

If the ephemeral has sometimes been exalted, there is much of substance elsewhere in the guide. With few exceptions, the museum has secured the records of Liverpool shipowners, along with those of the port authority. If the guide seems in any way incomplete, it is because a second volume is in preparation to deal with the smaller and more diverse collections. Some failings are candidly acknowledged, such as the description of the John Holt & Co. collections (three hundred boxes), which the compilers would happily have expanded. But archival collections do not stand still and any guide must face the fact that it can only reflect a stage of development. Together Read and Stammers have an exceptional knowledge of the maritime history and archives of Merseyside; we now have reason to be grateful that they shared it with us.

L.A. Ritchie
London, England

R.B. Prud'homme van Reine (intro. & ed.); G.M.W. Acda, L.M. Akveld, R. Daalder, P.C. van Royen (eds.). *Schepen bij de vleet: maritieme musea in Nederland en België*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1996. 234 pp., photographs and illustrations (b+w, colour). / 46, -/920 Bfr, cloth; ISBN 90-6707-390-3.

The concept of this amazingly successful book is quite simple. It is a guide to all thirty-three Dutch and three Belgian maritime museums, including both national museums, like the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, and local general ones having an important maritime collection. Each museum is described in a couple of pages, written by the resident expert. This leads necessarily to some unevenness in the treatment of the various museums, but given the differences between the museums and their holdings, a certain degree of unevenness seems inevitable anyway. Most descriptions provide coverage of local or regional maritime history as well as the history of the museum and its current holdings. It is clear that much care has been given to the illustrations,

which show museum buildings, exhibits, museum ships and images of local maritime activities. Lists of other museums with maritime objects and of museum ships complete the book.

The surprising effect of the book as a whole is that it offers much more than just a guide to museums. Dutch maritime history in particular is described from the diversity of the museum holdings, which focus one moment on building ships, then on fishing or sailing, one moment on the national level, then on the regional or local level, and which *inter alia* include a number of specialized museums that focus on a diversity of subjects — navies, rescue, towage, beachcombers, inland shipping and dredging. These different perspectives result in a rich tapestry of many aspects of maritime culture.

The short introduction on maritime museums in the Low Countries describes how this richness came about. After a few museums of national importance were founded in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, the regional museums followed in the 1930s, then the local museums with an average founding date about 1950, and finally the specialized museums which are on average again some twenty years younger. Museum ships are the most recent development. If Belgium shows the same diversity, it is on a reduced numerical scale. This reflects the fact that Belgium is a less maritime nation than The Netherlands Even so, the division of maritime museums over the two nations seems skewed.

This book is a must for anyone interested in maritime history who plans to visit the Low Countries. The richness of description and illustration will make this guide interesting even for those readers of Dutch who do not plan to leave their armchair.

Lex Heerma van Voss
Diemen, The Netherlands

Alan Maitland (comp. & intro.). *Favourite Sea Stories from Seaside Al.* Toronto: Viking, 1996. xi + 323 pp., illustrations. $27.99, cloth; ISBN 0-670-86538-9; $16.99, paper; ISBN 0-14-025193-6 (Penguin).

Before retiring in 1993, veteran radio announcer and broadcaster Alan Maitland worked at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for over four decades. For the last nineteen years of that career he co-hosted the public-affairs programme *As It Happens,* where, in the guise of Fireside Al and Front Porch A1, he entertained listeners with readings from the pages of world literature. Since his retirement, Maitland, who now lives in Nova Scotia, has been producing well-received anthologies apparently compiled from the large body of material that he assembled for his radio readings.

For his latest book, Maitland adopts a new persona, Seaside A1, and turns his attention to the literature of the sea. It is obvious, however, that he has chosen not to produce yet another traditional genre collection comprising recycled tales of maritime derring-do (although he does wisely include Stephen Leacock's classic spoof of the sea story, "Soaked in Seaweed"). Instead, he sets out to find less familiar works that offer varied perspectives on our relationship with the sea. He also looks beyond the short story to other forms, including memoirs, sketches, excerpts from novels, and even fairy tales. The result is an eclectic collection of twenty-three pieces by nineteen different Canadian and international writers. Perhaps in an effort to unify such a diverse selection, Maitland begins and ends the anthology with pieces by Emily Carr and also intersperses several brief selections from Virginia Woolfs *The Waves* to serve as what he calls a "lyrical framework."

Maitland's commendable determination to challenge his readers' assumptions about what constitutes a sea story leads him to include a number of striking works. Among the highpoints are Lesley Choyce's "Far Enough Island," L. Rossiter's "Ebb Tide," J.M. Synge's "The Aran Islands: First Visit," and "Deadman," an extract from E. Annie Proulx's novel *The Shipping News.* In fact, the latter piece is so vivid that virtually everything else in the collection pales by comparison. Readers unfamiliar with Proulx's novel might even be tempted to put Maitland's book aside for a time in order to devour *The Shipping News* in its entirety, but that is precisely what a good anthology will do: prompt us to explore new realms of writing on our own.

Unfortunately, not every selection is a success. Maitland's editorial judgement occasionally falters. Especially disappointing are unexpectedly weak efforts from three major writers: "The Ocean Spray," an excerpt from Malcolm Lowry's

unfinished novel *October Ferry to Gabriola,* "The Lighthouse of Les Sanguinaires" by Alphonse Daudet, and Jane Urquhart's "The Boat." Yet such lapses do not sabotage the anthology. More often than not, Maitland proves himself to be a discerning editor, and he has managed to compile a generally diverting collection of sea-related writing. Those expecting to encounter work by the genre's standbys might be disappointed, but more adventurous readers will discover more than a few rewards.

John Bell
Ottawa, Ontario

Ekhart Berckenhagen. *Schiffahrt in der Weltliteratur: Ein Panorama aus fiinf Jahrtausenden.* Hamburg: Ernst Kabel Verlag for the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, 1995. 334 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, index. DM 98, cloth; ISBN 3-8225-0338-X.

This book attempts to trace and link maritime elements in popular literature within a chronological framework spanning five millennia. A selection of themes illustrating the enduring mystique of the sea and seafaring begins with gods, sirens, and mermaids. The imagery of spirits of the sea, as developed by European novelists and poets, is then traced to the present day. Among the ancients we also find Noah, Gilgamesh, and the theme of the epic journey. It points to Homer's *Odyssey* and the saga of the Argonauts and to a survey of literary works that utilize the Odysseus myth. Similarly, we are guided from the Pharaohs to Alexander the Great and thence to Virgil's *Aeneid.* The strength of these chapters is in the delineation of connections with later literature. The exception comes with a cursory glance at northern medieval Europe. Vikings, Normans, and Hanseatics are the reference points, but the attempt to trace themes over time seems rather strained.

Returning to the Mediterranean, though, we discover the *Histories* of Procopius, "Greek fire," and contemporary accounts of the Crusades. Advancements in navigation techniques, together with the rise of Islam, prompt a search for sea routes to the Far East and produce more European heroes for maritime literature, from Henry the Navigator to Magellan. Andrea Doria emerges in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean, his exploits later dramatized by Schiller. At Lepanto Cervantes appears, and with his Don Quixote we enter the world of fantasy literature already inhabited by Sinbad and Rabelais' Gargantua. Highlights of the next chapter include the Spanish Armada, freedom of the seas, European maritime expansion, corsairs, and mutineers. These themes lead directly to a distinct literary genre: the adventure novel, in which we encounter Swift's Gulliver and Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. In the nineteenth century shipwreck becomes motif and metaphor in the poetry of Tieck and Baudelaire, logs of famous voyages provide the basis for novels, and still more legendary figures are immortalized. The acknowledgment here of authors such as Lermontov, Tolstoi, and Shiki bodes well for a broader look at world literature. Yet the perspective remains markedly western. From the era of iron and steam comes the lore of blockade runners, slavers, and fisher folk. A short section on *Seemacht* in popular literature makes scant mention of its contribution to western imperialism, while nationalist movements escape discussion entirely. Instead, another theme is introduced: the disaster of the *Titanic.* Treatment of the twentieth century focuses on war at sea: submarines, the battle of Jutland, and the scuttling of the German fleet. The interwar period of globetrotters and luxury liners provides a short respite from the action before we are summoned away to evacuate Dunkirk and sink the *Bismarck.*

The author concludes with his own postwar odyssey — a series of pleasure cruises and visits to nautical shrines, though not before offering an inventory of films containing maritime motifs or themes. Except for Eisenstein's *Battleship Potempkin* and a handful of Japanese films, this consists almost exclusively of American and western European productions and is a poor substitute for a wider discussion of other thematic considerations. The result is a book that acknowledges Errol Flynn and Maureen O'Hara yet has no place for Henry Hudson or Walter Raleigh or Grace O'Malley. It is, nevertheless, nicely illustrated with maps and photographs that blend well with the text. It also contains a number of misprints. As a selective survey of world literature it includes a smattering of references to authors who are not western European or American. A range of nautical themes and motifs in literature, some

dating to antiquity, are shown to have withstood the test of time, leaving the reader to ponder how their perpetuation has affected or has been affected by the course of history.

John D. Fudge
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Lawrence Suid. *Sailing on the Silver Screen: Hollywood and the U.S. Navy*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xiv + 307 pp., photographs, appendices, notes, essay on sources, index. US $45, Cdn $62.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-787-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

A student recently confessed that all he knew about navies and the sea he had learned from Hollywood. Hours of breath-taking, unflinching reality, punctuated with glamour, derring-do and romance had convinced him that movies were better than books. This book will give him a jolt.

Sailing on the Silver Screen focuses on the US Navy's symbiotic relationship with Hollywood. Begun during the infancy of the film industry prior to World War I, the relationship continued through such recruiting specials as *Top Gun* (1986), *The Hunt for Red October* (1990), and *A Clear and Present Danger* (1994). Covering more than a hundred films, some utterly forgettable, Lawrence Suid's book reveals the mutual exploitation in which Hollywood and the navy indulged. "As long as the Navy protects the nation's shores from attack," Suid concludes, "it will want to maintain its positive image in motion pictures." One suspects as well that the Navy/Hollywood nexus will prevail as long as the US Navy functions as an instrument of American power-projection abroad. If movie-makers needed actual ships and equipment to authentic their tales and provide something novel and thrilling to the layman, the navy needed movies with "the right stuff to sell itself to the American people. Self-interest drove both partners in the deal. As the producer of *Toral Toral Toral* (1970) commented crassly: "There is only one reason why studios make films and that is to make money. Nothing else." He did, however, intimate that the industry had a social conscience. As the producer of *Men of the Fighting Lady* (1954) explained: "Any time you glorify a service, that's just wonderful. You can have anything they can afford to give you" — in this case two operational aircraft carriers with crews and planes. To dramatize the World War II role of amphibious assault ships the Navy lent Universal Studios two hundred ships to support ten thousand marines in a mock landing for *Away All Boats* (1954). The Navy paid the $2.5 million tab for air operations in support of *Toral Toral Toral*.

The Navy hoped for a good investment. It used Hollywood to sell its own image, to support its appeal for new equipment, to glorify and justify its history and ethos. Film-making in wartime or periods of tension tended to drum up confidence in the maritime supremacy of the USA, or to warn of the dangers of unpreparedness; in times of peace it appealed to the high ideals of altruism and national glory. Lines from *Submarine* (1928) became a tacit theme-song: "The Fleet fares forth in times of peace, with all the majesty of war, to preserve the freedom of the seas." In all things, public image remained paramount. As a Navy's director of Public Affairs said of the movie *Towering Inferno* (1976), the navy men "look good, act well and have short haircuts." Or in an equally archetypal statement, an evaluation of *Navy Blue and Gold* (1937), we see "the good old Navy spirit, the good old Navy fight, the good old Navy girl...the good old parades...the good old retired seadog...and all the rest of the good old good olds."

The US Navy seldom demanded historical accuracy; plausibility sufficed provided it did not impinge on foreign policy towards friendly powers. Thus antisubmarine scripts for *U-boat* (1932) and *The Enemy Below* (1957) were purged of anything offensive to Germany, while *No Man is an Island* (1962), the story of a navy man who refused to surrender when the Japanese overran Guam, played down or eliminated terror and torture; instead, one must "portray the Japanese military of 1941-45...simply as professionals doing their jobs..." As for truth in movies, I told my student, what you see is what you get.

Suid's fascinating and well-researched book provides a wealth of information, but the price is simply too steep.

Michael L. Hadley
Victoria, British Columbia

F.B. Cockett. *Early Sea Painters 1660-1730.* Woodbridge, Suffolk and Wappingers Falls, NY: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995. 142 pp., plates (colour, b+w), index. US $49.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85149-230-5.

Diana Villar. *John Wilson Carmichael 1799-1868.* Portsmouth, Hampshire: Carmichael and Sweet Limited, 1995. 112 pp., plates (colour, b+w), illustrations, bibliography, references. £16.95 (airmail, add £2.50), cloth; ISBN 1-898644-05-5.

Ships in art have represented something more than mere vessels, from the image of a boat in Ancient Egypt representing the passage of the soul on the river of eternal life to the political commentary of Turner's marine paintings. Cultures have, for various political, social, economic and religious purposes utilized the ship as a symbol for larger issues, a leitmotif of mankind's endeavours. Thus the Dutch, in the Golden Age of their maritime trade, employed the image of the shipwreck as a commentary on the frailty of life and the timorous condition of the soul on earth. It is therefore surprising that the texts reviewed here largely fail to consider this rich tradition to marine painting, revealing a serious weakness not only in their understanding of the iconographie traditions of the genre, but of the political and social mechanisms influencing the art form.

The publisher makes clear in its advertising material that F.B. Cockett's *Early Sea Painters* is produced and merchandised for those interested in "collecting" English marine paintings of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The book consists of a series of expositions on the stylistic traits of various marine artists from the period, capped by a mini catalogue raisonné for each painter. While Cockett does help to distinguish the work of a number of artists who were formerly lost to the "school" of Isaac Sai/maker or the Van de Ve/de's studio, there is little insightful analysis into the history of maritime art in the period, or of its relationship to the Dutch traditions from which it drew so heavily. No mention is made of British economic and political ties to the Dutch Republic (through figures like the Dutch *Stadholder* William III) and how these links influenced competing visions of maritime power. Nor is much made of how the English visually borrowed the Dutch tradition of seeing shipping as a "uniting principle of the state" (by importing Dutch trained artists) in their drive to echo the Dutch as a maritime power. The rise in the popularity of maritime art amongst the English aristocracy and merchant class points to how these groups had come to realize the importance of nautical scenes as political and cultural propaganda, notably via paintings of British naval vessels. These naval paintings helped support the expansionist views of England, views in which military might was seen as buttressing mercantile ambitions. The issues around the English demand for Dutch trained marine artists to promote this maritime "authority" are barely touched upon by Cockett, particularly the fact that Dutch artists were only too willing to seek new markets (as with the move of Willem Van de Velde to England in 1672/73) given the vagaries of a bloated art market in The Netherlands.

Diana Villar's biography of the nineteenth century maritime artist John Wilson Carmichael suffers from the limitations one often finds with small-press publications. Villar is an author who literally reads too much genial biography into Carmichael's face, (pp.43, 53) avoiding probing critical and historical analysis for a positive reflection on her great-grandfather. Carmichael's artistic ambitions, contemporary critics' attacks on his production of "pot-boiler" images, and his later difficulties in breaking into the London art market, all point to his being an eminently interesting study on the vagaries of nineteenth century English artistic life. Villar glosses over these aspects (at times detracting but always revealing) of Carmichael's artistic temperament in favour of descriptions of his dwellings, discussions on minor family issues, or needless commentary on the advertisements of the paint manufacturer Winsor and Newton. Only briefly, in a tantalizingly short section on the Grace Darling rescue, does the author get close to Carmichael's artistic situation, effectively noting his hurried attempts to market a painting and print of the event in order to capitalize on the public appetite for images of marine disasters. Greater consideration could have been paid to Carmichael's own writings on marine painting and painting techniques, his endeavours to profit from the British fascination with the Franklin expedition, and his at-

tempts to market images to the rising sea-side resort trade. More of this type of analysis would have moved the text beyond a state of familial biography. Villar's text also suffers from numerous grammatical and structural problems which judicious editing should have caught.

Villar's and Cockett's failure to deal with the complex political, iconographie and cultural traditions affecting marine artists and their work limits the value of the two books for a student of maritime culture. These books also point to a prevailing myopic attitude towards maritime imagery, one which continues to place a purely "aesthetic" perspective on the image of the ship.

Gerard Curtis
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Heather Harbord. *Nootka Sound and the Surrounding Waters of Maquinna.* Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1996. 122 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, sidebars, appendices, index. $11.95, paper; ISBN 1-895811-03-1.

This handbook provides information for anyone interested in exploring the waters of Nootka Sound by boat, canoe, kayak, or coastal freighter, or the roads, villages, camping spots, and hiking trails of the adjacent part of Vancouver Island and other islands off the coast. Included is a brief history of this interesting area, a detailed description of the routes travelled by the historic freighter, MV *Uchuck III,* descriptions of road trips, recreational facilities, and information for boaters and fishers. There is a very colourful cover picture of Nootka Sound and many black and white photos in the text, though no credits are given for the pictures. There are a number of small inserts throughout the book which provide tidbits of information — a pleasing feature. The book is sturdily bound, but the middle of an otherwise very clear two-page map is cramped into the binding. This has been remedied through the insertion of a smaller map which accompanies an account of a day trip to Tahsis and shows the area obliterated in the main map.

Heather Harbord, an avid kayaker, obviously wants to share her affection for this part of the world, but she wants those who may be attracted to tread tenderly. There are numerous suggestions for being sensitive to the environment, to aboriginal concerns, and to the local people. Indeed the tone assumes anything but sensitive behaviour to be unthinkable! In presenting this happy blend of historical fact, anecdotal information, and practical advice, she evokes a strong sense of place. Her references to works cited in the bibliography will lure many on to further reading. The appendices with information about accommodations, facilities, fishing locations and times will be indispensable to adventurers, but even the armchair traveller can derive pleasure from this very attractive and interesting book.

Morag Maclachlan
Vancouver, British Columbia

Hughina Harold. *Totem Poles and Tea.* Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 1996. 218 pp., maps, photographs. $17.95, paper; ISBN 1-895811-11-2.

Hughina Harold's warm and humourous memoir *Totem Poles and Tea* describes her years as a teacher and nurse in a Kwakiutl Indian village called Mamalilikulla. The book begins in 1935 with Mrs. Harold's graduation from nursing school, obtaining a job in Mamalilikulla with the Canadian federal government's Department of Indian Affairs and ends in 1937 with her return to Victoria. *Totem Poles and Tea* contains thirty-seven chapters, two to eight pages each in length, apparently arranged in chronological order and illustrated by fifty-nine black-and-white photographs from the era.

Each chapter describes a character, such as Rattlesnake Joe who preferred eulachon grease to conventional medicine, and events such as Lucy, the village cow, knocking over desks in the schoolroom, or an experience such as a ride through stormy seas in a dug-out canoe. Many anecdotes are humourous, such as when a neighbour's six-hole privy blew away in a storm, or when the genteel English ladies took tea with the parson while a man installing an oil-burning stove cursed and banged loudly in the kitchen. Intriguing chapter titles, such as "The reef, the privy and the mountain peak" or "Horse pants and rattle snake boots," beckon the reader onward.

The author's use of the present tense and her fluid and evocative style create an intimate ambience as if the reader is eavesdropping through a time tunnel. Mrs. Harold quotes the exact words

of her patients, students and neighbours. This leaves the reader wondering whether the quotations were recorded fifty years before in the author's letters to her mother, or reconstructed from memory. Clarification on this matter would increase the book's value to historians.

The "Mamalilikulla Indian Day School" and tuberculosis preventorium served ninety-five native people. Mrs. Harold taught and cared for the sick in the village and nearby islands. Two Kwakiutl boys would present a typical request for help by appearing unexpectedly at the dock in a small gas boat, and conveying the author to a sick person at an unknown location. Occasionally a family would honour Mrs. Harold by asking her to prepare a body for burial. Miss Kathleen O'Brien managed the household and finances while Miss Kate Dibben nursed tuberculosis patients and led church services. The three women served the native people with compassion and concern. Miss O'Brien, later awarded membership in the Order of the British Empire for her work) and Miss Dibben figure prominently in the book with the author referring to them as her "guardian angels." Mrs. Harold brings the reader close to these dedicated women with their "stout British hearts." (32) It was their custom to have a cup of tea each day to mark the author's transition from her day role as teacher to that of nurse after school which gave the book its title.

The book's shortcomings are minor and easily rectified in what one hopes will be one of many reprintings. A table of contents would be convenient, since so many of the chapters are worth re-reading. A map lacking a scale or compass shows only the village and à small portion of Vancouver Island; a map showing Mamalilikulla in relation to the rest of the province of British Columbia would be useful to many readers. Photographs effectively illustrate almost every aspect of the memoir from totem poles and boats to people and animals. Most are clear and many show activities such as paddling, boat docking, splitting wood, or building. The inclusion of such photographs with more conventional posed groups adds interest to the book and is a boon to historians. However, several of the captions are enigmatic.

The author retains the focus of her book by wisely avoiding anthropological discussions about Kwakiutl culture. Indeed, the impact of what she saw, felt, and heard would have been weakened by any such addition. The publisher's foreword refers appropriately to *A Kwakiutl Village and School* by H. Wolcott (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967) for those seeking additional details. Mrs. Harold's well-written memoir thoroughly attains its stated purpose: "My visions of a bygone era were fixed and clear...I knew I had witnessed things which should not be forgotten." (vi) *Totem Poles and Tea* provides a valuable first-hand account to historians and a delightful armchair bridge to the remote and distant past for the casual reader."

Suzanne Spohn
Lions Bay, British Columbia

Jean Cantlie Stewart. *The Sea Our Heritage: British Maritime Interests Past and Present.* Rev. ed.; Keith, Banffshire: Rowan Books, 1995. viii + 304 pp. illustrations, bibliography, index. £8.95, [Cdn $20 plus $5 s+h; order from Mr. Ronald Cantlie, 3804 11th Street, Calgary, Alberta T2T 3M4], paper; ISBN 0-9509932-3-9.

The author has spent seven years researching this book and one can well believe it. It is a densely written work, by no means easy to read, which sets out to answer a number of questions posed succinctly at the outset: "what is maritime policy; what part did such a policy play in the life, development and survival of Great Britain and what part should it play in the fiiture?" (v) The endeavour appears to be based primarily on secondary sources and on a range of interviews. Yet coverage is both extensive and thorough. In a range of self-contained chapters she reviews all aspects of Britain's maritime history and experience from the time of Henry VIII — naval and merchant shipping; trading regulations; sea-going experience in, between, and subsequent to two world wars; shipbuilding and ship repairing; the fishing industry; maritime invisibles (insurance, etc.) and the evils of the European Community are all discussed in mind-numbing detail, with a wealth of statistics, lists of key points and cogent arguments. Certainly the book can be recommended as a comprehensive, and relatively compact, review of Britain's maritime history. Those wishing to use it in this way will be greatly helped by a most extensive and detailed index — fourteen

pages of close print.

On the whole, this tale of Britain's maritime decline is a dismal one, with many contributing factors including the repeal of the Navigation Laws with, eventually, a disastrous effect on British carrying trade and economy, the continued reduction of the Royal Navy and the privatization of its dockyards, the disastrous decline of British shipyards, with a history of poor management and frequent strikes, and the constraining influence of the European community. All these, and other, factors have contributed to a significant loss in national (and private) income which Britain appears to have been unable to replace.

What then, is the conclusion to all this inquiry? The author suggests, with modest optimism, that "the British are not out of the maritime race....Can a great nation, surrounded by the sea, nowhere far from its sound, smell and open horizon, be relegated to a landward attachment to the continent reached only through a Channel tunnel or... a foreign ferry?" (263) This is certainly a hopeful approach but, to give it substance, she calls for "a change of attitude on the part of the British people towards their maritime interests, together with a revival of will by government, parliament, people and press and a determination...not to be cut off from the open sea which is Britain's lifeline." (281) Yet a recent visit by this reviewer to Merseyside, where not a vessel was to be seen in the river, docks or shipyards suggests that, for the present at any event, this "change of attitude" is not being manifested.

The overall merit of this book is as a work of reference, and as such, as noted at the outset of this review, it is a particularly demanding "read" — especially at one sitting. However, if there is interest in, or a need for, a study of some particular aspect of Britain's maritime history and development then this book would provide an admirable start, while the comprehensive bibliography could facilitate further inquiry. Nevertheless, for those of us, as did this reviewer, who grew up in a vigourous maritime environment, worked in busy shipyards, and served with the Royal Navy, one is left at the end with a sense of inspissated gloom and depression over the present maritime situation in Britain.

S. Mathwin Davis
Kingston, Ontario

Adrian Jarvis. *The Liverpool Dock Engineers.* Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, in Association with the Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1996. xxii + 264 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, end-map. £17.99, US $31.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7509-1093-3. Distributed in North America by Books International, Herndon, VA.

In his introduction to *The Liverpool Dock Engineers,* Adrian Jarvis acknowledges the debt all port historians owe to Gordon Jackson of the University of Strathclyde, whose "work virtually defines the subject." This judgement is doubtless correct, as anyone who has read *Grimsby and the New Haven Company* (1971); *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Social and Economic History* (1972); or *History and Archaeology of Ports* (1983) will know. But what Jarvis is too modest to admit is that his body of published work now places him alongside Jackson as the foremost historian of British ports of our time. Indeed, his work on the political/technological history of the Liverpool docks, begun with *Liverpool Central Docks 1799-1905* (Stroud, 1991), has forged an intellectual paradigm that future port historians will ignore at their peril.

Jarvis' new book, *The Liverpool Dock Engineers,* is a marvelous study that is all the more worthwhile for its contribution to both port studies and the histories of engineering and technology. The first detailed examination of the Liverpool dock engineers and their work, it provides a clear and concise overview of the way in which ideas about engineering and demands from users interacted to produce a unique port that, for most of the pre-1914 era, was the second busiest in all of the United Kingdom. The rise of the port has been documented by previous historians, but Jarvis helps us to comprehend a crucial part of the explanation for its growth: the impact of engineering and the relative efficiency of the sea-land interface. Given that Liverpool had few natural blessings as a port, it depended inordinately upon its dock engineers for artificial comparative advantages.

The Liverpool Dock Engineers is best read as a kind of sequel to his earlier volume. Many of the same themes recur, and a large number of the same individuals leap from the pages of both books. But where the first had a single set of

docks as a focus, this one enables Jarvis to pick and choose from a wide assortment of engineers of varying importance. His opening chapter, which introduces the reader to the professional origins of the most important dock engineers, is in my view the strongest single part of the book and could well serve as a model for this type of analysis. No serious reader will emerge from this section without a real grasp of the way in which engineering in the port developed.

But if *The Liverpool Dock Engineers* is in general a fine piece of work, I do have two minor quibbles. The first is that aside from chapters 1 and 5 ("The Staff in the Dock Yard and Their Work"), there is relatively little of the human element apparent in the narrative. This is surprising, given both the book's title and the author's obvious talent for making individuals come alive. The second is that Jarvis has not been well served in some regards by his publisher. The index is wholly inadequate, making the process of finding information far more tedious than necessary. Moreover, in some places the arguments are not as clear as they might have been, principally because no one was sufficiently ruthless with the red pen. I hasten to add, however, that this problem only occurs in subsidiary sections, not in the central part of the analysis.

These minor blemishes aside, *The Liverpool Dock Engineers* is an important, and sometimes a compelling, volume. It is bright, insightful and generally so free of jargon that even those uninitiated into the mysteries of engineering should have little trouble understanding the technical aspects. In short, this book truly establishes Adrian Jarvis' place at the very pinnacle of this generation's port historians. It deserves to be read by a wide range of scholars interested in the way ports developed in the nineteenth century.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

Anthony Burton. *The Rise and Fall of British Shipbuilding*. London: Constable, 1996. 272 pp., photographs, figures, references, bibliography, index. £12.95, paper; ISBN 0-09-475620-1.

Just as the title of this book is reminiscent of Gibbon's great study of the Roman Empire, its content also contains something of that famous work's moral tone. For while this is a book chronicling both the "Rise" and the "Fall" of British shipbuilding, it is clearly driven by a concern for the national implications and lessons inherent in the "Decline" not actually mentioned in the title. And not surprisingly — given that this is a British book written primarily for a British audience — the author assumes on the part of his readers a shared sense of regret, mixed with nostalgia, for the greatness Britain has lost. Thus he writes in the preface, after a short reference to the "hard facts" behind his subject, that "more than any other factor — loss of employment, loss of earnings opportunity — it is the lost pride that still hurts. Shipbuilding was never just another job: its demise was never just another closure." (10)

From the outset, then, the reader is given notice to expect something other than a dedicated critical analysis of the "hard facts", the social, political and economic cause and effect of the subject; and being so forewarned, this is, I think, fair enough. Fortunately, Anthony Burton, the author of numerous books including several novels, presents a very readable narrative, the scope of which ranges in time from the Sutton Hoo vessel to the latest generation of nuclear submarine. And as far as it goes — which is to say, in service of the general reader — it does offer relevant information and a general orientation. Of necessity, certain topics receive less coverage than any rigorous historical analysis would demand, but then again, the book is clearly meant to instill in the reader a sense of shipbuilding as an intrinsic part of British culture - from whence derives the author's feeling of lost pride. Burton is particularly fond of anecdote, personal accounts and correspondence as a means of propelling the narrative. This adds to the readability of the book, but also tends to blunt the critical edge of the work and even, at times, generates a distinct sense of digression. There are footnotes and figures, but these are kept to a bare minimum, providing appropriate credit or reference when required, while strictly avoiding the academic practice of presenting a bulwark of secondary, supporting research and textual commentary.

The book is organized into eleven chapters with evocative titles like "Rule Britannia," (wherein the story begins by transporting the reader to the launching of the Cunard liner *Queen*

Mary in 1934) "New Men, New Ways" and "The Last Chance." Such titles, together with the author's particular style, scope and emphasis, left me with the feeling that the book was a written equivalent of the sort of BBC documentary series often seen on public television (and it might well provide the basis for just such a programme if circumstances allowed). In fact, I could not help but feel that this was a work that truly deserved that perennial subtitle "a personal view."

Thus, readers with special interests in the subject will almost certainly take issue with aspects of the book — oversimplification and misplaced emphasis being the main sins here, as is also often the case with television programmes. This reviewer felt this most keenly in the author's coverage of the subject of science in the evolution of British naval architecture. For example, the very interesting convergence of forces and personalities which in England led to the creation of the Institution of Naval Architects is almost completely ignored. The *Captain* disaster receives mention but its many nuances and implications, and those of the subsequent investigation, (all of which has formed the subject of a recent Canadian Ph.D. thesis) are not even suggested. Sir Edward Reed, who was an important figure in both of these episodes and, indeed, in the general intellectual shift towards scientific practice in naval architecture, is mentioned, rather anecdotally, only as a champion of Froude's work. (146)

Nevertheless, the book ought to be read for what it is: a kind of impressionistic survey of a subject closely linked to the British historical imagination and national pride. The author's inclination is not hidden and the subject is addressed in a manner which will appeal strongly to the general reader — particularly if that reader shares the author's conviction that shipbuilding in Britain was "never just another job."

Garth Wilson
Ottawa, Ontario

Birger Nossum. *The Evolution of Dry Bulk Shipping 1945-1990.* Oslo, Norway: The Author, 1996. 346 pp., tables, graphs. US $60, NOK 400, hardback; ISBN 82-993969-0-5.

When Birger Nossum was employed by Fearnleys of Oslo in the early 1960s he was placed in charge of their "statistical office." Fearnleys, already at that time one of the world's leading shipbroking firms, saw the need for reliable information if they were to continue to play a part in the future. By combining material from official journals with information drawn from a large number of contacts, Nossum created (among others) *World Bulk Carriers, Large Tankers, World Bulk Trade, Fearnleys Review* and *Monthly Report.* These publications increased the information level in the sector and made basic data easily available. As a result, and for thirty-five years, Nossum secured a leading role for Fearnleys journals in the shipping market through continuous updating of the databases in a shipbroking environment.

Nevertheless, significant parts of Nossum's material was never published. When he retired a few years ago, Nossum wanted to find a way to make the best possible use of this material. In particular he wanted to focus on his favourite subject: the evolution — not to say revolution — which took place in the dry bulk sector after World War II. *The Evolution of Dry Bulk Shipping 1945-1990* is the successful outcome of his effort. It is a book that is packed with historical information.

In line with his periodical publications, Nossum has focused on separate major cargoes (iron ore, grain, coal, bauxite/alumina and phosphate rock). Such a structure makes it difficult to see the regional evolutions in a macro perspective, but it is instructive when it comes to demonstrating the major changes in the world economy over time. For example, by following the grain trade, the book gives a good overview of failed agricultural and economic policies. Similarly, developments in the coal and ore trade shows the changing structure of the world's heavy industries.

Nossum neither explains nor tries to explain what happened in the dry bulk sector. This book is merely a chronology of *what* happened. Those seeking explanations will not be satisfied. Another weakness is the lack of consistent references on how the huge mass of material was compiled. We are only given the impression that reports, magazines, official journals, newspapers, and last but not least, information from Nossum's contacts throughout the shipping society, were used to develop a comprehensive view over the

sector.

Nevertheless, *The Evolution of Dry Bulk Shipping 1945-1990* is a valuable source of information for those working within the field of economic history. Maritime historians focusing on post-war shipping would be especially interested in this work. In fact it is difficult to see how anyone could do without this valuable source of information on trade-flows, ports, vessels, cargoes, and so on. Nossum's excellent book clearly documents how the dry bulk market emerged as one of the leading shipping markets after World War II. It is therefore unfortunate for those of us who work with these kinds of questions that *The Evolution of Dry Bulk Shipping 1945-1990* is not available in ordinary book stores, for it has been published by the author himself. Those in need of a reliable source of what happened in the dry bulk sector between 1945 and 1990, should therefore contact Birger Nossum at Fearnleys in Oslo.

Anders Martin Fon
Borgheim, Norway

Eric de Mare. *The Canals of England.* Reprint of 1950 edition with foreword from 1987 edition; Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1996.124 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, maps, chronology, index. £9.99, US $17.95, paper; ISBN 0-86299-418-7. Distributed in North America by Books International, Herndon, V A .

The reprinting of a book first published over forty years ago presents two questions: How good was it to start with? Is it still good now?

It would be strange if so old a book did not contain errors exposed by more recent research. Lewery's *Narrow Boat Painting* and *Popular Art,* Hanson's *The Canal Boatmen* and Hadfield & Skempton's *William Jessop, Engineer* spring to mind as suggesting examples. This reflects no discredit on the author, but might have prompted the publisher to include a new introduction: without one we are left to believe that this is The Knowledge, when it is no longer so.

de Mare did not come of a rigourous school of historians. The text contains sloppy discrepancies of detail. On p.45 the Barton Swing Aqueduct was built in 1893, but in 1894 on p.61. On p.66 we are told the Rochdale Canal went to Todmorden: it did, but only *en route* to Sowerby Bridge. On p. 16, the Exeter Ship Canal was completed in 1544, whereas the date given on p.85 is 1563. On p.87, Leeds & Liverpool Canal short boats are given two different sizes, and lock sizes are equated with boat sizes, neglecting the over-length boats (like Liverpool-siders and 'Ampton boats) used on long levels.

Such criticisms miss the main point of the book. This is not a work of scholarly exegesis: it is itself a sacred text. The canal system of England had so suffered from its own myopia, and governmental failure to restrain the depredations of the railway industry that by World War II it was on the brink of extinction. Here, then, is an appeal for its saving from dereliction, both for use and for ornament. Probably the only book with which it may fairly be compared is Rolfs *Narrow Boat,* a text which has influenced, perhaps inspired, almost every canal-lover in England, this reviewer and de Mare included. Both books contain bits of guesswork presented as fact. They are also alike in that without them the English canal system might have disappeared entirely. In an age which was sweeping away the out-moded, Rolt gave obsolete canals an arcadian aura, while de Mare gave them aesthetic respectability.

de Mare was an excellent photographer, and used photographs as an integral part of his argument. Unfortunately, the standard of reproduction in this reprint, although quite good, falls short of the excellence required to convey the emotional power of his images. In terms of fact, they transmit the information, but this is not a book of fact: its appeal is to the heart, not the head.

It would be unfair to portray de Mare only as a romantic soul trying to buck the course of history by advocating the re-use of uneconomic canals. He makes many incisive observations, particularly when condemning Britain's total and consistent lack of integrated transport planning and her failure to update and develop inland waterways, which was in marked contrast to many other countries.

This is an historic text, and well worthy of re-issue. Its greatest merit is its illustration of where British canal preservation came from, and as source material for the conservation of a wider industrial heritage: Rolt and de Mare were movers and shakers in the pioneering stages. As a secondary work of canal history it is inaccurate and

outdated, but as a primary source for the study of the canal revival it is important, and as light reading on either subject it is highly enjoyable.

Adrian Jarvis
Liverpool, England

Terry K. Woods (comp.). *The Ohio & Erie Canal: A Glossary of Terms.* Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1995. 44 pp., photographs, figures. US $7, paper; ISBN 0-87338-522-5.

It is well known that canals played an integral role in the transportation and economic history of the United States in the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century and that the state of Ohio's canal system provided critical links between the eastern markets as well as connections to the Great Lakes and the Ohio and Mississippi River systems. The histories of most major canal systems in Ohio, including the Ohio & Erie Canal, and elsewhere have been well documented. So what does this slim volume add to the literature?

In *The Ohio & Erie Canal: A Glossary of Terms,* the purpose of author Terry Woods is simply to arrive at the most commonly used terms for structures, artifacts and other canal related items. As the basis for his selection of terms, the author relies upon the Ohio Board of Public Works Report of 1909. The volume includes a brief introduction, an alphabetical listing of approximately one hundred seventy primary entries with secondary entries listed, several photographs, and drawings. Common terms such as "aqueduct," "bow," "culvert," and "lock" are defined as are more unusual terms such as "puddle" (a mixture of gravel and clay used to seal lock and aqueduct foundations) and "medicine spoon" (a bag or box of manure or sawdust used to plug boat leaks). Throughout, the author adds instructive comments comparing the construction techniques on the Ohio & Erie with other Ohio and nearby canals.

In a glossary such as this the photographs and drawings can be extremely valuable to the researcher, especially one unfamiliar with canal terminology. Included here are drawings of a typical foundation, three-cabin freighter, lock, paddle, regulating channel, and wasteway. The handful of photographs are also useful in illustrating items defined.

Woods brings to this work a background in mechanical engineering and years of research and publication on canal engineering and history. The major contribution of this volume is its uniqueness and value as a handy reference tool. I have not been able to locate any other similar publications for the Ohio & Erie Canal, and that alone is important. I have no major criticisms of what Woods intended. I would hope, however, that future editions will include a brief history of the Ohio & Erie Canal, a map of its route, and many more illustrations and photographs. I recommend the volume to canal historians, canal enthusiasts, and local and regional historical collections.

Robert Graham
Bowling Green, Ohio

Gene Eric Salecker. *Disaster on the Mississippi: The* Sultana *Explosion, April 27, 1865.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xiii + 346 pp., figures, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $32.95, Cdn $45.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-739-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The story of the *Sultana* rests at the intersection of two very popular strands of history: shipwrecks and the American Civil War. In the days that followed Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House, and the assassination of President Lincoln, the boilers of the *Sultana* exploded, killing somewhere near 1,700 to 1,750 of the nearly 2,300 people aboard. Most of those lost were prisoners of war returning to the North from Andersonville and other Confederate camps. Had only the crew and paying passengers been killed, the *Sultana* would have been just another in a set of accidents in the bloody history of Mississippi River navigation. Instead, the deaths of so many ex-prisoners of war put her in the same league as the *Titanic.*

On one level, *Disaster on the Mississippi* is very reminiscent of a Ken Burns television documentary, full of personal details, quotations from contemporary testimony and reminiscences. But the selectivity with which a Burns documentary unfolds a very large story is here replaced with the urge to create the definitive account of this particular incident. The narrative includes twenty

chapters, of which only one provides background on the Mississippi, and even this is focused on the *Sultana.* There was, in fact, little to offer, for the vessel was just over two years old, big but not particularly prosperous, with a captain/part owner desperate to pay the bills. From this we plunge into two chapters on the release of the prisoners of war, two on loading them on the *Sultana,* two on the run up the river, another on the explosion, three on people jumping off, one on those who stayed aboard, a pair of chapters on the rescues and recovery of bodies, and finally a couple of chapters to tot up the numbers, lay the blame and deal with the survivors' meetings. The accounts of those involved carry most of the narrative. Considering the sources, these are probably the most brutally honest shipwreck survivor stories likely to be reported in large scale, for they are told by veterans with few compunctions about claiming they pushed drowning men off their particular piece of flotsam or jetsam.

Like an account of a battle, this book lives in the moment. If there was criminal negligence in the overloading of the vessel it is examined largely in the context of this single incident. The long term impact of the wreck on the lives of those most responsible (as distinct from its victims) is left unexamined. Its role in prompting regulatory changes is acknowledged only in passing.

By and large the publishers can be quite proud of the production qualities of this volume. The editors of the Naval Institute Press should probably have caught the erroneous reference to her tonnage (p.3; deadweight still had nothing to do with enrolment tonnage in 1863!). Nevertheless, it offers the appropriate scholarly apparatus and features upwards of seventy pages of names of those on board. In many ways Salecker has provided a more fitting and useful memorial to the *Sultana* disaster than any monument that might be placed on the shores of the Mississippi or in a Memphis cemetery, or for that matter over the charred remains of the *Sultana* herself, abandoned by the Mississippi and discovered in the early 1980s buried deep under an Arkansas soybean field.

Walter Lewis
Acton, Ontario

John H. White and Robert J. White. *The Island Queen: Cincinnati's Excursion Steamer.* Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 1995. ix + 115 pp., photographs, illustrations, bibliography. US $39.95, cloth; ISBN 1-884836-17-8.

This is a very complete history of an Ohio River steamer serving the excursion trade from 1925 until 1947. Her main route was from Cincinnati upriver a mere eight and one-half miles to an amusement park called Coney Island. She did, however, "tramp" in the spring and fall as far south as New Orleans and upriver to Pittsburgh.

In the opening chapter the authors take us on a typical forty-five minute trip to Coney Island, giving us not only a tour of the steamer but an overview of her operation as well as a description of the route, which, though it covered nine and half miles of the River, ended up only six miles from downtown Cincinnati as a crow would fly. The second chapter gives the reader the interesting story of the building of *Island Queen.* The 285-foot steamer, laid down in Midland, Pennsylvania as *Louisville,* along with an identical sister named *Cincinnati,* were supposed to be overnight packet boats to be operated between their namesake cities. But before *Louisville* was too far advanced it became apparent that there was no need for two large packets on this route. Consequently, she was finished as a five-deck excursion steamer and named *Island Queen.* Chapter three, "Ancestors of the *Island Queen,"* is a capsule history of the vessels that served the excursion trade out of Cincinnati. It is of special interest for those of us with limited knowledge of this type of steamer on inland rivers. This is then followed by a chapter which details the tragic explosion that ended the *Queen's* career in September 1947 while "tramping" at Pittsburgh. A short epilogue concludes the book. It holds particular appeal for those of us interested in the preservation of historic steamers, for it presents a series of "what ifs." For instance, could the *Queen* have remained in service? Although the Coney Island amusement park was in serious decline, she was a fairly modern vessel. Her sister, *Cincinnati,* was converted to an excursion vessel and survives to this day as the floating casino *President.*

The White brothers, one an aircraft enthusiast and the other devoted to railroad history, have succeeded in writing a classic history of a steam-

boat. This book makes interesting reading not only for those who fondly remember the *Island Queen* but also for anyone interested in maritime history. It is well researched, utilizing primary and secondary sources. It is also beautifully illustrated. All in all, it is an outstanding example of a popular history of a steamer that played a major role in regional history. Anyone contemplating writing a book on a single vessel can well look to this volume for guidance.

David. T. Glick
Lakeside, Ohio

James Barry. *Georgian Bay: The Sixth Great Lake.* Rev. 3rd ed.; Erin, ON: Boston Mills, Press, 1996. 208 pp., photographs, map, notes, index. Cdn $19.95, US $15.95, paper; ISBN 1-55046-172-9.

Georgian Bay is perhaps the most overlooked area in the Great Lakes system. Even the appellation "bay" relegates it to a second-class status which it hardly deserves. James Barry asserts that the bay is "truly the sixth great lake," in physical size, in history, in economic impact — in every dimension that matters. Barry's book *Georgian Bay: The Sixth Great Lake,* is now released in its third edition, and it is still the quintessential, concise description of this fascinating fresh water realm. The topic is well deserving of a major work, as the bay itself is a pivot point upon which the history of the Canadian Great Lakes and Canada West revolve.

Exploration of the great western territories proceeded almost directly west from Montreal. *Coureurs du bois* and Jesuit proselytes travelled up the river at a very early date and came upon the great bay as early as 1610, more than a half-century before the dog-leg route through Lake Erie was scratched onto the maps. *Voyageurs* and adventurers made the bay the terminus and waypoint of westbound trade and exploration. Canoes and *bateaux* plied its waters, moving furs and Christianity and bearing news of the interminable forest and its inhabitants. The village of York — later to become Toronto — was founded to send and receive the goods of the bay. Armies marched its granite shores, navies sailed its blue waters and ordinary folk settled along its margins.

Georgian Bay seeks to map out the flow of this history, dissolving anecdotal tales of events great and small into the current. Barry follows this stream with occasional gentle meanderings into the lives of some of the varied individuals who participated. The early contacts made by the French explorers with the indigenous Indian culture make stories of high adventure and daring. Much-ignored chapters of military and political intrigue relating to the War of 1812 are revealed. Fleets of steamboats and schooners face triumph and disaster again through its pages, while lumbering, tourism and other industries demonstrate the ebb and flow of their fortunes.

Barry's work is still a highly readable delight, as it has been for almost thirty years. He says "time flows softly on Georgian Bay," and the same may be said for this third edition. It changes little from the well-researched original work, but the author adds an epilogue which brings the text up to date from its first release in 1968, touching upon environmental and overdevelopment issues. The extensive note and bibliography section appended is a fruitful source of further reading and a thorough index is a distinct aid to the researcher. Oddly, the original section of historic photos and images has been largely replaced by a group of travelogue-style photos by the author.

In all, *Georgian Bay: The Sixth Great Lake* is a significant work which deserves a prominent spot in any historian's library; readers may even discover that it merits room on the desk.

David Swayze
Weidman, Michigan

Irving H. King. *The Coast Guard Expands, 1865-1915: New Roles, New Frontiers.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xii + 293 pp., photographs, appendix, illustrations, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $37.95, Cdn $52.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-458-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book covers the histories of the United States Revenue Cutter Service and the United States Lifesaving Service from the end of the Civil War to 1915, when they united to form the United States Coast Guard.

The author is Professor of History at the US Coast Guard Academy and has already dealt with

the history of the Revenue Service in the days of sail in two previous volumes. This readable book is typical of its genre. It describes a Revenue Cutter Service which was always, in peace and war, on the front-line; doing what needed to be done in enforcing the country's laws, saving lives and assisting shipping. On the extended coastline of the continental United States, the Lifesaving Service had, by 1878, 148 lifeboat and rescue stations manned by trained crews and was the largest and most efficient organization of its kind.

Much of the credit for the success of both Services must go to their first post-civil war chief, Sumner Kimball, who brought in administrative reforms, rebuilt the fleet and succeeded, after much effort, in eliminating political patronage while insisting on the highest standards for Revenue Cutter officers. In the days before radio, cutter captains had great authority. Revenue Cutter personnel were the main means of both exploring and policing Alaska in the first years after its purchase from Russia. Some, like Captain Michael Healy of the *Bear,* became legendary characters.

As in all histories of this kind, tales of heroism and achievement must be included along with descriptions of the organization. In addition to many adventures on the coast and rivers of Alaska, the Revenue Cutter Service assisted the Navy in the Spanish-American War (1898), searched for derelicts at sea — a common menace in the days of wooden ships — helped in natural disasters such as the San Francisco earthquake in 1906 and performed many rescues. One of the most notable, by the *Gresham* and the *Seneca,* occurred in 1909 when the passenger liners *Republic* and *Florida* collided. This was the first occasion in which the distress call and subsequent communications were by radio. It was the US Navy which instituted the ice patrol after the *Titanic* disaster, but after one year the cutters took over the task, using Halifax as their base for coal and supplies. The US Coast Guard continued the patrol until air reconnaissance supplanted ships.

The ships of the fleet are not covered in detail but photographs of representative cutters give a good idea of the vessels used during this period. Kimball's initial reforms created a fleet of small (250-400 tons) wooden and iron auxiliary steamers. By the end of the century, large cutters were 800-1200 tons. A few purchased ships, like the *Bear,* were a bit larger but the ability to go into small harbours was considered an advantage and most vessels assisted were also of modest size. The Revenue Cutter School of Instruction had its own training ship: first the sailing ship *Salmon P. Chase* and then the ex-gunboat *Itasca.* It produced well educated officers with a strong sense of duty.

A small organization with a clearly defined mission, like the US Revenue Cutter Service in this period, can perform services to the nation that are of the greatest importance and do so in a very economical manner. There are lessons to be learned from a history of this nature: we need to remember how things were done in a period when fiscal restraint was the rule but the work of government services, (like our own Coast Guard and Fisheries fleets), was recognized and respected.

Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

S.C. Heal. *Across Far Distant Horizons: The life and times of a Canadian Master Mariner.* Vancouver: Cordillera Publishing, 1995. 311 pp., photographs, illustrations, index. $29.95, cloth; ISBN 1-895590-13-2.

Passengers invited to dine at the table of Captain Trevor Bridges, the subject of this book, were not likely to be bored. A man with wide experience spanning the years from sail to steam, as well as a raconteur of the first order, possessing strongly held opinions and deeply entrenched biases, Bridges would be quite capable of regaling fellow diners over many meals. The biography of this colourful character is now resurrected from the files of the Vancouver Maritime Museum by author and publisher S.C. Heal.

Captain Bridges was born to an obviously affluent family in Barrie, Ontario. He prepared for his sea-going career by attending the prestigious English training ship *Worcester.* Here he spent thirty-two months on officer training for merchant ships. In 1901 he became indentured to the Inver Line and joined the 238 foot barque *Invermay.* His first voyage took him from Cardiff to Hong Kong with coal. For more than three years the barque traded chiefly in the North and South Pacific. Bridges then left this ship, having served his time, and wrote for his Second Mate's Certifi-

cate in London, succeeding in his second attempt.

Moving from sail to steam, we follow Bridges' career through several British companies, as well as a short war-time stint in the Royal Navy, as he crawled his way from the rank of Fourth Officer in 1905 eventually to his Master's Certificate, which led to his first command towards the end of 1920. It is here, in the penultimate chapters, that we finally read about Bridges' Canadian shipping experiences. His first command was the Vancouver-based tramp steamer *Margaret Coughlin,* on which he stayed four years before settling ashore at the age of forty-two in 1925. For the next fifteen years he operated an import business in Vancouver. Then in May 1940, he accepted an appointment in the Royal Canadian Navy as Assistant Naval Control Service Officer, a position he held for two years before being forcibly retired. Two years later, in 1944, Captain Bridges was given command of the 7,000-ton cargo vessel *Mount Robson,* quickly followed by a new ship of similar tonnage which assumed the same name. His last trip to sea, like his first, was to China — this time to deliver a 1,250-ton coaster in 1946. He died in Penticton, British Columbia in 1962.

This bare chronology is augmented in the book with many accounts of Bridges' involvements afloat and ashore. Included are colourful descriptions of the notorious South American nitrate trade, the monotony of trading on the Indian coast, and the dangers of sailing in the China Sea. With an eye for detail and a selective memory, Captain Bridges' memoirs therefore provide a useful contribution to the maritime literature of the period.

Author and publisher Heal chose to rewrite this manuscript in the first person. By his own admission he judiciously omitted inflammatory sections. The author also contributes side-bars, some of which are quite lengthy, and of which a number have only a peripheral connection. The supporting photographs, many from Captain Bridges' collection, are excellent. The dust cover, featuring a painting of the *Invermay.* is most attractive. Unfortunately this only lends credence to the warning about judging a book by its cover.

As might be expected in a biography of this nature, there are exaggerations. For instance, we are told that a midshipman who was guilty of inadvertently winding an alarm clock in the commander's cabin on a naval vessel in 1914 had his leave stopped for the duration of the war! (232) There are historical errors as well. It could not have been The Missions to Seamen establishment that Bridges visited in Halifax in 1912 because this organization did not have a building in this port until 1942. (210) However, the major shortcoming of this book is the obvious lack of proofreading. Over fifty spelling errors in the day of computer checks is unforgivable and can only be attributed to sloppiness. The effect is to cast doubt on the thoroughness of the research, which is most unfortunate because the author's interests and efforts in this field could be beneficial to Canadian maritime history.

Gregory P. Pritchard
Blue Rocks, Nova Scotia

Kurt Rose. *The Islands of the Sulu Sea: A True Adventure.* Palo Alto, CA: Glencannon Press, 1993. 216 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, glossary, index. US $15.95, paper; ISBN 0-9637586-1-6.

The main focus of this autobiographical account is the author's experiences as a young man in the 1930s as engineer aboard a powered yacht working the coastal villages of the islands which surround the Sulu Sea, such as Palawan, Borneo, Mindanao, and many others. The vessel, registered in the United States and operated by the Baptist mission in the Philippines, was a medical missionary ship providing a mail and supplies link for shore-based missionaries in remote locations and itself carrying out medical missionary activities at other places in its cruising area.

Of atheistic German parentage, being ensconced in a strong religious environment where attendance at daily prayers and other services was compulsory was a strange situation in which Rose found himself having accepted a post as assistant engineer, in desperation after a spell ashore in Manila. So this is a story on the one hand of youthful rejection of his parental background as a wandering seafarer, and on the other the ultimate acceptance of a religious dimension to his life, resisted until the very end of his service aboard the missionary ship.

How he reached Manila is of more direct interest to the maritime social historian. Aged

seventeen, he had shipped in 1931 in Hamburg as firemen's messboy aboard a tramp ship, the *Eta Rickmers*. Rose provides a rare and excellent description of life in the firemen's "fo'c's'le" (by then in the poop), and his duties as the servant to the fifteen strong "black gang." He makes a good story of his experiences as a "first tripper" on a voyage to the Far East, which included calls at Singapore, Manila, Hong Kong and Shanghai. Clearly his duties as firemen's skivvy had palled, but it came as a surprise to him, as well as the reader, that on impulse he should jump ship in the most unlikely port of Vladivostok in communist Russia at the end of winter. Sent overland by the German Consul to Dairen, a journey ending in a serious bout of pneumonia, he was placed on a homeward bound German ship. Not fancying his prospects, he took the opportunity of a call at Manila to abscond a second time, where he made friends and found temporary employment.

Lack of real engine room experience was no barrier to his employment on the missionary yacht, of which he eventually became the chief engineer. This part of the story is a mixture of maritime episodes such as typhoons, groundings and eventually shipwreck, religious episodes ashore and afloat, including the clash of Protestant and Catholic approaches, and interaction with the local peoples, not least Rose's amorous experiences.

Obviously the Sulu Sea experiences have a maritime dimension, but they are not mainstream maritime history, or even of maritime mission history which is concerned with work among seafarers. They are however a useful contribution to general Christian missionary history in the Eastern Archipelago, and make a close parallel to the stories of the missionary ships which worked the Pacific Islands, notably those named *John Williams* (Basil Mathews, *The Ships of Peace,* Oxford University Press, 1919). The contribution to the social history of boiler room manning has already been noted.

Although provided with an index, a glossary, a note about the mission ship *(Fukuin Maru),* some-time yacht of the owner of the Allen Line, and a note on Rose's later career, this is not an academic book. There is no pretense at contextual reading. It is pleasant autobiographical writing which leaves one wondering how the author remembered so much detail. But it does have some merit as a minor experiential source.

Alston Kennerley
Plymouth, England

John Bevan. *The Infernal Diver*. London: Submex (Sub Sea Consultants), 1996 [21 Roland Way, London SW7 3RF, UK], xiii + 314 pp., figures, colour plates, appendices, index. Limited edition of 1000 copies, casebound; £59 (post free in UK and Ireland; plus £5 in Europe or plus £10 elsewhere); ISBN 0-9508242-1-6

Until comparatively recently the invention of the diving helmet was attributed to Augustus Siebe. Current research has established that the real inventors were John and Charles Deane, direct descendants of Sir Anthony Deane, Surveyor of the Navy and friend of Samuel Pepys. The success and exploitation of helmeted suits, however, owed much to the excellence of Siebe's manufacturing standards and the co-operation between the brothers and the makers.

The author is not only academically qualified to evaluate the pioneering technical achievement but, as a leading figure in the world of British sub-aqua diving, he also appreciates in practical terms the contribution to underwater exploration. In his early days he became involved with Alexander McKee and the search for the *Mary Rose* off Portsmouth. It was through this association that he first became interested in the exploits of the Deane brothers who had located and dived on the wreck as early as 1836.

Despite humble beginnings the brothers were blessed with innate curiosity and ingenuity. Using the same principles that prevents water from entering a diving bell, experiments were carried out with a simple air-filled canvas hood. From these beginnings a series of metal helmets of growing sophistication were made, at the same time taking steps toward protecting the diver from the hostile environment on which he was working, culminating in a suit not dissimilar to those in universal use up to the beginning of the last war. Not only was there a constant demand for the recovery of sunken cargo, lost anchors and underwater damage assessment, the pace of civic construction required inexpensive and reliable means of positioning masonry blocks in docks or the foundations of bridges. Although the theme of

the book is the life and work of the Deanes, all aspects of which are covered in detail, the author does not neglect the work of contemporaries. The activities of men like Bethell, Fraser and Pasley are given equitable coverage.

In 1848 Charles Deane died in tragic circumstances. However, his brother John carried on, his services being required in the Crimean War amongst other tasks to clear navigation channels of sunken blockships. It was whilst engaged in these duties with the Royal Engineers that he earned the nickname that forms the title of this volume. At the end of the war he supervised the demolition of the docks at Sebastopol.

Under normal circumstances one might regard a book costing £59 as expensive. But not this one! It is a nice production, the colour plates are of the highest quality and the numerous lines drawings, many taken from the Deanes' published works, are well reproduced. John Bevan has compiled a first class, fully documented and eminently readable study of a hitherto largely neglected aspect of maritime history. It warrants a place on the shelves of anyone interested in nineteenth-century nautical history and in particular of modern scuba divers specializing in the surveying of historical wrecks. This volume will give an idea of the techniques that might have been used a hundred and fifty years ago to recover artifacts or remove obstructions and may help to account for the configuration of the remains found today.

Norman Hurst
Coulsdon, Surrey

Robin Gardiner and Dan van der Vat. *The Riddle of the Titanic.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995. xv + 312 pp., illustrations, map, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. £20, cloth; ISBN 0-297-81528-8.

Paul Heyer. *Titanic Legacy: Disaster as Media Event and Myth.* Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995. xi + 175 pp., photographs, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. US $39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-275-95352-1.

These two books are connected by a thread additional to that of the *Titanic* herself. In combination, they demonstrate how the loss of this great ship still fascinates people more than four generations after she went down.

Gardiner and van der Vat have made a very 1990s attempt to describe the last voyage of the *Titanic* and explain the sinking. They have combined archival research, first-hand accounts, and the findings of various expeditions to the wreck into what could have been a first-class volume. There is a great deal of colour and detail, and best of all, there is a great deal of *fact.* Yet the tone of the book left this reviewer rather displeased; as seems all too often the case today, the authors invoke conspiracy and cover-up for every incident, until proven otherwise. There is also a rather obvious anti-establishment/anti-aristocracy/anti-capitalist bias. They certainly leave the pre-77-*tanic* reputation of Captain Smith tarnished: after cataloguing a handful of mishaps during his career (notably *without* detailed comparison with his peers), he is described as a "frock-coated buccaneer," (50) largely on the strength of the extravagant interpretation of a single newspaper interview. The White Star Line, Sir Bruce Ismay, J.P. Morgan, and Harland and Wolff, all receive similar treatment. Also annoying are the frequent, unjustified *sics* scattered throughout the text.

The book opens with an explanation of the origin of the three "Olympic" class ships, and devotes much space to the 1911 collision between *Olympic* and HMS *Hawke.* The account of 77-*tanic's* final voyage, the sinking, and two inquiries are straightforward, though the authors highlight the various discrepancies and unanswered questions that can be found in the record. A great deal of emphasis is placed on Ismay's supposed influence in setting the speed of the ship as she entered the danger area. Much is made of him saying "our intention" in his account to the American inquiry, as opposed to "the intention" when he spoke at the British inquest. Captain Lord of the *Californian* is at least treated fairly, and his role as scapegoat contrasted with the almost forgotten Canadian Pacific Liner *Mount Temple.* The two appendices are useful — one a list of passengers, crew and survivors; the second providing basic details of the various ships "at sea in the North Atlantic" on the fateful night. There is only one none-too-clear map showing theoretical locations in the vicinity of the sinking. The selection of photographs is interesting.

The most sensational part of the book deals

with the theory that the *Titanic* and her sister *Olympic* secretly switched identities, and that because of the damage *Olympic* had received in earlier accidents, perhaps there was a plot afoot to sink her in collision with an iceberg. This is mentioned early on in the story, and touched upon occasionally thereafter. To their credit, on the penultimate page, the authors prove this farfetched idea false: one of the relics recovered from the wreck is stamped with the builder's number (401) of the *Titanic*.

Despite the above criticism, there is much good to be found in this volume. Many of the authors' observations, albeit critical, are fair. For example, their three-paragraph summary of the faults of the evacuation of the ship (128-9) is just. Nevertheless, in total, this book just squeaks by with a passing grade - it is not the definitive account. One wonders if this volume will be looked upon favourably by the next generation of *Titanic* scholars.

Paul Heyer's effort is rather different. Although the famous liner is the centre of the book, Heyer's real thrust is the effect that the *Titanic* has had on the media, and thus on popular culture. The book's primary audience is obviously not the marine specialist, and so a few minor faux pas can be excused: an "old-salt" should have done the proof-reading. Keeping that same reader in mind, the absence of a glossary of marine terms is a notable deficiency. There are only a few illustrations, and their quality of reproduction is poor.

Nevertheless, the book is quite interesting overall, in considerable measure because of its different perspective. For example, the reader is treated to a summary of the history of early wireless communications and its regulatory policy; the evidence concerning the hymn "Nearer My God to Thee" vs. "Autumn" or "Songe d'Automne;" the contributions of George Bernard Shaw, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Joseph Conrad and Thomas Hardy to the popular literature; and the effect the *Titanic* had on Black American poetry and music. Worthy of note is the day-by-day summary of the New York newspapers' coverage of the sinking, in particular the mess that Hearst's *New York Journal* made of it. There is a very good summary of the various cinematic and television attempts to describe the drama, including a little-known German propaganda effort during World War II. Heyer concludes with the thought that perhaps the *Titanic* is something of a myth, in the sense that her tale is a cautionary story that carries a lesson for the late Twentieth Century — a global metaphor for "Spaceship Earth."

This book is outside the usual run of maritime history — it may not find its way onto everyone's bookshelf, but it is an entertaining and worthwhile read.

William Schleihauf
Pierrefonds, Quebec

Ragnar Arnason and Lawrence Felt (eds.). *The North Atlantic Fisheries: Successes, Failures and Challenges.* Vol. III: Proceedings, "An Island Living: Patterns of Autonomy and Dependence in the Small Islands of the North Atlantic"; Charlottetown, PEI: The Institute of Island Studies, 1995. x + 319 pp., map, tables, figures, index. $24.95, paper; ISBN 0-919013-25-2.

This volume is the third of three in "An Island Living Series" which are the outcome of a conference held at the University of Prince Edward Island in 1992. It consists of seven chapters by a team of ten authors; four chapters are derived from papers presented at the conference, while three were commissioned for the book.

In the modern world, fisheries are virtually always problematical, and in the problems actual or potential, overfishing looms large. It is also the case that, against the modern background of economic globalization, island communities often present special problems: these are often related to their marginal position geographically and economically, as well as to their limited size. It is therefore the case that this book addresses itself to major contemporary issues, as indeed its sub-title indicates; and the issues are ones which are in some danger of being lost sight of in the main political fora of decision-making in both North America and Europe. It proceeds by way of relevant case studies, which show a variety of fishing situations, and also different degrees and systems of control of the industry on the part of the different island societies. Yet it is not wholly convincing in illuminating to the best effect the issues being addressed. Whether the most advantageous selection of case studies for the North

Atlantic area has been made may be questioned, and several of the papers have a tendency to expand on information at the expense of critical commentary.

In the volume there are separate chapters about Greenland, the Faeroe Islands, Prince Edward Island and Iceland: there are two about Newfoundland, and one which compares Iceland and Newfoundland. However, all of the Scottish island groups have been excluded, and (more seriously) there are no studies relating to Norwegian islands despite their number, their dependence on fishing, and the scale of problems in island groups such as Lofoten. As it was possible to commission several chapters, one wonders why the opportunity of including more examples from the northeast Atlantic was missed.

The case is relevantly made that the Icelandic fisheries are better organized and in a healthier position than most of the others; and that-the fisheries of Prince Edward Island, dominated as they are by shell fish rather than fin fish, are also relatively healthy, although the island is anomalous in depending only to a limited degree on fishing. However in the debate of provincial versus federal jurisdiction on PEI, it is not made adequately clear that the acceptance of federal jurisdiction is related to the issue of who picks up the tab. There is elucidation of the specially severe problems of Newfoundland, which arose from the catastrophic failure of the main cod stock, despite the care and expense taken with the federal system of monitoring and management. Even so, one is tempted to think that the two separate chapters could have been merged into one without unacceptable loss. An important issue which arises in both the chapters on Greenland and the Faeroes is the relationship with the European Union: for both of them, trade treaties with the EU are important for fish marketing. The chapter on Greenland recognizes that the fishery is a young industry, and that it has been unduly dominated by the Royal Greenland Company. The chapter on the Faeroes is divergent from the others in the extent to which it concentrates on the politics of the archipelago, particularly in the discussion of the effect that the modern crisis in the fishing industry has had on the debate on a closer European link.

This volume does make a significant contribution to the modern literature on the fishing-dependent societies around the North Atlantic. It properly emphasizes the need for better fisheries management, both ecological and economic, and also stresses the general need for more "value added" in fish processing, as well as improved marketing initiatives. It recognizes the marked tendency towards overcapitalisation in boats and plants, and on the whole it looks with optimism to the future. Whether it adequately addresses the problem of the extent to which fishing is still in the hands of small operators in a world more and more dominated by big business may be questioned. For this and other reasons, the reader is left wondering whether a better and more representative result could have been achieved within this size of book.

James R. Coull
Aberdeen, Scotland

James R. Coull. *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography.* Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1996. xvi + 308 pp., maps, figures, photographs, select bibliography, index. £30, cloth; ISBN 0-85976-410-9.

James Coull's reputation as a first-class "fisheries" geographer is based foremost on sound academic scholarship. His lifelong interest in and commitment to his deep-rooted Scottish fishing heritage, however, has contributed significantly to the high quality of his research. *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography* is not only the culmination of "over thirty years" of investigation, but perhaps more importantly it reveals insight and understanding which, while inspired by emotion and attachment, is filtered by meticulous and thoughtful research. In the very best sense this is an "insider's" story.

Methodology is classic geography with its focus "on the location and geographical distribution of the action, and in covering the whole time spectrum." Coull thinks spatially and grounds his study in the lived-in world of his community, its geographical setting, and the principal individual and institutional actors. In so far that the study is historical geography, he is forced to address the main issue of whether the treatment should be periodic or thematic, appropriately electing in this instance to "use a fusion of these approaches." A basic chronological framework is enhanced by

five chapters which treat critical background elements and dynamics separately: "The Resource Base of Scottish Fisheries" (Ch. 2); "The Development of Fishing Settlements" (4); "Fishing Boats" (15); "Fishing Piers and Harbours" (16); and "The Development of the Administrative Framework: Fisheries Districts" (17). Coull also provides a useful assessment of sources and acknowledges the benefits he has derived from "contact with many people who have been personally involved in the fisheries" and whose "knowledge derives not only from their own experience but also from those of their families and forebears."

The book is well organized. Chapter 1, the "Introduction," sets the tone and prepares the reader for what is to unfold. Detailed examination of the rich and complicated assemblage of fish stocks (2), their early exploitation in prehistoric and medieval times (3), and the emergence of specialized fishing communities (4) provide a backdrop which enables Coull to focus on the two major Scottish fisheries which eventually emerged. The herring (5, 7, 8, 10 and 12) and "white," or demersal (6, 9, 11 and 12), fisheries are treated thematically. This format enables Coull to identify, analyze and explain changes that occurred in scale and distribution of activity within each industry. While the shell fisheries in Scotland are an equally distinctive group, their level of importance is lesser, and Coull judged it "best to treat the whole timespan in a single chapter" (14).

The Sea Fisheries of Scotland stands as a model for the examination of both regional and national fisheries. It is detailed and comprehensive and maintains a strong balance between synthesis and original research. Coull's ability to move between archival sources and interviews is especially impressive. The main text examines the resources on which the Scottish fisheries have depended, changing technologies, exploitation strategies and practices, administrative and organizational structures, public policies, and the complexities of constantly changing markets within growing national and international economies. The conclusion, or "Epilogue" (18), however, moves beyond Scottish specifics to address the broader global issues of the "continuing need for conservation to prevent the resource bases from being overtaxed." On a different level Coull demonstrates that geographical interpretation can offer its own special insights; he makes it clear that geographers properly belong to a much larger intellectual community from which they can profit and to which they can contribute.

The high standard of the book's contents is matched by its production. It contains thirty-four well-crafted and informative maps, graphs and figures. An additional thirty-four black-and-white photographs (dating back more than a century) are clear and relevant. The text contains very few topographical errors (eg. plate reference 6 for 8, p.3 7), and individual chapter lists are fairly comprehensive, although sometimes a little dated. These, however, are very minor criticisms which do not seriously distract from what must be recognized as a masterpiece of careful and devoted scholarship.

Chesley W. Sanger
St. John's, Newfoundland

E. Paul Durrenberger. *Gulf Coast Soundings: People and Policy in the Mississippi Shrimp Industry*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996. xvii + 170 pp., figures, tables, appendix, references, index. US $29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7006-0759-5; US $17.95, paper; ISBN 0-7006-0760-9.

Anthony V. Margavio and Craig J. Forsyth, with Shirley Laska and James Mason. *Caught in the Net: The Conflict between Shrimpers and Conservationists*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1996. xvi + 156 pp., figures, photographs, appendices (incl. tables), notes, bibliography, index. US $32.50, cloth; ISBN 0-89096-669-9.

These two short books deal with overlapping dimensions of maritime issues in the Gulf of Mexico. Each expands our knowledge and is worthy of attention from those interested in this region, fisheries in general, or social conflict. Both are concerned with shrimpers, especially Durrenberger's anthropological study of the social organization of the shrimp fishing industry in the state of Mississippi. Based on over two hundred interviews with respondents in all sections of the fishery in 1989, he tries to understand how the elements of the shrimp production system are

interconnected. Attractive features of his presentation are the frequent use of comparative literature and a solid grounding in social history.

Durrenberger provides a general overview of the shrimp industry from the turn of the century to the present. In addition to conflict between shrimpers and processors, less visible after the shrimpers' union was declared illegal in 1955, the arrival of Vietnamese fishers from the late 1970s divided the shrimpers themselves. The core argument is that the shrimp processing industry creates a demand for raw material so great that investment in boats is promoted (often with financial aid from processors) even when returns to fishing are driven down by low cost imports of shrimp. This affects Vietnamese and Americans alike, although the former are more tied to processors. The result is that shrimpers find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet, even if they increase effort.

Durrenberger portrays the industry from the perspectives of fishers, processors and managers. For example, he examines the biological and economic assumptions of the "management model" for fisheries, which often clash with the beliefs and experience of fishers. They do not act like firms in the conventional economic model; rather shrimpers usually conform to the model of household economy in which the production unit is owned and operated mainly by household members to meet the household's needs, not to accumulate capital. Durrenberger shows how ignorance of skippers' perceptions on the part of biologists and managers leads to policies that sometimes have the reverse effect to what was intended. An interpretation based on Chayanov's peasant household model fits what shrimpers do much better. This leads in to a concluding case for independent social science in the fisheries management process.

One reason shrimpers gave for their economic troubles was the need to trawl using turtle excluding devices (TEDs). Here Durrenberger uses the ability of fishers to organize against TEDs in critically assessing the accuracy of the "folk model" of the shrimper as an independent actor unable to take collective action. Margavio *et al.* focus on the conflict between shrimpers and others, especially conservationists, with respect to protecting sea turtles from the impact of shrimp trawling. As a starting point, the authors focus on the sudden blockade of southern harbours by hundreds of shrimpers angry at being forced to use TEDs. They interviewed extensively not only fishers, but also government employees and conservationists. Their book makes an excellent case study of conflict as a result of competing priorities in which the positions of commercial fishers, scientists, government agencies, coastal developers, recreational fishers, and different segments of the environmental movement are all scrutinized. Although the presentation is short, it succeeds in capturing the complexity of various positions and the beliefs that push people in divergent directions. Shrimpers, for example, are not opposed to conserving sea turtles; rather, they claim that shrimp trawling kills fewer turtles than environmentalists claim and that means other than TEDs (which reduce shrimp catches) could have been adopted.

Theories of power, uneven regional development and collective action are used effectively, although much of this valuable analysis takes place in the extensive footnotes. In fact, both books relegate most of their survey data to appendices. This may make the texts more readable, but at a cost if readers ignore the actual data. Durrenberger also includes extensive sections of interviews that would otherwise clutter up the text. Although both are short, and much of Durrenberger's material was published in earlier articles, these books do contribute to maritime social science by providing theoretically informed case studies that are well integrated with other relevant literature.

Peter R. Sinclair
St. John's, Newfoundland

I.K. Whitbread. *Greek Transport Amphorae: A Petrological and Archaeological Study.* Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper 4; Athens: The British School at Athens, 1995. xxiv + 453 pp., tables, figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, indices. £40, hardback; ISBN 0-904887-13-8. Distributed by Oxbow Books, Oxford, England and The David Brown Book Company, Oakville, CT.

Based on the author's doctoral thesis, this book deals with Greek transport amphorae from the earliest stages of their expansion in the Mediterra-

nean and the Black Sea region in the later part of the eighth to the middle of the second century BC.

Whitbread begins the first chapter — the introduction — with the definition of amphorae, their utility and characteristics. He then outlines the twofold aims of his study. The first is to provide a general introduction to Greek amphorae studies and to recent development in the subject. This kind of survey, followed by the long and impressive bibliographical list at the end of the book, is important, for it accumulates in one volume all but the most recent available archaeological data on the subject. This survey also enables the author to introduce more clearly his second and main aim, which is to prove the importance and effectiveness of ceramic petrology. The definitions of ceramic petrography and ceramic petrology, however, are discussed at length with the methodology in Appendix 3.

The second chapter deals with the contribution of the ceramic petrology to broader archaeological and economic-historical problems. The author approaches the subject with a very sound interdisciplinary method. Three major topics are discussed. First, the centres of agriculture production, as the transport amphorae were much the products of ancient agriculture as the goods they contained. Second, the nature of ancient commerce in bulk commodities: the amphorae as a means of transportation. This subject concerns the physical properties of amphorae and the mechanism of trade: the type of vessels, their capacity, and the navigation routes according to the data provided by underwater archaeology. The mechanism of trade depended also on the nature of ancient Greek commerce. Whitbread, relying on historic documents, therefore discusses long and short distance trade, the position of merchants in Greek society and the organization of their trade. The third topic discussed in this chapter is the leading centres of importation. The author discusses the contribution of petrological analysis of the amphorae and their fragments found in these centres in order to reflect spatial and temporal shift in ancient commercial activity.

Chapter Three deals with the traditional methods used in examining amphorae, showing how each type of evidence can profitably be combined in the petrological analysis of amphora fabrics. Whitbread emphasizes convincingly the advantage of petrological analysis over other methods such as chemical analysis in characterization and provenance determination of Greek amphorae.

In Chapter Four, Whitbread deals with petrological analysis of samples from thirteen selected classes of Greek amphorae, proving another aspect of advantage of pétrographie analysis over the chemical. The discussion of each class of amphorae involves archaeological evidence and the regional geology, according to the order of the proposed regions of origin. Geological maps of the discussed sites and pictures of the analyzed samples are conveniently found next to the written text. A summation of the results is presented in Table 4.2 at the end of the chapter. Appendix I deals with the geology of the Aegean region.

Chapter Five focuses on the examination of fabrics of jars attributed to a single production centre — Corinth. The method and the format are the same as in Chapter Four. In the case of Corinth, however, much more attention is paid to the relationship between fabrics of transport amphorae and those of other ceramic products from the same centre. An appendix deals with the X-ray analysis of Corinthian clays.

In Chapter Six, the author presents his conclusions concerning the role of ceramic petrology in studying Greek transport amphorae, the limitations of the present study and offers directions for future research. Whitbread is successful in making his thesis convincing and at presenting its utility as well as its contribution not only to archaeology but also to the maritime history of the discussed periods.

Ruthi Gertwagen
Qiryat Motskin, Israel

Basil Greenhill with John Morrison. *The Archaeology of Boats and Ships: An Introduction.* Rev. ed.; London: Conway Maritime Press, 1976, 1995 and Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 288 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, figures, selected bibliography, glossary, index. US $47.95, Cdn $66.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-039-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This revised, expanded and updated version of a

book first published in 1976 as *The Archaeology of the Boat: a new introductory study* maintains the general concept of the original, "the study of boats and boatbuilding development, written by a layman for laymen," a purpose that it fulfils admirably. Yet the author is perhaps too modest in his assessment, in that the book is also a most useful general reference work for specialists in the archaeology of the boat and ship who desire a concise summary of the hypotheses on the development of boat and ship construction techniques.

The time-span covered is from before 3,000 BC to the twentieth century, but with most emphasis on the period up to the late medieval and early Renaissance eras. Geographically, vessels from the Far and Near East, the Mediterranean, the New World and Europe are all discussed, but the greatest emphasis is placed on material from northern Europe. As well, the discussion of-the evolution of the various types of hull construction makes considerable use of ethnographic material from existing or recent societies, mostly in the Third World, where wooden boats are still built without plans or drawings, usually in the open, with only simple hand tools, and using construction methods such as sewn planking that date back to the Iron Age or earlier in northern Europe.

The book is divided into three parts. Under "The General Theory," Basil Greenhill discusses the human need for water transport, describes the building of six traditional small working boats in the mid-twentieth century, and reviews the various methods of framing, planking and fastening. The second part, on "The Roots of Boatbuilding," considers how the planked boat may have evolved from, or been influenced by, the raft, the skin boat, the bark boat and the logboat. These two sections made up about half of the 1976 edition, but here, and despite containing significantly more material, they comprise only about one third of the text.

Part Three, "Aspects of the Evolution of Boats and Vessels in Europe, North America and Asia," has been revised, rewritten and enlarged to include the extensive new archaeological finds and specialized studies of the last twenty years. It begins with an entirely new chapter on sewn hulls, both ancient and modern. Chapters 10 and 11 are John Morrison's contributions, and summarize the development of boats and ships in the Mediterranean from 3,000 to 500 BC as well as and the evolution of the warship in the Classical and Hellenistic period, concluding with a summary of the information acquired from the extensive sea trials of the trireme reconstruction, *Olympias*. With still a third of the book left, Part Three turns to the development of ships and boats in northern Europe, to European designs carried to the New World, and their modification to suit the local conditions in the Americas. The transition to carvel planking from clinker (or lapstrake) technique for ships is traced, together with the full development of skeleton first construction. That this was a much more gradual process than previously thought has been demonstrated by the work of the last twenty years. The interesting co-existence as cargo carriers in the medieval period of the very successful flat-bottomed cog ship type of northern waters and the round-bottomed hulk type used in Britain and the North Sea is discussed. The final chapter considers the evolution in the fifteenth century of the ocean going sailing ship, with its hull shape defined by a skeleton of frames erected first and then carvel planked, and the transition from one or two masts to the three masted ship.

Overall, *The Archaeology of Boats and Ships* clearly meets Basil Greenhill's stated objective of providing the layman with a straightforward account of the development of wooden ships and boats. It is lucidly written, the technical terms clearly explained, and with excellent illustrations for all the key points made. There are no footnotes, but each chapter concludes with a short bibliography for further reading. There is a useful select bibliography at the end, divided into sections for books, for articles from periodicals, and with separate listings of the publications of Ole Crumlin-Pedersen and Sean McGrail. There is a short but adequate glossary of boat-building terminology. The book can be thoroughly recommended to the interested lay person, but will not be out of place in the library of the maritime archaeologist or historian. If you already possess the 1976 volume, you will certainly want to acquire this new edition.

R.J.O. Millar
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R.A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston and George D. Painter. *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation.* New ed.; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996. Ixvi + 291 pp., illustrations, figures, bibliography, indices. US $45, cloth; ISBN 0-300-06520-5.

Kirsten A. Seaver. *The Frozen Echo: Greenland and the Exploration of North America ca A.D. 1000-1500.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996. xvi + 407 pp., maps, photographs, figures, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $49.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8047-2514-4.

Yale University Press has reprinted *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation,* with supplementary introductions. A great brouhaha followed the original publication, thirty years ago. It was the supposed medieval *mappemundi,* with its credible representations of Greenland and Vinland, that was at issue, rather than the previously unknown manuscript account of Friar Carpini's thirteenth-century mission to the Great Khan which the map may originally have illustrated. For the American public, the shocking idea that other Europeans might have preceded Columbus to the New World provoked public demands that Yale retract the book. Among other things, this was a symptom of the map's potential significance. If genuine, the Vinland map would be the sole surviving cartographic evidence of medieval Norse conceptions of North America. But scholars had other questions. A number of historians and geographers found the representation of Greenland to be so accurate as to suggest a modern forgery. Worse, in 1974 a scientific analysis of the ink used on the map indicated the presence of titanium, a supposedly modern chemical, in suspicious quantities, leading Yale University Library to announce that it might be a forgery. The case was not, however, closed. In 1985, a second, more detailed, analysis found no chemicals out of place in a medieval manuscript. Besides, titanium is the ninth most common element on our world, if not on our world maps.

There is more to this scientific story, covered by Thomas Cahill and Bruce Kusko in their contribution to the new supplemented edition and they stand by their 1985 conclusion, which rejects the earlier chemically-supported allegations of fraud. The surviving original editor, George Painter, puts the faulty chemical analysis done by McCrone Associates in the 1970s into perspective and he also does an effective job of defending the Vinland Map against the humanist critiques of the 1960s and 1970s. These were often based either on historical error, such as the idea that Greenland was not recognized as an island before the seventeenth century, or on exaggeration, such as the assertion that Greenland as depicted is particularly accurate. Wilcomb Washburn contributes a balanced introduction to the history of debate on the authenticity of the map. The new edition identifies Paul Mellon as the donor who bought the manuscript for Yale but its provenance remains uncertain. Laurence Witten, the New Haven dealer who brought the map academic attention, recalls the murky world of manuscript sales in post-war Europe and finally identifies his European source, implying that his source dealt in turn with a Spanish collector. These could be hints that the Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation were once part of Columbus' own collection, remnants of which were dispersed in the 1950s.

This book was originally published to present the Yale *mappemundi* to the world. The first edition is reprinted here in full without amendment, although Painter and the others supply comprehensive supplementary bibliographies to their new introductory essays and there is a page of *corrigenda.* While the authenticity of the Vinland Map is still debated, this new edition presents the arguments for doubting the doubters. It accomplishes this economically and effectively. By supplementing the original edition with new essays it preserves the text of the original edition as a significant contribution to scholarship with an historiographie importance in its own right. For those interested in exploration and related maritime matters, the heart of the book remains the reproduction of the Vinland Map, which occupies one double-page spread, and the long detailed essay by the late keeper of maps in the British Library, R.A. Skelton, which occupies about half the original text. Skelton discusses the map's precursors, its geography in relation to possible sources and its significance as the oldest surviving map of American lands. Although this discussion is now dated in some respects (it was written before the general acceptance of L'Anse aux Meadows as a Norse site), it treats the relevant issues in meticulous detail.

Skelton concludes his analysis of the Vinland Map by suggesting that Cabot, if not Columbus, was likely aware of the Norse geographic tradition of lands to the west. Other scholars, among them J.A. Williamson and G.J. Marcus, have made similar tantalizing suggestions. Kirsten Seaver's book, *The Frozen Echo,* is essentially a detailed examination of the hypothesis that Bristol was the heir of Norse contact with North America. Oddly enough, Seaver does not accept the Vinland Map as authentic and has published articles impugning an obscure German monk as the twentieth-century forger of the map. Seaver's aversion to the Vinland Map is curious because she is extremely sympathetic to continuity in northern European knowledge of Greenland and even Newfoundland-Labrador. Her book is valuable, in part because she takes this idea seriously and in part because of her accomplishments as a private scholar. Seaver reads the Scandinavian languages and is therefore able to summarize a relevant archaeological literature for those of us who do not.

Seaver's book aims to describe the Norse adventure in Greenland and North America, to describe social and economic conditions in the medieval North Atlantic, to assess the situation of the Norse Greenland colonies in the late middle ages, and to summarize English contact with the north in the fifteenth century. She succeeds in most of this, although the treatment is verbose and it is not always clear where the argument is headed. Her contention that the Greenlanders continued to flourish in the fifteenth century is contradicted by most of the reports on Norse sites with which anglophone scholars will be familiar. Her closing explanation for the disappearance of the Greenland Norse is unconvincing: she supposes that they joined Bristol or Portuguese fishermen in an "early sixteenth-century surge toward North America," (311) ignoring the fact that sixteenth-century European fishermen visited North America only seasonally. Wherever the Greenlanders ended up, it was probably not a permanent North American fishing station, since these did not exist at the time. The close of the book betrays an uncertain grasp of North American archaeology, disquieting for readers who have accepted her summaries of Norse archaeology at face value. Seaver appears to be unaware of Marcus' seminal work on her topic, *The Conquest of the North Atlantic* (Oxford, 1981) and her useful book is weakened by failure to discuss his contributions to the subject of Norse influence on early English exploration.

Given its lack of a strong narrative this book is unlikely to find a niche in the popular market nor, given its scholarly unevenness, will it become the standard work on the subject. It is, nevertheless, important, substantial and thought-provoking, and it deserves to stand beside Marcus' shorter and clearer work as a significant contribution to discussion of the very issues raised by publication of *The Vinland Map.*

Peter Pope
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Brian Lavery and Simon Stephens. *Ship Models: Their Purpose and Development from 1650 to the Present.* London: Zwemmer, 1995. 256 pp., photographs (colour, b+w), illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, catalogue of models in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, including ship name index and Object Reference Number index. US $80, cloth; ISBN 0-302-00654-O. Distributed in USA and Canada by Antique Collectors' Club, Wappingers' Falls, NY.

This volume aims to be two books in one and, as usual with a hybrid, falls somewhat short of either objective. The apparent original intent was to produce the first comprehensive, published catalogue of the 2,600 models in the incomparable collection of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (including models of fittings, armament, dockyards and the like, as well as those of ships). That catalogue is, however, relegated to an eighty-page appendix. Where the Museum's last (partial) listing devoted a page to each model, with a photograph in each case, this one has a single line giving reference number, name, date of launch of prototype, type of vessel, style and type of model, dimensions, scale and, in some cases, additional notes. Surprisingly, the date of model construction is rarely given, making it impossible to distinguish contemporary evidence from modern interpretations. Nor are the entries absolutely accurate: any model of the *Hammond Innes* (a trawler this reviewer knew well) that is 1,425 mm long is 1:36 scale, not 1:16! This is less a "catalogue" than an index to the Museum's holdings.

The greater part of the book is a unique and important essay on ship models. Unlike the millions of other words published on the topic, this does not contain a single tip on model building nor does it discuss the ships portrayed in miniature. Only indirectly does it celebrate the beauty of ship models as art objects. Rather, Lavery and Stephens concentrate on the models as historical artifacts. Thus, they address who built them, how and why, what constraints they worked under and so on. The authors provide the first serious classification of ship models, adding (among others) a class of "Georgian Models" to the "Navy Board," "Builder's" and other types long recognized. This essay is a vital contribution to the literature. No conscientious historian would use a class of documentary evidence without knowing who prepared it and why. Yet for decades models have formed a principal source for our understanding of ship development, without anyone systematically exploring the validity of the evidence. This book begins to correct that fault. It must be said that few of Lavery and Stephens' observations are startling to one who has pondered the same questions. However, those who still believe that the "Navy Board" models were official design proposals, and hence fully reliable evidence, will find that myth debunked.

This essay does not, however, escape its origin as an introduction to the Greenwich collection. The authors largely confine themselves to examples in that Museum. This is an inappropriate limitation for what is a globally-relevant study, particularly considering the different modelling practices in various nations. Moreover, the authors drift rather far from their topic, including brief comments on the display of and the market for models. These do not fit with the remainder. The book is beautifully produced and profusely illustrated, and is truly a fitting presentation of such masterpieces as the builder's model of the battleship *Minas Geraes* of 1909. One can therefore confidently predict that every serious student of the technological development of the ship will need occasional access to this catalogue and should read its essay before again relying on model evidence. It is unfortunate, however, that a work that will be cited as often as this one surely will be, should have such a complex publication history: although produced by Zwemmer, it bears the logo of the Museum and the name of the Antique Collectors Club. Moreover, although nowhere stated in the review copy, the same book is distributed by Press of Sail Publications under their imprint. It is, in consequence, truly a bibliographer's nightmare.

Trevor Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia

Ellen C. Stone. *Guide to the Ships Plans Collection at Mystic Seaport Museum.* Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1995. 92 pp., indices. US $10 (+ $3 p&h in North America; airmail and/or Europe extra), paper; ISBN 0-913372-75-7.

It is a common lament that only a small portion of the collections housed in the world's museums are ever exhibited. Given the high costs of exhibit development and the vast quantities of material held by museums, it is unlikely that the situation will ever change substantially. However, as this guide suggests, there are other ways of providing intellectual and physical access to collections.

Mystic Seaport Museum is one of North America's premiere maritime heritage institutions. Sprawling over several acres of Connecticut riverbank, it is really several museums together, including a recreated New England coastal village; a maritime art gallery and collections of large ships and small vessels both afloat and ashore. Below the visible surface of the Seaport lie even more substantial assets. The Ships Plans Collection is one such resource.

This collection of over 79,000 individual drawings is extremely diverse, ranging from sailmakers' gore books to plans for ships, boats and yachts to technical drawings for aids to navigation to documentary work produced by the Seaport's in-house restoration staff as they work on vessels. Material has been accumulating since the Seaport's founding, but this collections guide presents for the first time a uniform finding aid to this rich historical resource.

An introductory section outlines the purpose; description and subject content; processing, accessioning and cataloguing; preservation; access and use; and procedures for obtaining copies and donating additional plans. This is followed by summaries for each drawing collection which give a count of the drawing sheets in the

collection and the number of vessels they represent; biographical information about the creator and the firm; a summary of the nature of the vessels and drawings; and finally information about the donor. This section is followed by several indices for the collections catalogued and individual, corporate and vessel names. A minor reservation concerns the guide's layout, which is plain and unadorned in the extreme. Greater attention to page design and typography for the next edition would produce a publication more pleasant to work with.

In its format and content, Stone's guide is a straightforward archival finding aid, and a useful complement to Douglas Stein's earlier *Manuscript Collections Guide. G.W. Blunt White Library* (Mystic Seaport Museum, 1983). The guide's conventional arrangement and modest size, however, barely hint at the riches contained in these drawings. Having several times had the pleasure of conducting research in the ships plans collection at Mystic Seaport, I can attest to both the extraordinary range of the ships and boats represented there, and at the surprising amount of Canadian material it contains.

Though they are ostensibly built up in the public trust to aid in understanding the past, museum collections are in general far too seldom used by researchers, who often go straight to the library. It is to be hoped that the publication of this guide will not only draw more researchers to Mystic Seaport, but encourage other museums and collecting institutions to carry out similar projects to make their holdings more accessible.

John Summers
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Madeleine Rowse Gleason. *The Voyages of the Ship* Revere *1849-1853.* "Pacific Maritime History Series," No. 2; Palo Alto, CA: Glencannon Press for the Associates of the National Maritime Museum Library, 1993. xxv + 164 pp., illustrations, tables, figures, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $15.95, paper; ISBN 0-9637586-2-4.

This is a thorough history of the ship *Revere* from its launching in 1849 in Medford, Massachusetts to its grounding and loss in 1883 at Port San Juan, British Columbia.

Madeleine Rowse Gleason, the author, began her voyage of discovery of the vessel's past as a result of a ship portrait of the *Revere* about which little was known. Her efforts led her to sources in many places in the United States and around the world. The variety of available sources for a mid-to-late nineteenth-century ship is staggering, and this book is an excellent piece of work utilizing many of these sources. If the *Revere* itself had been a less interesting vessel the volume of information discovered might be of less significance. However, the ship existed for some thirty-four years and had numerous "lives." In many ways this one vessel's history is therefore a microcosm for a great deal of the merchant marine history of the Western world during her period.

Revere began life in the packet trade between Boston/New York and Liverpool, later carrying cotton from southern United States ports and timber from New Brunswick to Great Britain. With the demand for vessels to transport passengers and goods to San Francisco following the gold rush she made a single voyage in that trade. Four passages carrying guano were made; sugar was carried from Manila to Boston; one voyage took ice and general cargo from Boston to Rio de Janeiro; as well, Welsh coal was taken to Rio and salt transported from Liverpool to Boston. As well as these specific commodities, *Revere* also carried general cargo to places like Fort Brook, Florida, Callao and St. Petersburg. In 1865 *Revere* was sold to San Francisco owners and for many years she plied the Pacific coast carrying coal from Nanaimo and timber from Port Townsend and Port Discovery to San Francisco, later carrying these cargoes to the Hawaiian Islands.

Each of the earlier voyages and a few of the later ones are discussed in detail and, where possible, the author has given a table indicating the cargo including product, amount and consignee. Many of these are fascinating in both type of cargo and the unit of measure. For example, Table 13b, describing the cargo for the voyage from Penang to New York, includes twenty bags cabobs, fifty-eight cases cassia, 1,093 bags and five hundred pockets *(sic)* coffee, 5,029 bales gambia, nineteen baskets India rubber, 142 boxes pearl sago, 10,561 bundles rattan, 3,023 piculs sappan wood and 3,282 slabs tin.

Revere was not always lucky — she grounded on four separate occasions, and these and the

subsequent insurance hassles are discussed. The author sensed the difficulty of most readers' inability to understand the latter and so included an appendix explaining "General Average." Another is devoted to "Howes' Rig," as the *Revere* was the first ship to carry double topsails. They were patented by her first master, Frederick Howes. A third appendix gives details of the owner's accounts for three of the vessel's voyages.

The book contains excerpts from the private log of one captain, lengthy pieces from a San Francisco-bound passenger's writings as well as quotations from newspapers, protests, etc. These few examples illustrate the vast list of sources which the author consulted in the research for this book, and which contributes to the rare degree of completeness of the book. The Introduction by Capt. Harold Huycke deserves mention for its suitability and interest.

I would have welcomed more information about the ship's masters (there was lots about the owners) as well as more on the ship portrait of the *Revere* which graces the cover and which started Madeleine Rowse Gleason on this excellent book. Nevertheless, the book is well written, easy to read, chock-full of facts and information and is a credit both to the author and the publishers.

Eric J. Ruff
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Philip Bosscher (ed.). *The Heyday of Sail: The Merchant Sailing Ship 1650-1830.* "Conway's History of the Ship"; Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. 175 pp., illustrations, figures, bibliography, glossary, index. US $44.95, Cdn $62.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-360-5. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This is the eleventh volume of Conway's "History of the Ship" to be published, although if we begin chronologically with *The Earliest Ships,* then sequentially speaking, it is number five. In its preparation, the series editor Robert Gardiner and the Consultant Editor Dr. Philip Bosscher of the University of Groningen have ranged somewhat further afield in seeking contributors than was the case with the other volumes. Of the panel, five are Dutch, one Swedish, and one English. A particularly engaging feature of "History of the Ship" as a whole has been the care and discrimination taken in the selection of illustrations, particularly the avoidance of the same overworked clichés that turn up, over and over, in so many maritime publications since the 1920s. Perhaps because of the heavy reliance on continental sources, many of the images here will be completely fresh to English speaking readers.

In 1650, Holland was *the* great trading nation; two centuries later it was Great Britain, and *Heyday of Sail* focuses on some aspects of this dramatic shift in maritime economic power. Although Spanish hegemony only ended with the Treaty of Munster in 1648, the Dutch by then already dominated the European shipping scene, having mastered the art of constructing merchant ships economically and rapidly. In particular, the Dutch *fluit* was the epitome of practicality and convenience, capable of being built, sailed and victualled cheaply, and, because of its hull-form, paying minimal tolls. In England, concern about British goods being carried in foreign bottoms led to the passage of the Navigation Act of 1651 and the precipitation of the Dutch Wars, or as the Dutch quaintly call them, the "English Wars." By the time of the signing of the Treaty of Nijmegen, at the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1674, Britain had surpassed Holland, and over the subsequent two centuries British merchant tonnage increased five- or six-fold, with an especially massive leap occurring during the Napoleonic wars. This development is masterfully covered by Christopher French in a section on "Merchant Shipping of the British Empire."

The nadir of the concomitantly declining fortunes of the Dutch was reached with the invasion of The Netherlands by the French in 1795. However, their contribution to the development of the sailing vessel during the period covered in this volume cannot be overestimated, so that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Dutch language stood in the same relation to the technology of the sailing ship as English does today *vis-à-vis* that of the jet-engine or computer. The Netherlands' position at the cutting edge of technological development helps explain why so many maritime technical terms used by other nations, are of Dutch origin.

The East India Companies were particularly significant corporate players during this era. In Holland, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), the world's first joint stock company,

sent its first expeditions to the Far East in the early 1600s, and would remain an important commercial force until it went bankrupt in 1795. Its first century coincided with the "Golden Age" of Dutch shipping, and in the chapter on "Shipping Economics and Trade," Philip Bosscher describes the VOC's rise and fall. They built and owned their vessels, unlike their British rival, the East India Company (1600-1874), which preferred to hire ships. Carl Olof Cederlund discusses the less famous Swedish East India Company (1731-1815) in "Ships of Scandinavia and the Baltic," especially to the contribution made to their design by the great Swedish naval architect, Fredrik Henrik Chapman.

Of the other sections, I found the chapter on the Mediterranean craft of the period by A.H. Prins particularly enlightening. The dust-jacket, featuring a painting by Mark Myers, of the VOC ship *Valkenisse,* nicely sets off a handsome production, a worthy addition to a fine series.

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K.S. Mathew (ed.). *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History.* New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1995. xiii + 488 pp., tables, figures, map. Rs 425, cloth; ISBN 81-7304-075-3.

K.S. Mathew has been one of the most vigorous proponents of maritime history in India. This collection derives from a symposium held at Pondicherry in 1991 and attended by scholars from sixteen countries. The result is a very diverse collection indeed, varying dramatically in length, historical period and quality. One general point is that most of these essays reflect the existing bias in the field of maritime history for economic matters, especially trade. We could do with more attention to other topics, such as passenger traffic, or the role of the Indian Ocean as a transmitter of disease, or of new religions.

There are a total of twenty-seven essays to be evaluated, and I intend merely to describe those which are shorter or less successful. Mathew opens the volume with a brief survey of Indian maritime history and a sketch of each chapter. Ashin Das Gupta tries, rather fruitlessly, to resurrect the reputation of W.H. Moreland. Tansen Sen provides a competent survey of maritime contacts between Sung China and the Cholas, using documentary and archaeological sources. Juan Francisco shows that there are a surprising number of Sanskrit words in various Philippine languages, while Bertram Bastiampillai provides a useful compendium of data about Sri Lanka's maritime history before colonialism. Rose Fugger looks generally at the role of her ancestors, the famous Fugger banking family, and the editor returns to describe Portuguese taxation policies on the west coast of India. Then comes a rather problematic discussion of Macao's trade by Deng Kaisong. Madhais Yasin provides another survey of that much-magnified phenomenon, the Maratha navy, while S. Babu competently details English exports from Coromandel between 1611 and 1652. Ajit Neogy and Karel Degryse provide very brief accounts of, respectively, the role of Mudaliars as intermediaries in Pondicherry, and social life and conflicts on ships of the Ostend Company and its predecessors in the early eighteenth century. John Everaert describes William Bolts' attempt to set up a new trading company, while A.R. Kulkarni writes on the port of Malwan, just north of Goa. The volume closes with a sketch, at times a bit chauvinist, by Vice-Admiral Mihir Roy of the current strategic situation in the Indian Ocean. He wants his political masters to be more assertive.

Rather arbitrarily, I found the following essays to be more substantial or successful. Ranabir Chakravarti writes on two port cities on the Andhra coast before 1500. He shows that there was vigorous trade, and considerable state interference and support, much more so than on the west coast. Haraprasad Ray, well known for his studies of Chinese voyaging, provides a provocative and speculative piece about fifteenth-century Chinese contacts with southern India. Another to use indigenous sources in a stimulating way is Aniruddha Ray. His Bengali and European accounts document his claim that the rise and fall of Bengal ports and cities had more to do with socio-economic and political influences than with the more usually cited geographical factors, such as changes in river courses.

Several senior scholars use the relatively copious European documentation to build on their past work. Geoffrey Scammell provides another of his graceful accounts of Europeans in Asia, on this occasion exiles, renegades and outlaws

attracted to the wealth of the local courts, especially that of the Mughals. S. Arasaratnam writes on the slave trade in the seventeenth century, and shows that its increase was due to Dutch demand. Both the main local authorities, the Mughals and the Marathas, tried to stop it, and there is little evidence of Asians engaged in this trade. So also with Ng Chin-keong's excellent study of the Amoy riots of 1852. These were provoked by the way Europeans handled their trade in Chinese labourers, which in fact was little different from slavery. Man-Huong Lin also gives us a Chinese theme, in this case the Opium Wars. Using a vast array of statistics, he shows that these wars were indeed largely caused because the Chinese authorities were concerned that the opium trade was draining huge amounts of silver away from China, and that this drain was very directly linked to and caused by increased imports of opium.

Several essays describe aspects of the activities of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Remco Raben uses detailed seventeenth-century Dutch censuses to describe the VOC's urban ethnic policy in Batavia and Colombo. Mark Vink shows how the Dutch attempt to monopolise the pepper trade of Kerala was foiled, as indeed had been the case for the Portuguese before them, by the continued viability of the overland route to Coromandel. Finally, Bhaswati Bhattacharya describes the competition between this European company and the Muslim Chulias of Coromandel in the Bay of Bengal in the late eighteenth century. The Chulias often did better in open competition than did the VOC.

L.F. Dias Antunes' piece is the only one to deal with the western rim of the Indian Ocean, that is, the Swahili coast. This is another of his studies of the role of Indians in Mozambique, in this case that of the "banyans" from 1686 to 1777. Based on copious Portuguese documentation, he shows, in a familiar way, that the banyas mostly did very well by various devious and other means. Finally we come to the only essay dealing with trade in the high imperial period at the end of the nineteenth century. Lewis Fischer and Gerald Panting have written an excellent account, of great interest both empirically and methodologically. The problem was that in the last three decades of this century there was too much available shipping and a lack of cargoes to take back to Europe. They show that some sailing ships leaving from Australia, or Southeast and East Asia, called in to India to fill their holds before returning to England.

As by now should be clear, this is a very miscellaneous collection indeed. It could well be that the way forward for maritime history is to produce more focused symposia and collections of essays. One recent very successful one was that edited by Indu Banga, *Ports and their Hinterlands in India, 1700-1950* (New Delhi, 1992) which showed more coherence and analytical rigour than does the present volume, precisely because it was oriented around a theme. Nevertheless, even though the parts, or some of them, are greater than the whole in Mathew's book, this new publication is still to be welcomed.

M.N. Pearson
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Glenn J. Ames. *Colbert, Mercantilism, and the French Quest for Asian Trade*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996. xiv + 245 pp., maps, notes, bibliography, index. US S36, cloth; ISBN 0-87580-207-9.

Working under Paul Bamford's capable direction and based on a wide range of archival sources, Dutch, English, Indian and Portuguese as well as French, Glenn Ames has written a new history of French efforts to establish themselves in India and Ceylon during the years 1664 to 1674. About half of the book, drawn almost entirely from these sources, is a detailed account of the expeditionary fleet's manoeuvres in the Indian Ocean. These can be studied with the aid of the book's three neat maps. We follow a fleet from La Rochelle to Madagascar and on to India, and we learn how a French base was established at Pondichéry rather than at other places in India. There are extensive passages on the Dutch, English and Portuguese enterprises in the Indian Ocean, the imperial politics behind them, their strengths and weaknesses. Why the French were not able to match them is the underlying question that forms the thread of this book.

In chapters 5 to 8 especially, Ames offers his own explanations for the events he chronicles and his own estimates of the French expeditionary leaders. The tactical details, naval and political, will interest informed readers, though the general

conclusion is familiar: that French forces failed as a result of their own bungling and the distractions of the Dutch War of 1672. Many excellent pages are devoted to explaining why Colbert's hopes in the early 1670s for a French commercial *présence* in the Indian Ocean were reasonable, and how "the favorable conjuncture of 1669 to 1672 was "squandered." (140-2, 188). Ames believes that the Dutch East India Company was much more capable than the French one, and gives careful explanations for this. On the whole, the fault did not lie with the expeditionary leaders. Ames is less willing than some French historians to blame Colbert's Dutch Huguenot advisor, François Caron, for the disasters that befell the expeditionary fleet, and seems to reserve judgement on Caron. Louis XIV's viceroy, Jacob Blanquet de La Haye, emerges as a brilliant and successful soldier. The blame for the French defeat rests mainly with Louis XIV's government, which was only sporadically interested in overseas enterprises, and with a social structure that made French merchants subservient to administrators, noblemen and financiers. Among the merchants, there was little enthusiasm for Colbert's enterprises in the Indian Ocean; official bullying drove some to invest in the East India Company, but the result was wholly different from the comparable Dutch and English companies.

The intellectual framework of the book is less interesting, taken as it is from the familiar works of C.W. Cole, Holden Furber, and other students of "mercantilism." We are also left wondering about the structure and personnel of the French East India Company, whose directors are here treated with something of Louis XIV's lofty indifference. Claude Gueston, for instance, was hardly "a shadowy figure," (101) but an active Paris businessman, a *Trésorier de France* from a prominent family of Lyon, who invested in shipping at La Rochelle during the 1660s through the intermediary of Pierre Allaire, and who married into the enterprising Hobier family. To the author's credit, however, he is aware of the vital religious factors in that age and of the fundamental differences between France and the Dutch Republic. When he remarks again and again that Colbert and Louis XIV reproached their representatives in the Orient for not writing often enough or fully enough, we see this as a manifestation of an absolute, authoritarian monarchy which seldom trusted its own agents because it chose them for the wrong reasons, and which could not help trying to rule an overseas empire from Versailles. Let us hope the author goes on to make further use of his extensive archival research.

J.F. Bosher
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Perry Gauci. *Politics and Society in Great Yarmouth J660-1722.* Oxford: Clarendon Press and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. xii + 299 pp., map, tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, index. US $72, Cdn $108, cloth; ISBN 0-19-820605-4.

A reader of maritime history may be forgiven for approaching this volume with expectations that prove inappropriate. Great Yarmouth was a major English fishing port, needing naval convoys for its fleet of 400-500 vessels and seeking trade concessions to defend what was a major nursery for the English navy. Those interested in the history of fisheries might hope to compare the political fortunes of that closely controlled city, which sent two MPs to Westminster, with the dispersed politics of the Newfoundland fishery out on the imperial periphery.

This careful study of the walled corporation of Great Yarmouth will be of enduring value for scholars interested in the political struggles between the English capital and its provinces. The impact of national political crises upon a strong and resourceful local elite is detailed in five narrative chapters that form the core of this work.

Ultimately, this book is about politics from the top up. In 1660, a mere 600 freemen elected the twenty-four aldermen and forty-eight councillors who ran this town of 7,000 people. Political, legal, and economic power was wielded by a merchant oligarchy that decreased in size, increased in cohesion by inter-marriage despite religious variety, and fought mightily to preserve its monopoly against all outsiders. Most current "politics and society" scholarship expands the political sphere to include press, clubs, churches, townhall architecture, public pageantry, and riotous street challenges to authority. Gauci, who is well versed in the current scholarship and has explored some very suggestive material, avoids all such inclusiveness on the unconvincing

grounds that sources are not available. By minimizing the nervous attention the oligarchy paid to local manifestations of "out-of-doors" politics during the Popish plot, the revolution of 1688, or the Sacheverell trial, Gauci can maximize corporate adjustments to what he sees as central government intrusions attending national political earthquakes. Indeed, one of Gauci's clear purposes is to defend the Great Yarmouth oligarchy against all the obvious and long-standing charges of their selfish exercise of exclusive power. Particularly in the first two general chapters, on the institution and its personnel, the defence of exclusivity, secrecy, and even pensions, sounds like the excuses that the oligarchs themselves would have offered.

While a political study of a merchant oligarchy cannot be expected to emphasize economics, the political consequences of economic problems deserve more consideration. For example, wars with The Netherlands and France seriously disrupted the North Sea fishery, the shipment of fish to southern European markets, and the economy and revenues of Great Yarmouth. The fish presumably multiplied merrily while their human predators were distracted and recruited or impressed into the navy, where they would not disrupt Great Yarmouth's comfortable corporate power. Meanwhile, the merchant princes continued to rule without a single spectacular bankruptcy, even during the longest wars. Public wartime revenues proved too low to support dredging of the tide-borne sands that incessantly sought to block the harbour entrance to a town then particularly dependent upon its extortionate tolls for goods bound upriver to Norwich. Local need for dredging funds, for convoys for its fleets, and for political protection for its chartered privileges, all drew the corporation toward Whitehall and Westminster.

Gauci tells of a proudly independent city government, surprisingly unified and pragmatic despite occasional politically inspired purges and prosecutions, valiantly fighting against tyrannical later Stuarts and greedy noble "patrons," before finally going into a political coma caused by a monopolizing Walpolean parliamentary "interest". From another point of view, these various villains were achieving something of eventual social value by weakening and anesthetizing a greedy, oppressive, and self-perpetuating merchant oligarchy. Gauci may be too close to his subjects, but he reveals most of the evidence for either interpretation.

This study becomes one of the few that detail the political contest between the centralizing later Stuart English state and its chartered cities, companies, and colonies. The techniques of intrusion and resistance will invite comparison. As for the Newfoundland fishery, perhaps it was fortunate to be an ocean away from both the West Country outport mayors and their centralizing political opponents.

Ian K. Steele
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Frances Wilkins. *George Moore and Friends: Letters from a Manx Merchant (1750-1760).* Kidderminster, Worcs.: Wyre Forest Press, 1994 [8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs. DY10 3NQ, UK]. 303 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, photographs, appendices, bibliography, nominal index. £9.95, paper; ISBN 1-897725-078.

Frances Wilkins provides maritime and business historians with a very good micro-study of a British merchant active during the mid-eighteenth century. Her close and exhaustive reading of the merchant's outgoing correspondence yields details that put meat on the dusty bones of port-books and customs records, and gives us a rare glimpse into the commercial mentality of an earlier era. Works like this - narrowly focused, based directly on archival sources, and attentive to detail — are the building blocks necessary for wider, comparative understanding of trade and shipping during the *ancien régime.*

The merchant was one George Moore, resident on the Isle of Man. His letter-book contained nearly 1,650 outbound letters written between 1750 and 1760 to some 320 individuals and companies (his "friends"). Moore was majority-owner of two ships, which he used to import brandy and wine from Spain and France, export manufactures to New England, and transship fish to the Mediterranean. He also imported tea, rum, and tobacco. Wilkins devotes the first half of her study to describing each trade, outlining who and what was involved (the voyage map and commentary on pp. 127-45 are particularly

helpful). Wilkins brings the reader into the nitty-gritty of daily transactions, recounting the many problems that arose and squabbles that ensued. Thus, for example, we learn of the importance of coopers (14-17, 59), of the care with which merchants spelled out ownership rights (pp.28-9), and of the difficulties obtaining cargoes and remittances (21-2, 57-8). The description of the tobacco manufactory (81-2) is noteworthy. Wilkins also delves into Moore's banking and insurance connections in London and Glasgow.

Most interestingly, Moore was deeply involved in the smuggling of spirits and tea into western Scotland. Wilkins' book is especially valuable as a contribution to the much-debated history of smuggling, since Moore was surprisingly candid about his activities. Smuggling has become a major topic in trade history; Wilkins unearths a tremendous amount of data on smuggling techniques. Sailing under false flags, duplicate bills of lading, false customs declarations of every description...these and other ruses were commonplace for Moore. Moore, of course, took great pains to stay wherever possible within the letter of the law (as Wilkins notes on the unpaginated first page of her introduction). Wilkins is able to describe in great detail the smuggling networks on Scotland's western coast, and the intricate connections between Moore, the smuggling agents, the wherrymen, and the customers.

The book's shortcomings are primarily those common to its genre: a lack of broader context and virtually no acknowledgement of the historiography. Although there are comprehensive appendices relating to the letters and their addressees, there are no footnotes and only an extremely thin bibliography. The lack of secondary references can be frustrating, as, for example, when Wilkins writes "it has been estimated that two thirds of the tea drunk in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland during the mid eighteenth century came from Europe." (61) While we know that independent British merchants used Swedish and Dutch suppliers to evade the East India Company's monopoly, two thirds seems a very high percentage; who is Wilkins' source for this estimate? Similarly, readers might want to know that Moore's tea-suppliers in Gothenburg and Rotterdam — Bagge and the Hopes respectively — were leading merchants of their day.

Such flaws do not detract from the book's overall merit. Besides those contributions already noted, the book is handsomely produced, with period maps and portraits. Wilkins apparently set up the Wyre Forest Press to publish books on smuggling history; the study of Moore appears to be the fifth in the series. We hope Wilkins continues to mine what seem to be rich archival sources on the Isle of Man and Scotland for further studies. Maritime historians will welcome further publications from Wyre Forest Press.

Daniel A. Rabuzzi
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Ursula Lamb. *Cosmographers and Pilots of the Spanish Maritime Empire.* Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995. xv + 269 pp., illustrations, maps, appendix, index. US $79.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-473-8.

This is one of a series of books, each of which is devoted to the reproduction of essays on a selected topic by one author. This one consists of seventeen papers prepared by Ursula Lamb between 1966 and 1993. All but three were published in various journals, and several are papers prepared to be read at a conference.

Lamb's specialty is Latin American history. She has held numerous fellowships and appointments and is now Professor Emerita at the University of Arizona. She is a long-time member of the Society for the History of Discoveries, whose journal *Terrae Incognitae* is well known.

Repetition of the same material in various papers is inevitable given the format of the series. The papers deal with events which happened as early as 1543 and as late as 1834. At the start of this period, cosmography was extremely vague. There was general acceptance of theoretical geography - the pronouncement of logical configurations of unknown lands. The diameter of the earth was in doubt, and in consequence, so were measures of longitude. By 1834, Felipe Bauzà was working in London on the last of the cosmographie problems, the polar compression of the earth, although the author does not mention this in her paper on that Spanish cosmographer.

Not only does the collection illuminate the procedures by which cosmographie knowledge was developed in Spain, it also gives a picture of

the progress of Lamb's research and knowledge of the subject. Inevitably, some of the papers recount work in progress, but the format precludes any follow up reports. A brief Post Scriptum gives some information, and occasionally a later paper expands on an earlier one, but we are left with several uncompleted stories.

It is not possible to deal individually with all the papers. The earlier ones describe the activities of the sixteenth century Spanish cosmographers, and the political, legal, and ecclesiastical battles which were waged among the authorities in order to establish the merits of their conflicting theories. The main objective in the sixteenth century was to lay down a route to the Indies. All voyages had to be individually licensed, so there were great arguments between the pilots who had to take the ships out and bring them home again, and the government cosmographers who tried to lay down compulsory routes and procedures. One of those procedures was that before a voyage, compasses had to be "freshened" by use of a lodestone belonging to an official in the Pilot Major's office. He made a useful sum out of this service which was a prerequisite to obtaining a licence.

One paper (Number VIII in the book) deals with the teaching of pilots and the development of texts on navigation. This is perhaps the most complete paper in the collection, and demonstrates the impressive advances made in a hundred years. All was not easy; in 1624 the Chair of Mathematics in the Royal Academy was abolished, and all teachings had to pass the scrutiny of the Jesuits.

Other papers treat subjects ancillary to the main theme, such as the administrative framework within which the pilots worked or specific examples of the efforts of individuals towards one end or another. With a few exceptions, they are useful additions to the story. A paper on a failed attempt to introduce lithographic printing of maps could have been omitted, as could one which draws questionable parallels between the Treaty of Tordesillas and Thomas Jefferson's theoretical partition of the unknown territory west of the American colonies. This is one of two papers written in Spanish, the other being an interesting paper on the science of geography.

This is an expensive book. The reader should be aware that it is a facsimile reprint of the original papers, complete with typographical errors, and there are many differences in the size and design of type between papers. Some papers have evidently been reduced to fit the page. One is a copy of a paper originally printed from a typed document, and this is not the only one where the reproduction is of inferior quality. That having been said, the reader who is willing to ignore these deficiencies will find a fascinating story told by an expert who has studied the subject for forty years.

John Kendrick
Vancouver, British Columbia

Frank Horner. *Looking for La Pérouse: D'Entrecasteaux in Australia and the South Pacific 1792-1793*. Carlton, Victoria: Miegunyah Press (of Melbourne University Press), 1995. xiv + 318 pp., b+w plates, illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $49.95, cloth; ISBN 0-522-84451-0. Distributed in North America by Paul & Company, Concord, MA.

In 1788, France was tottering on the edge of revolution and chaos. Nevertheless, amidst the building pressure that would soon erupt into the convulsion of the French Revolution, the scientific community and the French court were beginning to wonder about the fate of the scientific expedition to the Pacific Ocean led by Jean-François Galoup, comte de La Pérouse, with the ships *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*. In that year, La Pérouse wrote to the minister of Marine from the Botany Bay colony, reporting on the progress of the expedition so far and outlining a sailing plan that would take in a great counterclockwise circle to Tonga, New Guinea, and northern Australia before making for Mauritius and home. La Pérouse never made it, and Frank Horner's calm and well-crafted book is about the expedition sent out by France's revolutionary government to find him — an expedition which itself came to grief, but more on the shoals of political discord and the death of its leader than the reefs which claimed La Pérouse and his ships.

The story of eighteenth-century European exploration of the Pacific is so heavily overshadowed by the competent and effective figure of James Cook that it is all too easy to forget the appalling challenges exploration under sail in that

vast basin presented. La Pérouse's death on Vanikoro and the mortality of the majority of French expedition leaders in Pacific and Australian waters throw into stark relief the strain of such voyaging — and the achievements in health and navigation of Cook in comparison, though he, too, fell to an island dagger thrust on the foreshore of "Karakakooa Bay" in 1779. Yet the well-equipped French expeditions were not led by fools or manned by incompetent seamen. La Pérouse's reputation was that of a humane, thorough and courageous leader, and the intentions and preparation for the expedition, initially to enhance France's access to the fur trade but finally to conduct geographical and scientific research for the *Société d'Histoire Naturelle,* were at least as laudable as the motives behind the expeditions of Cook and Vancouver, and would have brought much credit to France had they been successful. But while France was descending into revolution, La Pérouse's expedition silently vanished into the endless Pacific.

Not until 1791 did an optimistic and emotional National Assembly, still awash in idealism, vote to have the King send an expedition after La Pérouse, both to rescue him if necessary and to continue his scientific work, a vote based on equal amounts of high-mindlessness, patriotism, and genuine intellectual interest. The man selected to lead the rescue was Antoine Raymond Joseph Bruny D'Entrecasteaux — no *sans culottes,* he — and he sailed in the small national frigates *Recherche* and *Espérance,* well equipped and well manned, including a capable shoal of naturalists, of which the botanist, Jacques-Julien Houtou de Labillardière, would prove both brilliant and productive.

Well supported by illustrations, including exquisite artwork to rival Webber and other artists of Cook's, Horner's precise and readable text carries the reader through the process of d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, from the humane and observant visit to Tasmania to the expedition's final political disintegration and its seizure by Dutch troops at Sourabaya in February 1794. The quality and achievement of the scientific observation is contrasted with the greater difficulties of establishing easy relations with island populations and the slowly building political divisiveness that led ultimately to disaster. It is at once a tragic and moving tale, made all the more powerful by Horner's impeccable scholarship and writing style; we are left feeling that d'Entrecasteaux deserved better than a gloomy death and burial in the Melanesian seas and the humiliating collapse of his expedition. He had called forth in his men some feelings felt for Cook, and Homer's text allows us to understand why.

"We have lost...the best of chiefs...the most tender father, the greatest naval officer of the century, the bravest of men...excellent friend, in fact too much perfection...has been his defect, if it were possible to find one in him." These words, by the man who assumed command after d'Entrecasteaux's death, were the latter's best epitaph. For students of Pacific history, or students of the frailty of human endeavour, Horner's eloquent story of how it came to be bestowed is a worthy acquisition to the library of European encounters with the Pacific.

Victor Suthren
Ottawa, Ontario

John M. Naish. *The Interwoven Lives of George Vancouver, Archibald Menzies, Joseph Whidbey and Peter Puget; Exploring the Pacific Northwest Coast.* Lewiston, NY and Queenston, ON: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996. 537 pp., maps, b+w plates, appendices, annotated select bibliography, index. US $119.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7734-8857-X.

The appearance of a book on Vancouver following the monumental edition of his voyage by W. Kaye Lamb for the Hakluyt Society (1984) invites the question: What more is there to contribute to the Vancouver story? John Naish has supplied a cogent answer.

Building on Lamb and using some as yet unmined sources, the author interweaves from childhood to their lives and careers after their voyage the lives of Vancouver with those of three of his companions: the botanist and surgeon, Archibald Menzies; the commander of *Chatham,* Peter Puget; and the master of *Discovery,* Joseph Whidbey. Familiar events and problems acquire a freshness when examined through the interaction of four dissimilar personalities rather than through the eyes of a single reporter. The author has set himself a difficult task, but the end result is a very readable and lucid recounting of one of the great voyages of maritime history.

For example, this approach enables the reader to appreciate better the difficult relationship between Menzies and his captain. Vancouver was constantly wary and suspicious (45) of his botanist, the protégé of the influential Sir Joseph Banks. Not only did Banks draft Menzies' instructions, he required Menzies to keep ajournai for his use and prescribed the famous glass-topped frame to house his plants which became the lightening rod of their growing animosity. Menzies, Naish says, was ever between the upper millstone of Banks' displeasure and the nether millstone of Vancouver's wrath when the matter of the garden frame was raised. (204) This was also true in other issues such as his journal which Menzies refused to turn over, leading Vancouver to request that Menzies be court martialled. Naish believes Menzies little understood the weight of responsibility which Vancouver carried, nor did he understand Vancouver's obsessive nature or his sense of insecurity (122) or his single-minded dedication to his mission.

Whidbey, Vancouver's chief confident, had a lively intelligence, curiosity and an interest in science and mathematics and formed with his commander a perfect professional relationship. (67-8) Naish believes that Vancouver regarded Puget, the youngest of the four, as a cherished younger brother, (4) though privately, in his journal, Puget was not uncritical of his captain.

Particularly valuable are the pages in which the author deals with Vancouver's progressively worsening health from the time he left England to his death at 40. The available evidence is examined in detail as are alternative interpretations, such as Watt's that Vancouver suffered from hyperthyroidism and Addison's disease. Writing as a professional internist, Naish makes a convincing case — to this laymen at least — that Vancouver suffered from renal (kidney) failure.

Also valuable are the chapters dealing with the later careers of Menzies, Puget and Whidbey. Though Menzies continued to serve in the Navy for a brief period, he became a prominent surgeon in London and did not retire until he was 72, all the while keeping up his active interest in botany and membership in the prestigious Linnaean Society. After the voyage, Puget went on to earn fame as an administrator, a planner of naval operations and in action in command of the *Goliath* at the second Battle of Copenhagen (1807). Whidbey never left a memoir of the voyage but the author has been able to uncover much new material on Whidbey's career as a civil engineer, his greatest achievement being the construction of the Plymouth breakwater, and eventually his election to membership in the Royal Society. There is also a useful appendix on the life and culture of the West Coast Indians. The maps are mercifully uncluttered and there are no more end notes than necessary. However, for a volume so pricey, the purchaser has a right to expect more careful proof reading and better reproduced illustrations.

Three small errors were noted. John Hanna, the first of the fur traders to arrive on the West Coast, was English, not American (11). The naturalists Mozino and Maldonaldo and the artist Echevarria (not Escherera) (194, 204) and Jacinto Caamano who surveyed the waters between 53° and 56° did not serve under Malaspina but under Bodega y Quadra, the commander of the Limits Expedition. (204)

Freeman M. Tovell
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Andrew David. *The Voyage of HMS Herald 1852-1861.* Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1995. xxviii + 521 pp., maps, charts, illustrations, bibliography, index. AUS $69.95, cloth; ISBN 0-522-84390-5.

This magnificently produced volume is the only published account of *Herald's,* pioneering survey voyage to the South Pacific. Some officers and scientists wrote brief articles about aspects of the voyage, but its record remained largely undisturbed in the hydrographie archives at Taunton where Commander Andrew David worked for many years. Adding research elsewhere in Britain and in Australia to the records at Taunton, the author has been able to produce a comprehensive study of the maritime and scientific aspects of *Herald's* voyage. A former survey officer himself, David is well qualified to handle the technical aspects of *Herald's* operations and to appreciate the demanding nature of the work that took her crew to the New Hebrides, Fiji, the Coral Sea and around Australia in several cruises lasting a total of nine years.

David presents the story as a chronological

narrative, an approach that makes the absence of an introduction hard to understand. David's interest is the technical rather than the historical context *of Herald's* voyage, and sandwiched into the narrative are appraisals of the accuracy of Denham's charts and descriptions of every reef he missed. We also learn the current nomenclature of the plants and animals discovered by *Herald's* scientists, making this book valuable for historians of science and hydrography alike. It is a pity, however, that the same attention to detail did not extend to the historical aspects of the account. References to Captain Henry Mangles Denham's tyrannical disposition drift in and out of the story in descriptions that reach Captain Bligh proportions. What are we to make of this? How did Denham compare with other surveyors like Blackwood, Belcher or Stanley in terms of temperament and ability? How did his approach to surveying compare with theirs? What does-the uselessness of *Herald's* steam tender, *Torch,* add to the debate about steam technology and maritime exploration? David is well qualified to answer these questions, and it is a pity that the book's format does not allow him to do so.

Other questions arise from the wider context of *Herald's* activities. Denham intervened to protect mission settlements in Fiji, and pressed to accept a cession of some of the Fiji islands. Was this a normal part of naval duties in the islands? Was Denham more or less tolerant of indigenous cultures than his predecessors or contemporaries? The book's Pacific history sources are not given acknowledgment in the endnotes, so it is unclear how much of the cultural descriptions and context comes from secondary sources and how much from contemporary observations. More serious is David's use of the word "natives" (when not paraphrasing), something which will only confirm stereotypes about the old-fashioned nature of British naval history. On the other hand, the author succumbs to the fashionable practice of using modern place names in historical narrative, as in "Vanuatu" for the "New Hebrides" of Denham's day. Readers will find no help from the index, which refers to neither, and might conclude incorrectly that "Vanuatu" existed in the nineteenth century.

In general, however, this book is informative and entertaining; enhanced by its author's knowledge of surveying practice. It also does an important service for maritime and imperial history of drawing attention to the richness of the Victorian naval record in the Pacific.

Jane Samson
Ashford, Kent

Normand Lafrenière. *Lightkeeping on the St. Lawrence: The End of an Era.* Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996. 108 pp., illustrations, maps, figures, photographs (b+w, colour), appendices, bibliography, list of interviewees. $19.99, US $17.50, £11.25, paper; ISBN 1-55002-277-6.

In the past half century the role of the lighthouse as an aid of navigation has evolved from the provision of essential light and sound signals to its current use as a secondary visual guide for mariners. With the removal of lightkeepers from almost all Canadian lighthouses, the structures themselves are also disappearing as the federal government divests itself of surplus lightstation equipment and property. Parks Canada has taken over a number of lighthouse sites on the St. Lawrence and it is within the context of these efforts to preserve the lights that author Normand Lafrenière explores Quebec's lighthouse history.

Lightkeeping on the St. Lawrence presents a brief overview of lighthouses and their keepers in the Canadian Coast Guard's "Laurentian Region," where the first complete automation and destaffing of lightstations in Canada took place. The author sets the stage for the construction of Quebec's first lights with various accounts of mid-eighteenth-century navigation and hydrography on the St. Lawrence and the hazards faced by shipping well into this century. Subsequent chapters explore the backgrounds of the first lightkeepers, details of their daily duties, and accounts of poor living conditions.

Lafrenière also discusses other aspects of lightkeeping, including semaphore signal service, war-time marine surveillance and fisheries observation. By the late 1960s some of these extra duties became obsolete and soon the actual work of maintaining lights and horns was reduced as well. The effect of automation on the life and work of the lightkeepers is mentioned at several points in the book and a short chapter provides some background on the federal government's destaffing initiative, begun in the early 1870s.

The book is based on research at the archives of the Québec Trinity House, Transport Canada's nineteenth-century predecessor, and on interviews with Coast Guard administrators and thirty former lightkeepers. Lafrenière uses snippets of information provided by the keepers to describe family life and improving work and living conditions on the lights in the twentieth century. Several maps and photographs illustrate the isolation of some lightstations and provide an idea of living conditions on the smaller islets and pillar lights. Lafrenière also touches briefly on the use of lightships on the river before they were replaced by fixed pillar lights in the 1950s and '60s.

In general *Lightkeeping on the St. Lawrence* presents a useful but limited account of lightkeeping in Québec. Despite access to comprehensive archival and interview material, the author used much of it sparingly. And while he recognizes the shift from staffed to unattended lights as the most significant change within lightkeeping history, his account does not reflect the profound effect of destaffing on the last keepers and on the lightstations they maintained. In addition, little mention is made of the great numbers of lives saved by the keepers over the years and other assistance offered to mariners up to the time of destaffing. Nonetheless, this short book provides the reader with a fairly solid introduction to the lighthouses of the St. Lawrence. As the federal government continues to downsize and streamline its marine operations, it is more important than ever that this information is preserved and that efforts are made to save the remaining lights from extinction; Lafrenière has helped fill another gap in the documentation of Canadian lighthouse history.

Chris Mills
Ivory Island, British Columbia

Jukka Eenila and Marja Pelanne (eds.). *Nautica Fennica 1996: The Maritime Museum of Finland Annual Report 1996.* Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities and The Finnish Association for Maritime History, 1996. 91 pp., photographs, maps, illustrations, figures, chapter references. 80 FM, paper; ISBN 951-9075-98-4.

The 1996 Maritime Museum of Finland *Annual Report* has the appearance of being a special issue focusing on the 300th anniversary of the Pilot Service in Finland. To celebrate the occasion, the Museum built an exhibit on pilotage, hydrographic surveys, chart making and buoyage which opened in the spring of 1996 and will continue until the fall of 1997. The Museum, housed in the former Pilot House at the centre of Helsinki Harbour, includes permanent displays on the development of Finnish lighthouses from the first in 1753 to the present, and includes the lightship *Kemi* moored nearby. From what appears in this book, the Museum is well worth visiting.

The report contains four articles, each presented in Finnish and translated into very readable English. Fifty-five archival photographs, maps, and boat plans complement the text. A Canadian looking at the photos could be forgiven for thinking that they depict eastern Georgian Bay or the coast of the Maritime Provinces.

The first article by Riita Blomgren is an overview of Finnish maritime administration, including background about the Finnish Maritime Museum. The second, by Maija Fast, describes the history of the Pilot Station Island in the centre of Helsinki harbour. Pilots and their families lived on the island in two-bedroom apartments in the Pilot House. They fetched water from a common well, used an outdoor privy, split firewood for their stove, and sent their children to school by boat or across the ice in the winter. The disparity between their way of life and today's is forcefully evident. They manned the lookout on top of the building for calls of pilotage, and sailed out to the ship in their personally owned sailboat. In the winter they made the spar buoys which they then positioned in the spring to mark the channels, man-handling rocks up to five hundred kilos in weight to anchor them. Their travails are worth commemorating. The third article by Anne Ala-Pollanen examines the history of the Pilot Boat *Sjogren,* built as a sailing boat in 1903, motorized in the 1920s, and continued to be used by the son of the original pilot-owner until the 1950s as he continued the pilotage trade. The boat was left in storage for two decades until bought by the present owner from the family. The preservation of the boat and its presentation at the pilotage exhibit is a good starting point for a treatise on design elements for Finnish boats and how pilot boats differ from others. Several hull plans are presented in the illustrations that should be sufficient for a modeller. The last chapter by Seppo

Laurell describes the hydrographie surveys in the Gulf of Bothnia. Although Sweden began to survey its side of the gulf in the late 1700s, the Russians did not order a thorough survey of the Finnish side until 1851. Finnish survey methods were meticulous and the charts well respected. Many hydrographie offices would be envious of their diligence. The Russians considered the Gulf of Finland too important to trust to Finns, but their surveys were not as carefully executed, as was made painfully aware when the Tsar's own yacht struck an uncharted rock.

So if you are visiting the Baltic region, try to visit Helsinki and the Maritime Museum of Finland; it looks very interesting.

David H. Gray
Ottawa, Ontario

James Pack. *Nelson's Blood: The Story of Naval Rum.* Kenneth Mason, 1982. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1995. xi + 196 pp., photographs, illustrations (b+w, colour), appendices, index. £8.99, paper; ISBN 0-7509-1082-8.

The Royal Navy generated more than its share of literary and historical classics, particularly during its centuries under sail. From Pepys to Marryat, an impressive roster of authors have devoted themselves to the explanations and elucidation of the senior service, and to that distinguished company we can now add the name of Captain James Pack, OBE, RN. Doubters should immediately lay hands on a copy of Pack's *Nelson's Blood: The Story of Naval Rum,* which first appeared in 1983, and which has now been reissued in this affordable paperback edition.

Most of the recognized Royal Navy masterpieces — one thinks immediately of massive compendiums such as William James' *History* and Falconer's *Dictionary* — are distinguished by their awesome breadth of data, covering decades of warfare and entire technologies in intricate detail, but Captain Pack's more modest work is of a different nature. He has chosen to ignore the larger canvas, and to concentrate instead on a seemingly insignificant aspect of life in the Royal Navy — the daily tot of rum that brightened the day for generations of tars and served as a means of ameliorating the hardships of life at sea.

The daily rum ration began (unofficially) in 1655, and ended (officially) in 1970, and during its long history it played a significant role in lifting morale and formulating tradition. Pack tells it all, with any number of surprising and even whimsical asides. For instance, the book takes its title from the once commonly held belief that after Trafalgar, the body of Lord Nelson was returned home preserved in rum, when in fact his lordship was pickled in brandy and spirits of wine. As one might expect, Pack gives us the derivation of "grog," but then, quite unexpectedly, he also reveals the eponymous connection that links the word to George Washington's Virginia estate, Mount Vernon. As for those readers, including this reviewer, who have wondered how the tradition of distributing an extra tot of rum came to be known as "splicing the mainbrace," Pack makes a brave attempt at an answer, and if it is not totally convincing, it is probably the best we will ever get to that vexing question.

By concentrating on the minutiae of life at sea, *Nelson's Blood* fulfils Blake's vision, and discovers a universe in a grain of sand. Yes, this is a classic, and deservedly so.

James Tertius de Kay
Stonington, CT

Richard Harding. *The Evolution of the Sailing Navy, 1509-1815.* Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan and St. Martin's Press, 1995. ix + 181 pp., tables, notes, select bibliography, index. £35, US $39.95, cloth; ISBN 0-333-59604-8 (Macmillan), ISBN 0-312-12407-4 (St. Martin's Press).

I recommend this excellent book to all who are interested in the history of Great Britain's Royal Navy. The rise of that navy to dominance of the world's seas from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries was a long and complex process that bound it to English and later British society and to the early modern state. The Royal Navy has been the principal vehicle for projecting state power beyond the British Isles since the sixteenth century and during the process it became crucially important to the political, economic and even cultural evolution of British society. Though the Royal Navy was shaped by other institutions, it, too, shaped them. To an astonishing degree, it also fashioned Britons' perceptions of themselves, especially among the literate, politically involved

public in the eighteenth century. While much remains to be known about the Royal Navy, this small volume provides a superb, up-to-date summary of recent research and writing presented in a well-written epistolary style.

The author previously published an important monograph on amphibious warfare in the West Indies in the eighteenth century. This latest work displays his firm grasp of recent literature. His many references to historians' disagreements, current subjects of debate, and new orientations for research add significantly to the work. Harding concludes that British naval dominance was the result of short- and long-term adjustments to the need to meet continually changing challenges from different enemies, the requirements of society, economy and the political demands of the state, as well as the evolving changes in the Royal Navy's own systems and technologies. What gives *The Evolution of the Sailing Navy* its particular value is the author's treatment of naval history as a study of both process and institutional change. This is accomplished with a great deal of compression, yet Harding successfully sacrifices detail while preserving cohesion, comprehensiveness, and the reader's interest.

Though the book is organized into five chapters of roughly equal length, it focuses on the seventeenth century. The first and fifth chapters, treating the previous and succeeding centuries respectively, act chiefly as introduction and conclusion to the three central chapters devoted to the Early Stuart, Interregnum, and Restoration navies. In Harding's view, the forces that shaped these versions of the Royal Navy had far more lasting impact and significance than any that affected the Georgian navy. Thus, he argues that the Glorious Revolution of 1688 wrought far fewer changes to the navy than did the civil war forty-two years earlier, and yet nothing occurred after 1713 to match the impact of political, diplomatic, structural and financial changes affecting the Royal Navy during the previous quarter century. Harding may be correct, but his opinion may also reflect little more than the excellence of recent studies of the navy during the seventeenth century and the paucity of similar ones dealing with the first half of the next century.

The book well serves its intended audience of senior secondary school students and university undergraduates. Others, however, can also profit from this very manageable overview, for it is based on newer works with more sociological and economic foci than was the case with older, more traditional histories that tend to rely on conjunctural or circumstantial explanations for the outcomes of naval operations. In shifting our attention to relations between the navy and the other institutions in society, the author also points to the most puzzling feature of naval dominance, its ambiguity.

There are very few errors; Vice-Admiral Thomas Hood (135) surely is a reference to Sir Samuel Hood. The only real caveat concerns the price. This useful but slim volume is very costly. I can only urge the publisher to rush a paperback edition into print as quickly as possible. More readers may then be persuaded that the history of the Royal Navy is far from exhausted. It continues' to provide researchers and historians with new avenues to explore and new histories to write.

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario

Michael J. Crawford (éd.); E. Gordon Bowen-Hassell, Charles E. Brodine, Jr., Mark L. Hayes (asst. eds.). *Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Volume 10. American Theater: October 1, 1777 - December 31, 1777; European Theater: October 1, 1777 - December 31, 1777.* Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1996. xxiii + 1350 pp., illustrations, appendices, index. US $55, cloth; ISBN 0-16-045286-4.

When publication of *Naval Documents of the American Revolution (NDAR)* began in 1964 under the editorial direction of William Bell Clark, volumes were released on average every two or three years. By the late 1970s, the frequency of publication had lengthened to every four years. As William James Morgan (who took over as editor with Volume V in 1970) explained in 1983 at the Naval History Symposium in Annapolis, increased demands on the time available to the staff of the Navy Historical Center meant that less time could be devoted to preparing each new volume. The ten year hiatus between Volumes IX and X, however, has been the longest yet, and one can only hope that future volumes will appear more frequently. After more

than thirty years, the series has only managed to reach the end of 1777. Most of the American Revolutionary war, including its full international stage, still lies ahead.

Volume X, which also marks the editorial debut of Michael J. Crawford, gives every indication of maintaining the same high standards and approach of the earlier volumes. The emphasis on balance — with attention to all sides of the conflict — still guides the selection of documents. The breadth of documents is as great as ever — official and private correspondence, civil as well as naval and military documents, logbooks and journals, newspaper extracts — and once again, an exhaustive search has been made of local, state, regional, national and international archives and libraries as well as private collections. A similar breadth is applied in defining what a "naval document" is. Not only do the documents provide access to tactical, operational, and strategical considerations, but also logistical, policy definition, commercial considerations, and civil-military relations are laid out.

As before, this volume is divided into American and European theatres, with emphasis on major events occurring within the volume's timeframe. In Volume X, the focus is on British efforts to wrest control of the Delaware River from the Americans in order to secure General Sir William Howe's occupation of Philadelphia. American privateers made such blatant use of French and Spanish ports to threaten British trade in European waters that Spain was driven to suspend — albeit temporarily — its clandestine support of the American war effort and France agreed to return some British merchantmen captured by the American commerce raiders.

Yet it is not only the larger events and themes that are revealed. The broad approach adopted in the series also sheds light on what was happening on the margins of the major theatres. Thus, Volume X provides additional force to the analysis developed fifteen years ago (has it really been that long?) in my dissertation on Newfoundland and British maritime strategy during the American Revolution. There, I questioned the traditional view, that the Newfoundland fishery was severely mauled by American privateers during the American Revolutionary war. Rather, it was the fish *trade* that suffered directly, not the fishery, and that the greatest injury to the Newfoundland trade was inflicted in European waters, where the trade was concentrated as it set out for Newfoundland or converged on the all-important Iberian and Mediterranean markets. *NDAR* Volume X reinforces this argument with a number of documents describing attacks on the trade by American privateers based in northern Spanish ports, especially after the trade departed its convoy for particular market destinations.

In short, this is a most useful and important series, and the appearance of this tenth and latest volume is much to be welcomed. Like the preceding volumes, this one is also reasonably priced when one considers the size, the quality, and the value of its contents. One can only hope that the wait for the next volume in the series will not be as long.

Olaf Uwe Janzen
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

William S. Cormack. *Revolution and Political Conflict in the French Navy 1789-1794.* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xiii + 343 pp., maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. £35, US $59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-521-47209-1.

This revised version of a doctoral thesis briskly recounts the collapse and partial revival of the French navy during the first four years of the Revolution. After a review of the historiography, and a quick view of the service in 1789 based on secondary sources, Cormack gets down to his main task, a narrative of the disintegration and demoralisation of the fleet in Brest and Toulon, the biggest of France's three main naval bases. In both ports, local authorities and revolutionary clubs successfully undermined local commanders' authority and interfered with the chain of command. In Toulon, this began in December 1789, when the commander, Albert de Rions, tried to stop local revolutionaries from forcing the dockyard personnel to wear the Revolutionary cockade. In Brest, the break came when sailors mutinied after the Revolution's new disciplinary code was announced to them in September 1790 and the local administrators and Jacobin club took their part. The National Assembly backed away from conflict each time, failing to support Albert de Rioms and adjusting the Penal code to meet

the sailors' demands. In this way, Cormack argues, the politicians effectively allowed the principle of Popular Sovereignty (his capitalization) exercised by local politicians and activists to interfere with the workings of the Navy.

Cormack interprets the emigration of the old officer corps over the years 1791-2 as the result, not of aristocratic officers' revulsion at the Revolution, but professional disgust with the way interference undermined discipline. Such was the shambles that the remains of the officer corps actually welcomed the establishment of the Republic in August-September 1792, hoping, now that the sovereign people were in total control of the central government, that the Convention would henceforth back them up. They were disappointed. In Toulon although the local revolutionary authorities now seriously backed the war effort, they insisted that they should also have the greater say in directing it. Cormack also sees the role played by the officer corps in the infamous surrender of Toulon to the British fleet in 1793 as an outcome of this conflict of principles. He applies the same analysis to the situation in Brest, where surly or rebellious crews made it impossible to continue blockading the coasts of southern Brittany and the Vendée in early 1793. For Cormack, Jeanbon Saint-André's success in readying the fleet for the partly successful action against the British on 1 June 1794 likewise only masked this underlying conflict. The book concludes with the claim that all this proves that "Nelson's victories at the Nile and Trafalgar were...in a real sense...the triumph of British Parliamentary Government [capitalized in the text] over the French Revolution." (302)

As this extraordinary quotation suggests, this is naval history without the navy, without ships, and above all without seamen. There is no understanding here that ninety percent of the naval personnel were conscripted sailors, whose tacit acceptance of naval discipline had been achieved in the old regime by a careful dose of leadership, paternalism and coercion exercised over their lives in and outside the King's service. The events of 1789-93 were not the first time the limits of this system on its men were tested; during the old regime, naval officers and administrators often found it prudent not to push their legal authority too far. There is no realization here of the unusual nature of the situation in Brest and Toulon in 1789-92, when for two years the fleet was maintained on a near-war footing, and large numbers of men penned up in the naval ports, deprived of the chance of lucrative pay in civilian shipping, their meagre navy salaries often left unpaid by a bankrupt government and subsequently met in depreciating *assignats*.

Meanwhile, the familiar rules of naval service were being changed, and a repressive Penal Code forced on them. The National Assembly drafted this measure in a panic reaction to the army mutiny at Nancy in July 1790; it contained harsher and more humiliating punishments than the old Bourbon navy had known. There is no sense here of the dynamics of the temporary seafaring society created in the naval ports, particularly of the crucial role of the petty officers in maintaining discipline and serving as a link between officers and seamen, and no explanation other than ideological for the hold the local Jacobin societies exercised over them. In Toulon, that seamen's society was particularly complex, with tensions that cropped up in every war between a core of native Toulonnais dockyard workers and petty officers who were more or less permanently in the navy's employ, a larger body of civilian workers and sailors brought in when the fleet was mobilised, and sailors and ships brought in from the Atlantic and Channel coasts. These tensions need examining, because they underlay the complex relations of Toulonnais politicians, arsenal workers, sailors and naval officers. In particular, they go a long way to explaining the great treachery of 1793, when local politicians pushed the navy and its seamen into opening up the harbour to the British fleet. There is plenty of evidence that the attitude of the Provençal seamen who favoured surrender against the wish of the men from the rest of France, was crucial in the surrender. Cormack knows this, but simply turns a blind eye to it because it does not fit his ideological interpretation. (199) So, while he does produce an overall view of the Navy through the first four years of the Revolution, it comes at the price of adopting an old-fashioned and narrow viewpoint. That a promising doctoral thesis such as this, by a scholar with a nice style and an evident talent for synthesis, should have been rushed into print without adequate reflection or sufficient further research, is sad evidence of the intolerable pressures on young historians

working in North American universities at the present.

T.J.A. Le Goff
Toronto, Ontario

David Davies. *Fighting Ships: Ships of the Line 1793-1815.* London: Constable, 1996. 201 pp., figures, illustrations, maps, plates (b+w), glossary, bibliography, index. £19.95, cloth; ISBN 0-09-476020-9.

David Davies is described as "a retired civil engineer with a lifetime interest in ships and the sea." This book about ships of the line in the major fleet actions of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars is what one might expect from a dedicated amateur. In an open and readable manner he discusses navies, naval warfare, and the specific engagements in a way which might be both useful and attractive to a novice. The book, unencumbered by notes, depends heavily on secondary sources, and makes no pretence to original research. Unfortunately it perpetuates at least two myths which have already been exploded in material published outside the author's identified area of avocational interest.

First, officers in the army and navy are contrasted by saying that commissions had to be purchased in the army but not the navy. This is wrong; purchase was not widespread in the military. Following the appointment in February 1795 of the Duke of York as the army's Commander-in-Chief, the rules of purchase, and their application were considerably tightened. In 1814, of 10,590 commissions in the army, only 2000 had been purchased. Second, he claims that after 1810, "in all the ports of Europe, there was no fleet which could pose a serious threat to the Royal Navy." (180) This, too, is incorrect, as we know from the published diaries of Charles Greville. In August 1814, three months after Bonaparte had taken up his temporary residence at Elba, Greville was a guest at a dinner given by Lord Bathurst. Also present was First Lord of the Admiralty Lord Melville, the minister responsible for Britain's maritime defence. Melville declared that in Antwerp alone the French were building nineteen sail of the line annually, and this would soon rise to twenty-five. (Modern research also points to building programs at Bordeaux, L'Orient, Rochefort, and Brest.) Melville added that "with such powerful facilities in the course of a few years he [Bonaparte] would have sent forth such powerful fleets, that our Navy must eventually have been destroyed, since we never could have kept pace with him in building ships, or have equipped numbers sufficient to cope with the tremendous power he would have brought against us." *(Greville Memoirs,* ed. Strachey/Fulford, 1938,1, 14) Most naval histories that do not regard the Battle of Trafalgar (1805) as the end of the story are happy to let the Battle of Aix Roads (1809) mark the finish, as does Davies. Yet Bonaparte, having learned from experience, was clearly embarked on a shipbuilding program which would have left nothing to the chance of his admirals gaining a local and temporary superiority. Hence Melville's very proper concern. It is only with hindsight that we know how Bonaparte's impatience led him to squander the naval preponderance he was building by invading Russia, thus hastening his downfall.

The brief bibliography is marred by poor proof reading. At least one book is given an incorrect title; another has the wrong publication date. John Harland's *Seamanship in the Age of Sail* is an interesting omission. These concerns, tangential to the battle descriptions, are important to the serious student and mean that the book should not be accepted without reservation. As an introductory work the comparatively modest price may make this an attractive gift for "beginners."

William Glover
London, Ontario

Spencer C. Tucker and Frank T. Reuter. *Injured Honour: The* Chesapeake-Leopard *Affair, June 22, 1807.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xi + 268 pp., notes, glossary, bibliography, index. US $35, Cdn $48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-824-0. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

A cloud of controversy still hangs over the actions of James Barron, commander of USS *Chesapeake.* Indeed, the career of this noted commodore seems always to have been one of complication and difficulty, for it was he who mortally shot Captain Stephen Decatur in a duel in 1820. Barron, ever after known as "the man who

killed Decatur," seems nevertheless to have been a truculent survivor, and in all the lawsuits and boards of inquiries of which he was unwittingly a part, he seems to have outlived most of his adversaries. One comes away from this book with an enhanced understanding of the sense of honour that seems to have encapsulated military ethical logic of that era. Indeed, one must remember that such concern for honour was personally identified in English naval circles with Nelson. Like chivalry, honour seems to have largely evaporated. As Tucker and Reuter handily report, honour was a driving force in the US Navy at this time. The recent suicide of an American admiral indicates that a vapor trail can still be seen.

As is common knowledge, HMS *Leopard* fired on the unprepared American frigate *Chesapeake,* resulting in many fatalities. Captain Humphreys of the *Leopard* had good knowledge that deserters from HMS *Melampus* were aboard the *Chesapeake,* and at the end of the sordid action Humphreys got the deserters, four in number, back in the service of the King. Incidentally, the American offer of the *Chesapeake* as a prize of war was declined by Humphreys, and this for good reason — the two countries were not at war. The right of search as exercised by the British had for years caused anguish in American hearts. This is not the concern of this fine book, for its focus is really on Barron and the internal struggles within the US Navy. Complementing this study in naval politics and personalities is a competent, if a little long, recounting of the episode itself and the several charges against Barron. On the other hand, so thorough a recounting of the episode and its serial aftermaths brings into print all the principal details of the affair. In particular, the authors have used the court martial records to good effect, and it is salutary to consider how much evidence survives on this subject — indicative, therefore, of possibilities for inquiry into other episodes of naval history for this distant era.

The "injured honour" of the title of this book is double in its implication. On the one hand, the United States was injured in its honour by apparent British heavy-handedness. On the other hand, the US Navy was injured in its honour by Barron's unwillingness to defend the interests of the Republic and the Service against the British frigate. Barron's essential argument was that the *Chesapeake* was unprepared, as indeed she was. His fellow officers, especially Lieutenant William Henry Allen, held a different view. It seems appropriate to conclude this review by noting that Allen stated that the surrender of the American frigate was principally owing to Commodore Barron's want of courage and want of conduct — that is, unwillingness to fight and a preparedness to comply with British demands.

Serious students of the affair will find much of interest in this well-researched work. The documentation upon which its conclusions rest is extensive and trans-Atlantic. And if the text seems unnecessarily long, and at times undramatic, the compensatory aspect is that the complete record is now known. This will remain the standard work on the subject and is not likely to be superceded.

Barry Gough
Waterloo, Ontario

Thomas Cochrane; Tom Pickaxe (Intro.). *The Autobiography of a Seaman, Volume II.* London: Constable Publishers, 1996. xiv + 488 pp., frontispiece. £16.95, cloth; ISBN 0-09-475180-3.

The reissue of this significant naval memoir, the first volume of which appeared in 1995, is welcome. Cochrane was one of the illustrious captains of the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, whose exploits as a dashing frigate captain provided the model for more than one fictional hero. The first volume, reviewed here in July 1996, demonstrated many aspects of Cochrane's character: not only was he justifiably famed for his actions on detached service, but he was undeniably a prickly fellow, quick to take offence, argumentative, confrontational, and seemingly unaware (or indifferent) to the impact on his career of his actions ashore. When those actions, such as becoming a spokesman for the Radical Opposition in the Commons as MP for Middlesex (John Wilkes' old seat), and spending much effort exposing corruption in naval administration, blighted his professional prospects, he always reacted with a puzzled incomprehension.

The first volume left off with an account of his involvement in the semi-successful attack on some bottled-up French warships in Basque Roads. His explosive vessels had caused consternation among the French, driving several ashore

where they would have been easy targets for the main British fleet under Gambier. The latter, however, held the fleet twelve miles away, afraid to risk shore batteries and shoals. Only two ships of the line were sent to support Cochrane's frigate; as a result, most French ships were refloated and escaped destruction. An incensed Cochrane subsequently refused to support a Vote of Thanks to Gambier in the Commons, claiming, probably rightly, that his unwarranted caution robbed England of a major victor)'. Gambier felt moved to demand a court martial to clear his name, and that trial resulted in formal approval of his actions. Naturally, this episode discredited Cochrane with the Admiralty who, whatever the merits of the specific case, would see Cochrane as a very loose cannon indeed, and not a "team player." Gambier probably was too cautious, but the big picture was that the public needed a victory and a hero, and Basque Roads was made to fit the bill. Cochrane, as an honest maverick, would not play the game. Those interested in the dispute will relish this volume, as much of it revolves around the court martial, with Cochrane's minute dissecting of all arguments, pages of reprinted Commons speeches and correspondence with lawyers and experts about altered charts and the state of enemy batteries. There do seem to have been some very sharp practices, but following all the intricate issues, with an outraged Cochrane going into italics every two lines, might try the patience of all but the very enthusiastic.

The rest of the volume recounts Cochrane's exposure of corruption in the navy, in everything from the Admiralty Courts in Malta, whose venality often resulted in Captains not only not receiving any prize money for captured ships, but actually being charged for the (inflated) expenses incurred in the judicial process. As Cochrane pointed out, many captains stopped capturing ships on that station for fear of it costing them money. To gather supporting evidence Cochrane actually travelled to Malta and got himself arrested and imprisoned to embarrass the local authorities. He eventually made an escape with the connivance, he tells us, of the local RN officers, and returned to London with material for many more Commons speeches. The inordinate delays, often years, in paying the common seamen, especially on foreign stations, was another target. These are all covered in the same exhaustive way as the court martial, with copies of lengthy speeches, resolutions, letters from supporters, addresses to constituents and the like.

The climax came when Cochrane was implicated in a stock scandal. One of the perpetrators, supposedly an officer bringing word of Napoleon's death to drive stock prices up, called at Cochrane's house, thereby implicating him in the subsequent charges. He paints this as part of the vendetta against him by the Admiralty and government, because of his Radical and reforming activities. He covers the details of the case, and the vendetta, in the same blow-by-blow fashion, but the result was his conviction, removal from the Navy List, loss of honours, and no further employment for decades. Cochrane went on to have an exciting life, particularly in commanding the naval forces of Chile and Brazil in their wars of independence. Eventually he returned to Britain to be restored to his honours and rank by a later administration. Regrettably, that part of his life was published separately from this volume.

This second volume, then, is not as rivetting as the first from the "active service" perspective, because it all happens ashore. The reader will find much illumination on the politics of the day, the workings of naval administration, with some of its corrupt practices, and even more insight into the workings of the mind of Thomas, Lord Cochrane. It is rare indeed to follow the life of a person whose sole object in life was to serve his country, and whose sole error in life was to be too trusting of his associates. Checking his colourful account of affairs would still, however, benefit from a comparison with Christopher Lloyd's biography.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario

Chester G. Hearn. *Admiral David Dixon Porter: The Civil War Years.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xx + 376 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US $35, Cdn $48.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-353-2. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Some things about Admiral David Dixon Porter were not especially admirable. He was abrasive. He could politic blatantly for his own advancement. Worst of all, perhaps, was his jealousy of

his foster brother, Admiral David G. Farragut. Nevertheless, General Ulysses S. Grant regarded him as the finest naval commander the Union had during the American Civil War, and Grant - in wartime, at least — was a very good judge of men.

Porter has attracted little attention since the Civil War, though that says less about him than about the neglect of the naval aspects of the War generally. Even Farragut, who achieved more, has had only one good biography, and that more than a generation ago. No completely satisfactory history of the Union Navy during the War has been written as yet, and the first really well-documented and scholarly one of the Confederate Navy has only now been published.

Admittedly, the naval services of both the Union and the Confederacy were small, with modest roles, limited to the struggle to control Southern rivers and harbours and to maintain or break the Union blockade of the Confederate coastline. Nevertheless, the greatest contribution of the Union Navy is often unappreciated, for it was on the navigable rivers — the Mississippi, Cumberland, Tennessee, York, and James and some of their tributaries — that the science of combined operations between military and naval forces was refined. Repeatedly, and with increasing success, Grant, Porter and Farragut planned and executed campaigns in which the final triumph of forces on land depended heavily, sometimes even entirely, on the men afloat.

Grant worked well with Farragut, but Porter fitted in better with Grant's cadre of men like Sherman and Sheridan — young and vigorous men, rough at the edges, who had learned their craft not in school but in the field and on the waves. Porter came from a distinguished naval family and had excellent political connections; in the end, however, he won his promotions by solid achievement. He was there bombarding the forts guarding New Orleans during April 1862, helping to capture the Crescent City. He was there bombarding the river bluff forts on the Mississippi the next year, and he was there taking his fleet of transports past Vicksburg's batteries by night and under fire during the spring of 1863. Porter survived service with the incompetent General Nathaniel Banks in the Red River Campaign of 1864, when only a remarkable feat of military engineering prevented his fleet from being bottled up by low water under Confederate guns. By then, Porter was a full Rear Admiral, only the sixth man in the history of the United States Navy to hold that rank. Having escaped the Red River and General Banks, he came East to co-operate in the reduction and capture of Fort Fisher and Wilmington, North Carolina, and then was in at the end, when he took over command of the James River Squadron and worked with Grant in the final push on Richmond.

Chester Hearn provides a workmanlike example of the biographer's art, neither apologetic nor laudatory. His Porter appears in full view, strengths and weaknesses balanced in the portrait. The research is thorough, reflecting the familiarity with Porter and naval sources that one should expect from the author of *The Capture of New Orleans, 1862*. Happily, too, Porter was a witty fellow, and Hearn allows much of that engaging sense of humour to manifest itself. Thanks to this biography, our understanding of one of the pivotal figures in the American naval tradition is now more complete.

G. Edward Reed
Ottawa, Ontario

R. Thomas Campbell. *Gray Thunder: Exploits of the Confederate States Navy*. Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1996. viii + 212 pp., figures, maps, illustrations, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $19.95, cloth; ISBN 0-942597-99-0.

R. Thomas Campbell has been writing about the US Civil War for many years. In *Gray Thunder* he turns his attention to the relatively neglected area of naval operations, particularly those of the Confederate States Navy. Campbell does not pretend to provide a definitive history of this short-lived service. Rather, he gives us a series of anecdotes about some of the actions that took place during the war. Some, like the battle between *Monitor* and *Virginia,* are well-known; others, with greater strategic importance and consequences, are also covered.

Campbell gives due credit to Stephen Mallory, Secretary of the Confederate States Navy, who created the service from scratch with virtually no resources and with only a handful of professional officers. He also acknowledges the exploits of the commerce raiders, though he tends to miss

the point that their achievement lay more in their nuisance value, tying up Union resources, than in the tonnage captured and sunk. As well, Campbell gives credit to James McLintock and Horace Hunley, whose hand-propelled submarine became the first submersible to sink an enemy ship. Perhaps he could have emphasized that this undertaking was typical of innovative Confederate projects, often mounted and financed by private individuals rather than government, and forced upon the South in desperation due to lack of money and industrial capability. In this regard, Campbell does not tell us of the mining campaign in the inland waterways which sank USS *Cairo* in the Mississippi River off Vicksburg (again a "first" as the ironclad was probably the first ship to be sunk by such a weapon). The omission is unfortunate as, again, while the Confederate's mines had little tactical importance, their delaying effect had considerable strategic value in slowing down the Union advance down the river.

The book is well illustrated, has a fairly comprehensive index, and an extensive bibliography although a number of the books are sadly long out of print. The appendices listing the names of officers and men who served in four Confederate warships seem rather unnecessary; perhaps tables of specifications of the ships themselves would have been more valuable. Nevertheless, *Gray Thunder* will be thoroughly enjoyed by naval historians and Civil War enthusiasts alike. The author promises two more volumes which we can anticipate. Perhaps some of the criticisms of omission raised in this review will be addressed in them.

J. Michael Jones
Oshawa, Ontario

Jack D. Coombe. *Thunder Along The Mississippi: The River Battles that Split the Confederacy*. New York: Sarpedon Publishers, 1996. xi + 260 pp., maps, b+w plates, notes, bibliography, index. US $24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-885119-25-9.

Each generation re-visits Civil War history, it seems, if only because books go out of print and topics out of fashion. So it has been with the Civil War on inland waterways. Fascination with coastal blockade, high seas commerce raiders and, frankly, the land battles continues to mesmerize public and scholarly audiences. Jack Coombe, novelist, playwright, and popular author of *Derailing the Tokyo Express* about the Solomon Islands campaign in World War II gives us the latest in a readable, although hardly profound, account of the naval battles for the Father of Waters, the Mississippi River and its tributaries.

For many readers this is a familiar story, involving Forts Henry and Donelson, Island Number Ten, New Orleans, Fort Pillow, Memphis and the climax at Vicksburg and Port Hudson (although war on the rivers continued with the infamous Red River campaign). In contrast to the war in Virginia, where rivers were more strategic obstacles to the armies than invasion routes or sites for battles, the Mississippi Valley witnessed the smoke and din of ship versus ship, ship versus fort, and hearts of oak transferred to slippery decks of prewar steamboats made over for combat or those ugly, squat specially-constructed machines called "Pook's Turtles." The legendary Confederate gunboat CSS *Arkansas* joined luminaries of the Union navy like Farragut and Porter as features of this kind of warfare.

Little glamour attended brownwater naval duty for professionals yearning for quarterdecks, sea breezes and Nelsonesque action between ships of the line. And there was always the question of subordination to army needs. Yet, the various river battles were bloody tests of evolving naval technology and crewman pluck that were absolutely vital to defense or conquest for one side or the other. Contrary to popular belief, notes Coombe, the fight for the Mississippi was far from uncontested, although Union superiority in quantity of ships systems (boats, ordnance, crews) and their deployment eventually helped win the war for Mr. Lincoln's navy. His discussion of naval construction and deployment through text and pictures will excite many readers.

Still, this is a book for the public, not the scholar. Absent are the contextual treatment of army-navy cooperation, the central theme of logistics that transferred the peacetime role of rivers as conveyors of commerce and communication to wartime duties in support of the armies nationalizing the land. Especially absent is coverage of the nasty counter-guerrilla operations that occupied the navy as well as the army on western waters. The footnotes are a surprising mix of unsung original sources and omission of studies

like the reviewer's own treatment of the Forts Henry and Donelson campaign. The misspelling of names and interpretation of facts will surely irritate knowledgeable readers at times. Moreover, the river war and its craft may well have presaged the late unpleasantness in Vietnam, but to suggest gunboats of the Civil War era were prototypes for everything from modern cruisers to destroyers requires a huge leap of faith.

In sum, Coombe appropriately reminds us that the Civil War consisted of more that land battles. It was won and lost in the western theater, on and via America's rivers and their adjacent territories, and by middle-Americans (north and south) who refused to minuet around the harshness of total war against populations as well as the military as they did in the east. But for more robust treatment of the river war, readers should seek out the classics — Rowena Reed's *Combined Operations in the Civil War* (1978), Allen Gosnell's *Guns on the Western Waters* (1949), and James Merrill's *Battle Flags South: The Story of Civil War Navies on Western Waters* (1970).

Benjamin Franklin Cooling
Chevy Chase, Maryland

David F. Bastian. *Grant's Canal: The Union's Attempt to Bypass Vicksburg*. Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1995. 88 pp., maps, illustrations, figures, appendices, endnotes, bibliography, index. US $6.95, paper; ISBN 0-942597-93-1.

David Bastian has written an informative account of one of the Union Army's attempts to bypass Vicksburg during the American Civil War. By 1862, it had become apparent that it would be next to impossible to subdue Vicksburg by bombardment from the Mississippi River or to pass troop transports under the city's guns. The only viable option remaining to the Union command — at least initially — appeared to be the construction of a canal across the DeSoto peninsula. This peninsula, which created a sharp bend in the Mississippi, was directly across the river from the fortress city. Through a brief but articulate account (56 pages of descriptive text), we are told of that canal's construction and of its eventual failures, the first in 1862 and the second the following year. The final ten pages of the book identify troop units which were either directly or indirectly associated with the attempted canal.

The author is a civil engineer with impressive experience in river engineering and canal design. That expertise comes through in his writing, especially in his hypothesis as to why the DeSoto Peninsula canal repeatedly failed and his explanations as to how it could have succeeded had adequate dredging machinery been available during the first attempt in 1862. The second attempt failed because diggers could not keep up with the rapidly falling level of the river. The work is well footnoted, and the bibliography is directly matched to the subject covered.

Bastian's account suffers somewhat in that it only touches briefly on another equally important canal and bayou clearing project, that one also constructed for the purpose of bypassing Vicksburg in the year 1863. That project entailed the cutting of a short canal from the Mississippi River into Lake Providence at a point fifty miles upriver from Vicksburg. From Lake Providence, a cut was made into Bayou Macon and the Tensas/Washita (Ouachita) rivers which led to the Mississippi via the lower Red River. By the time that project was finished, the smaller-sized steamboats needed to negotiate the route were being utilized in riverine operations elsewhere. Grant was ultimately forced to run the gauntlet of Vicksburg's guns in order to bring his army below the city so as to invest it from the rear.

Despite the brevity of his work, David Bastian provides valuable insight into one of the episodes relating to the siege of Vicksburg.

Charles Dana Gibson
Camden, Maine

N.A.M. Rodger (ed.). *Naval Power in the Twentieth Century*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xxiv + 273 pp., map, index. US $45, Cdn $62.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-616-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The certainties of the Cold War era have disappeared and no new paradigms have arisen to take their place. This is especially evident in the military and naval spheres where not only has it become difficult to defend large defence budgets from politicians looking for their "peace divi-

dend," but decisions on procurement and force structure have become hopelessly muddled. As a result, generals and admirals the world over are casting about for advice on how best to utilise their ever diminishing resources. This book is just such an attempt to provide guidance to current planners. It is a compilation of the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Exeter in 1994 whose purpose was to look back over the past hundred years and attempt to answer important questions such as: what are navies for, just how useful are they and how do they accomplish their mission? By attempting to answer these questions the editor hoped that some more general conclusions about the nature of naval power could be reached although, wisely, he shied away from proposing that any new general theory of naval power might emerge.

Indeed, this book's strength is that it demonstrates quite clearly the impossibility of formulating any grand unifying theory of naval power. The nineteen prominent naval historians from Canada, the United States, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Germany, France and Australia who contributed to this work wrote not just about the obvious navies, such as the British, American or Japanese. They also looked at smaller navies including the Dutch, Indian, Canadian and early Soviet navies. The resultant essays are diverse in both their historical scope and in their approach. Theoretical chapters on American naval strategy in the post-1945 era stand near more conventional historical examinations of the Dutch navy and decolonisation in the East Indies or the Arctic convoys in World War II. Together these essays demonstrate how unique is the naval experience of each country and consequently how each must find its own, individual solutions to the question of how best to use its naval resources.

The premise behind this undertaking, namely to provide a sound historical basis and perspective for contemporary policy debates, is laudable. Sadly, this book lives up neither to its billing nor to its cost. With the exception of Nicholas Lambert's very good chapter on the British and French navies in the Pacific prior to World War I, the remainder of works do not add much to our historical understanding. Nor, in the end, do they provide much guidance to current planners.

There are two signal reasons for this. First, the shear breadth of this book means that no one topic was covered in great detail. Each chapter is too short to provide much in the way of original research or argument and only a few exceptions are well footnoted. The second, and by far the more critical, fault with this work is that most of the authors confine themselves to an old fashioned, narrow interpretation of naval history, as opposed to maritime history. As Nicholas Lambert rightly points out in the conclusion to his chapter, naval policy is composed of a large number of elements such as naval administration, foreign and imperial policy, economics, industrial policy, and inter-service rivalry, to name just a few. These relate to each other in a complex and variable manner. Naval historians must break out of their old concentration on ships, battles and personalities and examine navies as parts of a much larger dynamic. If the authors of this work had taken this approach then this book could have made a significant contribution to historical writing and, one suspects, it would have been able to provide better guidance to present day policy-makers. Unfortunately, as it stands, this book does little to advance our historical understanding of naval power, nor does it add much to current debates over the future of naval power.

Orest Babij
Kingston, Ontario

Paolo E. Coletta. *Allied and American Naval Operations in the European Theater, World War I.* Lewiston, N Y , Queenston, ON and Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996. xv + 588 pp., maps, figures, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $129.95, £69.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7734-8883-9.

It has been a long time since I read a book like this. I sincerely hope it will be even longer before I have to read another. It has three major weaknesses: Firstly it is in no way comparable with the existing standard work, Paul Halpern's magisterial *A Navy History of World War One.* This is doubly significant; Halpern's book is available in paper and hard covers, and is far cheaper in both formats. Furthermore, Halpern provided a primary source-based assessment, reflecting a lifetime of research which Coletta cannot match. The bibliography is impressive, but it does seem to be padded out. Secondly the book lacks a coherent

theme; the American angle is not developed, and the narrative, much of which is repetitive and strewn with errors, adds nothing to our understanding of the subject. A better focus, which does surface, if infrequently, would have been to concentrate on American observation of the pre-war build up, and of the first three years of war at sea. This neutral perspective would have offered a valuable corrective to the British and German angles which still dominate the literature. The role of the US Navy in World War 1, operational, political, and strategic would have been a worthwhile addition to a series on "American History," but this book does not do that job. Thirdly the book is factually unreliable, a problem which is compounded by grammatical error and poor spelling. One example will have to suffice. On page 80 a photograph purports to be of "The *Furious,* a 30 knot cruiser" with a 228-foot-long takeoff deck in place of her forward turret. However, the ship shown has no forward takeoff deck. It is, in fact, a converted cross-channel steamer, the seaplane carrier HMS *Engadine.*

The book begins with a resume of the pre-war Anglo-German naval race, which conflates, confuses and confounds. It does not get better. It divides the coverage into regions and periods, electing to deal with Von Spee's epic, which touched no European shores, while ignoring the Black Sea, which touched many. The author has clearly put a lot of effort into this book, but it has not had the benefit of reflection, editorial guidance and solid proof-reading. Hiring an expert reader would have avoided most of the basic problems that afflict the text, but an editor was needed at the beginning.

The evidence presented in this book makes it obvious, although it is not highlighted as such, that the political significance of dreadnought battleships was the single greatest limit on their operational use. Coletta draws attention to the refusal of the Italians to risk their modern battleships, in order to preserve them for post-war political developments, and the similar thinking that afflicted the German High Command until late in the war. What he does not develop from this, although the evidence is presented, is the degree to which Anglo-American rivalry paralyzed the operations of the Grand Fleet from 1916 onward. By publicly admitting to a program to build a "Navy second to none" the Wilson Administration forced Britain to take one eye off the Germans — and the war — in order to ensure that the vital security needs of the British Empire were not compromised. Post-war political agendas did far more to constrain the use of capital ships between 1914 and 1918 than fear of submarines. Although most warships have been built to be used, the dreadnought era transformed the battleship into a prestige symbol too valuable to be risked. That this negated their whole purpose was only dimly perceived by Austria and Germany as they approached defeat. Before that the political value of the ships outweighed the chance of success. Even Lord Fisher, who understood the issues better than anyone, was careful to build an entirely new offensive fleet to carry out his planned Baltic offensive *before* he sought political support. He knew the Royal Navy would only get one chance for a major offensive. This explains his bitterness with Churchill, who squandered that chance with his half-baked Dardanelles delusion.

There is room for a more reflective assessment of the lessons of World War I at sea, but this is not such a book; instead it largely repeats what has been said before. This is to be regretted; the author has given us a good first draft, but it needed more work before it was ready to go to press. As Jellicoe realized after Jutland, a great opportunity has been wasted, the job has only been half done.

Andrew Lambert
London, England

H.P. Willmott. *Grave of a Dozen Schemes: British Naval Planning and the War Against Japan, 1943-1945.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xviii + 316 pp., figures, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $36.95, Cdn $51.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-916-6. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Only the Japanese conquest of Malaya and Burma in 1941-42 and the passing of Australia and New Zealand into American protection delivered Britain from her insoluble pre-war dilemma of having to prepare to defend the British Empire in South Asia and the Pacific while also providing for her own security in Europe. Yet in 1943 the

14th Army along the India-Burma frontier and the obsolescent Eastern Fleet in Indian waters rendered her still a player, if a marginal one, in the war against Japan.

It is at this point that H.P. Willmott begins his analysis of the search by the Prime Minister, the Chiefs of Staff and the Joint Planning Staff (all short-handed by Willmott into "the British high command") for an appropriate offensive strategy against Japan once the defeat of Germany should free British military and (especially) naval resources. The analysis, based on mastery of the documentary sources, is mind-numbingly detailed, but necessarily so because, as Willmott demonstrates, British policy-making oscillated in confusion for two years between one strategy and another, one projected operation and another.

In guiding us through these complexities, the author shows that two fundamental alternatives underlay all the chopping and changing and Whitehall maneuvering: a naval strategy of participating in the American's Pacific campaign, and sea-land strategy of re-conquering the lost British imperial territories of Burma and Malaya. Willmott describes the paradox by which Churchill, the politician, advocated the southeast Asia alternative largely on *strategic* grounds, while the Chiefs of Staff (meaning really Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff) urged participation in the Pacific campaign largely on the *political* grounds that this would re-forge the imperial links with Australia and New Zealand and also provide Britain with a voice in the eventual Far-Eastern peace settlement.

Willmott criticizes Churchill for his stubborn adherence to "Culverin," a project for an amphibious descent on northern Sumatra supposed to open the way for seaborne invasions of southern Burma and the Kra Isthmus. This foundered as much because of shortage of landing craft as because of the inherent fallaciousness repeatedly pointed out by the COS. Also toyed with was the so-called "Middle Strategy," whereby the British effort should lie on the southern flank of MacArthur's southwest Pacific drive towards the Philippines. In retrospect this can be seen as a redundant addition to a campaign in itself redundant, given that Admiral Halsey's central Pacific advance constituted the real *Schwerpunkt* of the war against Japan. Willmott demonstrates that this "Middle Strategy" was exploited by the COS and the joint Planners as a means of shifting British plans away from Indian waters towards their own favoured Pacific alternative.

With the final triumph of this alternative at the *Octagon* Conference in Quebec in September 1944 and the unenthusiastic acceptance by the Americans of a British Pacific Fleet which they did not need, the emphasis of Willmott's book shifts to the technical problems of fitting out such a fleet and the logistic (indeed political) problem of providing it with a main base in Australia. Since the Royal Navy had developed during the war primarily to protect convoy traffic against U-boats and German battleships for short-range operations in home waters and the Mediterranean, it lacked the experience, operational techniques and the purpose-built fleet-train necessary for long-distance carrier operations. All had to be improvised in haste. Willmott provides a critical but not unsympathetic account of the ramshackle nature of the fleet (equal in size to a smallish American task force) which joined the US Pacific Fleet in March 1945: the mixed bag of aircraft, the inferior operating capabilities of British carriers; the high rate of aircraft losses in action or because of accidental damage; the "Mother-Courage-style" fleet-train of hired merchant vessels and small tankers manned by motley crews.

It is possible to quarrel with Willmott's final judgments that "the psychological significance of its [the BPF] just being there was probably more important to the Empire and the Americans alike than anything its achieved in battle," and that the COS and the Planners proved the "better and more perceptive judge of national interest than the head of government." This is to endorse Alan Brooke's illusion (in the face of pre-war and wartime experience) that the imperial connection with Australia and New Zealand was an asset worth restoring rather than a burden of which thankfully to have been relieved, and his further illusion (also to be shared by Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary from July 1945 onwards) that a British naval presence in the Pacific would buy influence over American policy in that region and specifically towards Japan. But pursuit of both illusions served only to exacerbates the military and financial overstretch of a war-ruined Britain.

Correlli Barnett
London, England

F.A. Kingsley (ed.). *The Development of Radar Equipments for the Royal Navy 1935-45*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995. xl + 476 pp., figures, photographs, tables, appendices, glossary, select bibliography, general index, equipment index. £40, cloth; ISBN 0-333-61210-8.

This is a "hands on" account, and for that reason is both difficult and satisfying. In an important historical enterprise, officers and scientists who worked on British naval radar during World War II came together as the Naval Radar Trust to tell the story themselves. In this book are nine of the working papers upon which Derek Howse partly based *Radar at Sea: The Royal Navy in World War 2* (Macmillan, 1993), an overview aimed at a general readership. Although Howse captured the flavor and substance of the working papers, the present volume does more than add detail. In this volume we find ourselves on the shop floor, or in a ship, trying to make the stuff work.

Three papers deal with each of the principal classes of radar — metric, decimetric, and centimetric. There are also studies on basic research, electronic valve (tube) development, IFF (identification friend of foe) equipment, and three papers on fitting and maintaining radar equipment in ships. In every case the author participated in the activities he describes. There are illuminating snippets of memoir, but the strength lies in research done by the Naval Radar Trust in archives and by gathering reminiscences and important privately held papers of many participants.

Most important is the detail with which the contributors reconstruct the state of knowledge and technology at the time, elucidating the specific engineering problems and gaps in theoretical understanding that had to be overcome. There is much on the development of electronic tubes. Several authors emphasize that the revolutionary change — from huge hand-built silica types to mass-produced, miniaturized, fused glass and metal components — was the essential key to the rapid progress of radar. The Admiralty was initially slow to grasp radar's potential in the mid-19305, but expertise in the production of tubes for high-power radio sets that were sturdy enough for ship-borne service enabled the navy to push quickly ahead at the leading edge, not least because of well-established relations with private sector manufacturers and non-government researchers. The Admiralty ran the Co-ordination of Valve Development Committee on behalf of all three armed services; among its achievements, this committee sponsored research at Birmingham University that produced the cavity magnetron, the key to centimetric radar. There is also much on antenna design, a tricky problem in warships given the conflicting needs to mount a substantial structure as high above the water as possible while, in the interests of ship stability, keeping topweight and the elevation of that topweight to a minimum. Similarly, related material on the search for efficient cables, including the development of hollow waveguides for centimetric radar, highlights the special difficulties of fitting equipment within the confined space of warships.

Although the treatment of such subjects as radar wave propagation over the ocean surface and the inner workings of particular electronic components makes for heavy going, the focus is an intensely practical one on the problems of navigation and combat at sea. This approach reflects one of the principal strengths of the wartime effort: the close integration of naval officers with civilian experts, of service agencies with private firms, to ensure that operational exigencies always took first place. Canadian readers will find here valuable context for the work of Marc Milner and David Zimmerman on the shortcomings of radar development and ship fitting in the Royal Canadian Navy. The British systems rushed to sea were just "ruggedised laboratory models," (180) produced with a minimum of documentation. Speedy technology transfer was therefore difficult, especially because the Canadian electronics industry was underdeveloped, and the navy utterly lacked the institutional experience and qualified technical officers needed to guide such efforts as were possible.

Roger Sarty
Ottawa, Ontario

Jim Burtt-Smith and John French. *A Drop in the Ocean: Dramatic Accounts of Aircrew Saved from the Sea*. London: Leo Cooper, 1996. 176 pp., photographs, index. £17.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85052-5071-1.

If being trapped in a burning aircraft is a pilot's worst nightmare, not far behind must be being

forced to land at sea. Today, the phrase, "air-sea rescue" evokes images of brightly-painted coast guard helicopters plucking people from the sea via hoists. But it is worth remembering that before the advent of the helicopter, air-sea rescue was frequently a cumbersome and haphazard combination of seaplanes, fishing trawlers, and specially-designed high-speed launches.

Over 9,000 Allied aircrew were downed at sea during World War II; about half were saved by the Royal Air Force Air Sea Rescue Service. Jim Burtt-Smith and John French were among them, and in consequence became members of the "Goldfish Club," an organization of those who survived a ditching. The club continued after the war, and still meets today. The attrition of time, however, has drastically thinned its membership.

For this reason, Burtt-Smith and French compiled this volume of anecdotes to preserve at least some of the graphic memories of rescues at sea. *A Drop in the Ocean* is the result of many, many survivor's rescues — both British Commonwealth and American Air Force aircrew. Surprisingly, there is a "cameo" appearance — Lawrence of Arabia is seen as an RAF member, watching early trials of high-speed rescue launches before his death in 1935. Also recounted is the fruitless search for the downed Irish Ace, Brendan "Paddy" Finucane. And, poignantly, there is the story of a Luftwaffe pilot who saw a badly-damaged USAAF B-17 and could not shoot it down. Risking a court-martial and execution by firing squad, the German pilot guided the B-17 past German anti-aircraft emplacements to the North Sea and later safety. It is heart-warming to read that in 1989, both the German pilot and the B-17's pilot met in the United States and became great friends. But balancing this is the ever-present story of aircrew that did *not* survive a forced ditching or the elements after a ditching. The human spirit shines through in this account — how aircrew were able to survive long days at sea in a dinghy; the violent crash at sea; and the threat of enemy air attack on the rescue launches. It is problematic which was worse — being shot down at sea, or being helpless in the cabin of a rescue launch while being strafed by German fighters.

This book does not fit neatly into any single category. As accounts of rescue of airmen at sea, it could be read enjoyably by aircraft enthusiasts, as well as those with a more nautical bent. The anecdotal style of the book makes it one for a rainy afternoon or a Sunday evening. A map of the North Sea showing the location of some of the rescue stories would have been helpful.

Those who became members of the Goldfish Club were entitled to wear an embroidered goldfish patch on their uniforms. And here, the differences between the services came in: the British RAF did not permit the open display of the patch on a uniform, so RAF Goldfish club members had to wear the patch on the underside of a pocket flap. Those pilots of the Fleet Air Arm of the Royal Navy were able to wear the Goldfish Club patch on their "Mae Wests."

It is good that Burtt-Smith and French were able to compile these stories before they vanished irrevocably. It is also good that two high-speed launches are being restored to their wartime state, before they, too, disappear. This book, and the restored launches, are tributes to a small part of both maritime and aircraft history which should be honoured, one that saved lives and provided a base for our modern and technologically-sophisticated air-sea rescue programs of today.

Robert L. Shoop
Colorado Springs, Colorado

John Kilbracken. *Bring Back My Stringbag: Swordfish Pilot at War 1940-1945.* Rev. ed.; London: Leo Cooper, 1996. x + 245 pp., map, photographs, appendices, index. £12.95, paper; ISBN 0-85052-495-4.

In this handsome paperback revision of a work first published in 1979, Lord Kilbracken recounts his early life as John Godley, Swordfish pilot with the Fleet Air Arm during World War II. No comfortably nostalgic memoir, this many-layered book offers a frequently wry but finally disturbing assessment of the corrosive personal effects wrought by protracted war. Thus, not without affection, but always at a distance, Kilbracken, the near pacifist, soberly reflects on Godley, the youthful and, for a time, happy warrior. The upshot is a work at once both evocative and instructive. Drawing on carefully preserved logbooks, Kilbracken reconstructs in telling detail several of the more significant episodes that punctuated his sojourn from devil-may-care volunteer to badly "twitched" veteran of the North

Atlantic and Murmansk campaigns. Meanwhile, interviews with surviving comrades and research into historical records ensure that the book rises well above the merely idiosyncratic.

It is, moreover, eminently readable. A prolific writer, journalist and television commentator, Kilbracken turns long-honed skills to excellent use in telling his own story. His style is disarmingly informal and yet powerfully immediate. Particularly effective are his sudden tense shifts from past to present during which Godley speaks directly to the reader through meticulous log entries. Anxious to recapture both the routine and the drama of his total wartime experience, Kilbracken lavishes as much attention on life aboard small carriers as he does on daring raids or submarine hunting. Along the way we come to know Godley, his shipmates, their vessels and their war at close hand. Supported by numerous photographs, several appendices and a useful map, this is a thoroughly polished, thoroughly satisfying specimen of the autobiographical art.

As such, it offers rather more than straightforward personal reminiscence. Indeed, at one level it is a highly detailed history of the MAC-ships (Merchant Aircraft Carriers) and their role in suppressing the U-boat threat. Minuscule by comparison with fleet carriers, these were grain ships and tankers fitted with temporary flight decks. Manned by merchant seamen who kept strict union hours, global war notwithstanding, the MAC-ships ferried their normal cargoes below decks and up to three Swordfish topside. Only flight crew and fitters represented the Royal Navy. The truly remarkable thing about this strange *ad hoc* concoction was that it worked. Kilbracken quite probably overestimates the contribution of these hybrid warriors to victory in the North Atlantic. The crucial factors in suppressing the U-boat threat were improved intelligence systems, better surface escorts with effective radar and sonar technology and the development of long-range, four-engine air cover. Still, the evidence the author cites is impressive. From May 1943 to VE-Day, MAC-ships accompanied 217 convoys, only one of which was successfully attacked. Clearly, to one degree or another, Godley and his comrades played a significant role in helping to close the deadly mid-Atlantic "Air Gap." They also, incidentally, made a tidy penny smuggling, among other things, birdseed in the cockpits of their Swordfish from Canada to beleaguered pet owners in the Old Country.

But whether ploughing through the North Atlantic or freezing on the Murmansk run, the real hero of the story is the faithful if ungainly Fairey Swordfish. Outmoded by any calculation, the "Stringbag" was obsolete in every respect but utility. A lightly armed, slow-flying biplane, its self-evident deficiencies could be turned into considerable virtues by experienced pilots. It could fly when all else was grounded, outmanoeuvre most front-line fighters and handle enormous punishment. Best of all, anti-aircraft batteries regularly miscalculated just how slowly the Swordfish crawled through the air. Simple, agile and versatile, this unlovely biplane proved perfectly suited to numerous tasks beyond (or below?) the capabilities of more modern planes.

For several long years, Godley felt invincible, or at least safe, at the control of his Stringbag. By 1945, however, the rigours of continuous service, several near-misses and the loss of numerous friends left him all but pleading to be grounded. Indeed, it was years before he could fly again, even as a passenger. In time, he came to terms with air travel, but never quite with the values of his early days. Assessing the youthful Godley at a distance, the aging Kilbracken can understand and even like the Stringbag pilot. But he would not want to fly with him.

James G. Greenlee
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

William J. Ruhe. *War in the Boats: My World War II Submarine Battles*. Washington & London: Brassey's, 1996. x + 303 pp., end-map, figures, glossary, index. Cdn $34.50, cloth; ISBN 0-02-881084-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Captain William J. Ruhe, USN (Ret), a graduate of the US Naval Academy in 1939, served in three different classes of American submarines on eight separate patrols against Japanese forces in the south Pacific during World War II. For three years, 1942-1944, Ruhe kept a detailed journal, which was against the rules, of his experiences at sea. Not surprisingly, he offers a unique account of submarine warfare.

In late June 1942, Ruhe joined *S-37,* affec-

tionately known as the "rusty old sewer pipe" because of its tendency to leak, for her fifth patrol of the war. For the next thirty days, *S-3* 7, a World War I-vintage submarine, operated against Japanese naval forces off Rabaul. Battling constant mechanical and electrical problems, numerous leaks, oppressive heat and humidity, and several depth-charge attacks, the crew of *S-3 7* managed to sink a naval transport. Japanese merchant shipping was a favourite target for American submarines in the Pacific theatre.

S-3 7s next patrol proved to be even more frustrating than the previous deployment. Acting as a picket in the Solomon Islands, off Guadalcanal, the crew spent the bulk of its time trying to avoid Japanese submarines operating in the area. Employing *S-3 7* for blockading duties was, as Ruhe notes, badly flawed because it eliminated the submarine's principal strength — surprise. Partly because of *S-37's* poor performance he requested a transfer to a larger, more modern, fleet submarine.

Seadragon, Ruhe's next posting, promised even better results in the war on shipping. In one patrol, she sank two ships. The tally would have been higher had it not been for a number of defective torpedoes, a recurring problem for the US Navy during the early stages of the war. After one patrol, Ruhe was transferred to the new fleet submarine *Crevalle,* which carried out five patrols in the Indian Ocean. In late 1944, Ruhe returned to the United States to take command of his own submarine, *Sturgeon.* Because of mechanical problems, however, the submarine was transferred to New London, Connecticut, to serve as a training vessel.

The chapters on *Crevalle* are especially good because they highlight the dangerous nature of submarine warfare, particularly in the Pacific theatre. The success of the American submarine campaign forced the Japanese to carry cargo in small coasters and junks, sailing in shallow coastal waters. Submarine operations in these waters were extremely risky — coastal reefs made navigation difficult. Moreover, submarines were easier to spot by patrolling aircraft. Once detected, a submarine could not evade attack by going deep. "The shallow waters simplified the anti-submarine problem for Japanese destroyers. They could use a single, shallow depth-setting on their depth charges and have a good chance of being right-on-target." (194) Operating in such treacherous conditions occasionally strained relations between the officers and ratings and, more importantly, effected the performance of the entire crew.

Ruhe's observations about the men are particularly noteworthy. He paints a vivid portrait of the day-to-day life of submariners and the hardships they endured; living in cramped quarters, battling claustrophobia, boredom, and fear when the hunter became the hunted. The prose, with some exceptions, is well-written and reads more like a novel than a popular history.

This book is not about strategy and submarine tactics. Having said that, however, it will appeal to those readers who want to learn what life was like aboard American submarines during the Pacific campaign, and I recommend it both to specialists and general readers alike.

Shawn Cafferky
Victoria, British Columbia

Dick Keresey. *PT105.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xiii + 211 pp., photographs, maps, figures. US $27.95, Cdn $38.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-460-1. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

The story of American PT boat forces has always been overshadowed by the later achievements of their most famous alumnus, John F. Kennedy. In writing of his own boat, PT 105, Dick Keresey hopes to show that PT 109 is not the only vessel of this kind that deserves a place in history.

Keresey enroled in the Naval Reserve early in 1940 to pre-empt being drafted. Admitted to the bar in 1941, he was undergoing midshipman training when Pearl Harbor was attacked. Keresey hoped to serve in the intelligence branch. Instead he was sent to Torpedo School. Early in 1942 he volunteered to attend the newly instituted Motor Torpedo Boat Squadrons Training Center. He had no previous military or naval experience but by June he was captain of PT 105, one of the first of the new eighty-foot Elco boats. Unlike many of his peers, he spent a long time in command before entering combat. The newly formed Squadron Five was sent to defend the Panama Canal and did not arrive in the South Pacific until July 1943. Their first encounters were conventional torpedo

boat operations against Japanese warships. They soon switched to a gunboat role to counter enemy re-supply barges which larger warships could not detect. Keresey completed fifteen patrols in PT 105 before being promoted to division commander. Ill and combat fatigued, he returned to the United States in February 1944 and spent the remainder of the war as an instructor.

PT 105 was written from memory fifty years after the war, and has all the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach. The chronology is difficult to follow, the roles played by key figures are not always clear and there are inconsistencies in the text. The book may not add much to our understanding of the technical or tactical details of PT boat operations but it does provide another facet to the human side of the story. You cannot help but be amused, enthralled and inspired by the antics and bravery of young men who were set so difficult a task with so little preparation.

Keresey himself appears as both hero and anti-hero. He gives much praise to others and is at times self-effacing. Still, he is keen to be remembered as the "tall, skinny PT boat captain with that thousand yard stare that comes to those who are close to the edge and the arrogance to hold him on the near side for a while longer." Some of his attitudes are interesting if not surprising. He had a suspicion of technology which began with being baffled by torpedoes and was later reflected in a mistrust of radar. He had little empathy or interest in the staff or anyone above the level of squadron executive officer yet he acknowledges the shortcomings of the process use to plan PT boat operations. Readers might compare Keresey's defence of his decision to rescue seventy Japanese survivors with current Canadian soul searching on military ethics. As Keresey notes, the PT boats were creatures of their time and those of us who have never seen one should not be too quick to disparage their achievements. He certainly resurrects the spirit and heroism of their crews and he gives PT 105 its place in history. Finally, despite an avowed impatience with Jack Kennedy's dominance of PT boat history, *PT 105* only adds to the reputation of Keresey's most famous friend. It is a phenomenon for which, to his credit, Keresey is unapologetic.

Richard Summers
Orleans, Ontario

Robert Gannon. *Hellions of the Deep: The Development of American Torpedoes in World War II.* University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 1996. xiv + 241 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, notes, glossary, sources, index. US S28.50, £25.95, cloth; ISBN 0-271-01508-X.

Despite its rather silly title, this is a most interesting and useful book, better explained by its sub-title. As most of those with an interest in naval technology are aware, the US Navy had major torpedo problems when it went to war in 1941. They ran far deeper than set, and when they hit targets, they frequently failed to explode. Only when the Commander of Submarines in the Southwest Pacific, Admiral Lockwood, conducted his own tests by firing these fish as issued to his submarines through fishermen's nets suspended below the surface off Australia was he able to convince those in Washington that there *was* an equipment problem. In the same way, dummy torpedoes fired at a vertical underwater cliff face in Hawaii revealed a firing pin distortion problem. With these hurdles eventually solved, and this took almost a year of argument, designing and replacement, the submarine scores rose sharply. Moreover, torpedo production was initially "firmly stuck in the 19th century." Thus there were too few to equip the fleet.

This is a tale both fascinating, yet capable of giving the reader heartache about what could have been had pre-war testing been even marginally effective (some of the test equipment was miscalibrated; almost no submarine practical sea trials had been undertaken), or had the users been involved with development. There were conflicts between the "official" Newport Naval Torpedo Station and testing locales and the theorists at Harvard and Penn State, ultimately tasked with setting up labs to develop and test the new engines, torpedo heads and improved explosives, working with such firms as Bell Labs, Westinghouse and G.E. The early common failures cost the lives of many submariners. At first the reader gets the impression that these labs, and the US Navy, had a tendency to re-invent the wheel. Little reference is made to any torpedo developmental work by the already experienced Royal Navy or the *Kriegsmarine*. Only in a later chapter does Gannon reveal that a German acoustic torpedo was captured and examined, only to be

judged too difficult to copy using existing American manufacturing methodology and equipment. In any case, by then the combination of naval labs and civilian universities and companies were well along in developing the ideal submarine weapon: a wakeless engine that delivered half a ton of improved explosive at high speed for reasonable distance and which detonated magnetically or acoustically close to the target. At the same time this combination of designers was developing a smaller air-droppable torpedo capable of withstanding the forces of water entry from up to 1,000 feet at 140 knots flying speed, replacing the "low and slow" and thus highly dangerous previous model.

One is intrigued by the pre-war lack of basic research into the under sea environment, certainly in American circles. There is no indication of much cooperation with overseas scientists to investigate such problems as forces acting on a moving torpedo, sound transmission and distortion in various sea states and salinities, and especially in requirements for the aerial torpedoes to replace ineffective bombs. In reading British and Japanese literature it is encouraging to know that their air forces were just as intransigent regarding anti-submarine effectiveness and their A/S weapons were just as bad initially.

The story is a bit slow getting under way, but then produces a wealth of very technical yet engrossing research detail, both within the narrative and in explanatory "boxes." Once again the ability of the United States to grab a problem and run when the initial bureaucratic inertia is overcome, and then produce huge quantities of various models of torpedo is demonstrated to the full. The initial MK. 24 air-dropped torpedoes cost $50,000; by the end of the war they were $1,800! And some things never change: The Office of Research and Development commented that "War must be fought with instrumentalities already available." It was a recent NATO commander who advised that "the next war will be a 'Come as you are' war."

Overall, then, this is not a book for everyone, but it will (or should) be required reading for defence bureaucrats, planners, and those with an interest in submarine weapon development.

Fraser McKee
Markdale, Ontario

Bernard Edwards. *Attack & Sink! The Battle For Convoy SC 42*. Wimborne Minster, Dorset: New Era Writers Guild, 1995. xiii + 199 pp., photographs, map, appendices, index. £6.75, paper; ISBN 1-899694-40-4.

Much has already been published about Convoy SC 42, which lost sixteen of its sixty-four ships (most during a forty-eight-hour period) in a fierce battle to the east of Greenland in September 1941. The convoy was defended by Escort Group 24 *(Skeena* and three corvettes) under Cdr J.C. Hibbard, RCN, later reinforced by *Chambly* and *Moosejaw* after they had destroyed a U-boat closing the convoy. What is different about this new examination by Captain Bernard Edwards is the focus on the merchant ships and their crews.

The author, a Master Mariner-turned-writer who lives in Wales, has put this particular convoy into the overall context of the struggle to move cargoes across the Atlantic at that stage of the war. He has included a useful convoy diagram showing the cargo carried by each ship. Over 100,000 tons of cargo were lost within Convoy SC-42 as well as three other ships intercepted by the same U-boat group. The author contacted several survivors and worked their memories into his narrative. Edwards also did research at the U-boat Archives in Cuxhaven. The result is a gripping book which enables the reader to form an impression of how harrowing sustained attacks on a slow convoy with weak defences must have been.

The 2,000-ton Norwegian freighter *Einvik* (built in Toronto as *War Taurus* in 1918), carrying pit props, had straggled from a preceding convoy, SC 41, and was sunk several days before the battle for SC 42. This incident was, however connected because her attacker was U-501, who in turn would be sunk by *Chambly* and *Moosejaw. Einvik's* master had taken care to equip his lifeboats with extra rations and gear (including primus stoves, woolens, and oilskins) and several of the crew had obtained one-piece rubber immersion suits when the ship was in an American port. The entire complement of twenty-three was therefore able to survive the eight-and-one-half-day voyage to Iceland in two twenty-three-year-old open boats, sailing some 300 miles and encountering heavy weather. This remarkable saga is well covered and it would have been

instructive to learn more about how well other ships had prepared for an attack and whether preparedness paid off.

It is sobering to be reminded that *Skeena* was not fitted with radar or HFDF and that while the destroyer had a fair proportion of experienced officers and ratings, the corvettes were severely handicapped by inexperience. Indeed the author contends that the Canadian naval crews and those of the attacking U-boats were equally inexperienced. This assertion simply cannot be supported by the facts: while several of the U-boats were new, they were commanded by seasoned submariners and their crews, with an average age of 23 to 24, included a substantial proportion of experienced submarine ratings. Each boat had completed a rigorous and lengthy work up in the Baltic. It was only later in the war that the average ages and experience levels of U-boat sailors declined. By contrast, at this stage of the war Canada was pitting inadequately equipped and unworked up ships manned by green crews against such U-boats.

The bibliography is slim and surprisingly does not include Captain Roskill's official history or the careful analysis of the SC 42 Battle by Douglas and Rohwer in *RCN In Retrospect,* or even the more general accounts in Milner's *North Atlantic Run,* Schull's *The Far Distant Ships,* or German's *The Sea Is At Our Gates.* Several of Edwards' assertions about the defence of the convoy have a tendentious tone which creates an "us against them" atmosphere, contrasting the convoy sailors with alleged tactical ineptness by the escorts and indifferent naval authorities ashore. His strictures, based on shallow research and hasty conclusions, weaken the overall credibility of this account of the SC 42 battle. Consulting more references might have resulted in a more balanced perspective. To cite just one of many erroneous statements, the author re-cycles the old canard that a ship sailing unescorted from the South Atlantic to the UK would be at no greater risk than one in convoy. (56) In fact, independent loss rates were almost consistently double those of ships in convoy, and frequently from ten to twenty times as high.

Attack & Sink! is nicely produced, illustrated with photos of some of the ships lost and several of the merchant sailors mentioned, and reasonably priced. In conclusion, this is a dramatic telling of the story of SC 42. It breaks fresh ground by describing events from the perspective of the merchant ships but is weakened by unsubstantiated tendentious assertions about the protection of merchant ships in general and actual defence of this particular convoy.

Jan Drent
Victoria, British Columbia

Robert M. Browning Jr.. *U.S. Merchant Vessel War Casualties of World War II.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xxii + 575 pp., photographs, appendix, glossary, bibliography, index. US $49.95, Cdn $69.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-087-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This book lists all American merchant ships damaged or destroyed by enemy action during World War II, other than those chartered by means of bareboat and sub-bareboat charters by the US Army and US Navy, and American-owned vessels flying flags of convenience. The ships are listed chronologically beginning with the *City Rayville,* sunk by a mine off Australia on 9 November 1940, and ending with the *Cassius Hudson,* lost on 18 October 1946 after hitting two mines in the Adriatic Sea.

Each of the "more than 700" ships in this list are given a paragraph-long entry in which the author, Robert M. Browning, Jr., has packed a mass of information. For each ship damaged or destroyed there is listed the date and time of attack, ship's position when attacked, owner and operator of the vessel, name of the master, armament and year when the ship was built, ship's tonnage and draft, cargo on board the ship, type of propulsion, and speed when attacked. The voyage in which the vessel was engaged when sunk or damaged is also listed, the attacker and type of attack is identified, and a description is given for each vessel of the circumstances of the attack and the fate of the ship and her crew. For example, the entry for the *S.B. Hunt* states, among other things, that this vessel was built in 1918, that it had a gross tonnage of 6,840 tons, drew fifteen feet six inches, carried 24,000 barrels of water as ballast, was commanded by Henry L. Westmoreland, owned by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, and operated by the War

Shipping Administration, when it was torpedoed at 0332 on 7 July 1943 during a voyage from Recife, Brazil to Caripito, Venezuela in convoy BT-18 while occupying station #51. The torpedo had been fired by the U-185 and blasted a forty-five by thirty-five foot hole in the vessel's port side. No member of the *S.B. Hunt's* crew or armed guard was killed or wounded in the attack, the vessel remained with the convoy, was repaired at Galveston, Texas, and returned to service in November 1943.

This is an extremely well researched book in which extensive use has been made of the records of the US Coast Guard, US Navy, US Merchant Marine, the War Shipping Administration, and many other sources in such places as the Naval Historical Center, National Archives, and the US Merchant Marine Academy. The result is an impressive reference work which, for American merchant ship casualties caused by U-boat attack, surpasses Jürgen Rohwer's *Axis Submarine Successes, 1939-1945* (NIP, 1983) in detail and scope. Well written and based on solid research, *U.S. Merchant Vessel War Casualties of World War II* is a must for students of US merchant marine and naval operations during World War II.

David Syrett
Flushing, New York

Walter W. Jaffee. *The Last Mission Tanker*. 2nd ed.; Palo Alto, CA: Glencannon Press, 1995. 76 pp., photographs, illustrations. US $9.95, paper; ISBN 0-9637586-5-9.

Many books have been published about the Liberty and Victory ships that were utilized so successfully during and after World War II. They were the backbone of the fleet that carried supplies, ammunition, food, spare parts, machinery and general cargo to the major war zones. Much less is known about other types of specialized vessels built during the war, such as tankers.

The most numerous standard-design tanker was the T2-SE-A1, first proposed to the US Maritime Commission early in 1942. 431 units were eventually built at four American shipyards, each consisting of "a three-island type hull with raked stem and modified cruiser stern," (12) and powered by a 6,000 horsepower engine. This book, however, is not about the T2-SE-A1. Rather, it deals with the modified version known as the T2-SE-A2, known as "Mission" tankers because each was named after one of the Catholic missions established in California during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The major difference between the two types of tanker was in the power plant. The Mission tanker was powered by a 10,000 horsepower turbo-electric engine that raised its cruising speed to 16 knots when fully loaded. The armament was simplified to one 5-inch 38, one 3-inch 50 and eight 20 mm mounts. Thirty-four Mission class tankers were built, and some sailed for thirty years or more. One such long-lived tanker, still afloat in 1996, is the SS Mission *Santa Ynez* (Hull 32), launched in December 1943.

The Last Mission Tanker is therefore both a history of a particular class of ship and a history of a particular ship. Walter Jaffee describes some of the trips made by the *Santa Ynez* in war and peace as well as some of the special assignments performed by the ship and its crew until the very last one in August 1983, when "the U.S. Navy took her out to serve as a test platform for the analysis of the effects of current on a ship." (75) Yet the fact remains that, apart from its longevity, nothing spectacular or special ever happened to *Santa Ynez,* except that we now have a written record about that class of tankers.

I wish the author had included a drawing or a plan of the vessel as well as a complete set of statistical data (length, width, etc.). Nowhere was I able to find the GRT, NRT or its dimensions or measurements. For the record, the T2-SE-A2 had a deadweight tonnage of 16,628 tons and an overall length of 524 feet.

Pierre Camu
Ottawa, Ontario

Thomas Wildenberg. *Gray Steel and Black Oil: Fast Tankers and Replenishment at Sea in the U.S. Navy, 1912-1992*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xii + 342 pp., photographs, illustrations, figures, tables, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $39.95, Cdn $55.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-934-4. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

There are many reasons for the rise of American sea power and its persistence for the past half

century. One that never before has been the subject of book-length treatment is the development of the fast tanker and the associated technique of underway abeam refuelling.

The transition from sail to steam fuelled the late-nineteenth century scramble for overseas coaling stations. The subsequent conversion to oil-fired turbines, although involving a more conveniently transportable commodity, at first did little to stem this requirement. Indeed, Wildenberg's narrative opens with the decision of the US Navy in 1912 to follow a class of 14-knot "fast colliers" with similar "oil carriers" to speed deliveries to overseas stations.

However, while other navies remained content to operate within the restricted radius of coastal bases and foreign possessions, the US Navy soon recognized the possibilities for underway replenishment that liquid fuel provided. In the spring of 1917, when a division of destroyers was ordered to European waters to mark the American entry into World War I, the *Maumee* (AO [Auxiliary, Oiler]-2) was despatched to the mid-Atlantic to serve as a mobile fuelling station for the short-legged ships. Like colliers, the tankers were equipped to fuel warships moored alongside in protected anchorages, and Wildenberg describes the hasty preparations of *Maumee's* crew to adapt their 3-inch fuel hoses, literally more flexible than bulky coaling slings, to a saddle rig which allowed them to fuel the destroyers while underway, "riding-abeam" some twenty feet apart at three knots in moderate seas. Overseeing the preparations was Lt. Chester W. Nimitz, earning both early recognition of his abilities and an appreciation for the operational flexibility afforded by replenishment at sea.

The limitations on the interwar Treaty Navy stifled further development until the growing likelihood of war with Japan led the drafters of War Plan Orange to forecast accurately that, with the loss of US bases in the Western Pacific, the only way to take the war back to Japan was across vast tracts of ocean. Now an admiral, Nimitz's fast carriers (and their aircraft) would consume fuel at unprecedented rates and only tankers capable of keeping pace could allow the task forces to maintain a brisk operational tempo. The launch in 1939 of the first true fast tanker, the 18-knot, 18,200-ton *Cimarron,* was propitious.

This book is at its best in tracing the development of those fast tankers and their successors. Each AO-numbered ship is accounted for in informative text, with numerous tables of particulars and photographs of each class. Although a further table comparing type characteristics would have better illustrated the progression, Wildenberg's treatment is comprehensive. Less well developed is the actual story of underway replenishment techniques. Sufficient details of key events are provided to trace the evolution, but one is left with the impression that portions were lost in the editing process.

Picture a tanker with a carrier to one side and a cruiser to the other, in close formation, proceeding at 18 knots, joined only by fuel lines. Impressive in its beauty, this tricky manoeuvre is not for timid or inexperienced mariners. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Wildenberg did not compare the American experience with that of other navies. Although obviously beyond his scope, such would have underlined the import of the early transition to the alongside method with naval auxiliaries, as opposed to the preference elsewhere for the simpler but also slow and cumbersome astern refuelling from merchant ships. By way of example, arguably both the Royal Navy and Royal Canadian Navy prosecution of the Battle of the Atlantic and the postwar effectiveness of the Soviet Navy were hindered in part by their failure to adopt the more efficient practice.

"Establishing underway replenishment groups allowed [fleets] the freedom to roam the sea without having to return to port — a degree of seaborne mobility not seen since the days of sail." (197) This book is a splendid treatment of the ships and technique that has made this possible.

Richard H. Gimblett
Blackburn Hamlet, Ontario

Mansel G. Blackford (ed.). *On Board (he USS* Mason: *The World War II Diary of James A. Dunn.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1996. xxix + 130 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, bibliographic note. US $26.95, cloth; ISBN 0-8142-0698-0.

James A. Dunn's diary of his experiences aboard the destroyer escort USS *Mason* during World War II is part of a developing literature on the experiences of African Americans in the US

Navy. For example, in *Proudly We Served: The Men of the USS Mason* (NIP, 1995), reviewed in *T.M./LAN* in April 1996, Mary Pat Kelly has already documented through oral history the general experiences of the black crew of this ship.

Dunn's *Diary,* however, is a more specific account. It provides a rare glimpse through a first-hand source of life below-decks in a World War II destroyer. It was written secretly at the time, and comprises the core of Blackford's book. There is an historical introduction by John Sibley Butler which provides an overview of the role of African Americans in the US military, and which shows that Dunn's account provides a revealing and rarely presented segment of that general experience. This is followed by a general introduction written by the book's editor, whose father, William M. Blackford, was the Captain of the *Mason.* Here we learn that African Americans served in the US Navy from the American Revolution into the Progressive Era. Then the spread of racism through America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries caused African Americans gradually to be excluded from the Navy. Blackford explains that it was not until June 1942 that the Navy was to reverse that policy, encouraged to do so by a shortage of men available for service, agitation from black leaders, and even Eleanor Roosevelt.

The progress of integration however, was slow; the uniqueness of the USS *Mason* was therefore especially striking. Initially, it was crewed by 160 African Americans and forty-four white ratings, with white officers. Gradually, the white ratings were transferred until eventually it was the only ship during the war to be taken into battle by an African American crew. By all accounts, the experiment was a fine success.

James Dunn's account of his time on board the *Mason* as a Signalman from the time of the first convoy in June 1944 to the final return to the United States in May 1945 proves an important source, therefore, of this experience. It is an especially interesting one as it was written at the time of the event. We leam from his day-to-day entries what life was like aboard the destroyer and on runs ashore in places such as Belfast, Plymouth and the Mediterranean coastal towns of North Africa. We learn of the food he ate and the conditions he lived in (and they were quite grand compared to those of his British colleagues); the games he played to break the monotony and boredom of most of their journeys; the encounters he and his crew mates had with submarines; the battles they had with the weather and the Atlantic, awesome enemies. We also leam of the racial tensions that existed between the African American crew and some of the white officers, and hints are made as to how some officers might be dealt with once ashore. We see how they united as a crew in a predominately white navy and a generally segregated American society.

Poignantly, though, we learn of James Dunn's love of his wife Jane to whom he writes the diary (often in the form of letters to her). It is the thought of her, the memory of her, that keeps him going when he is feeling lonely, scared, bored. It shows how the bonds between people provide a special strength against adversity.

There are times, though, when this account seems not to penetrate the whole experience. Tensions are mentioned, for example, but are never elaborated. Perhaps there wasn't time; perhaps these details have been edited out. More likely, however, they were never written. Only the passage of time can provide the kind of distance needed for considered reflection and analysis. Here we have an immediacy. We can see from his daily entries how monotonous much of the experience must have been. But he does not elaborate on many matters — his rage, for example, at officers whom he felt were treating him unfairly. Did he not feel safe to say so to any great extent at the time ? Is this one of the virtues, therefore, of retrospective accounts: they free the author to see the importance and relevance of events they could not easily see at the time when they were so busy living them? By gaining immediacy do we lose understanding? Perhaps.

Generally, however, this is a welcome addition to the canon. Through talking to James Dunn and editing his diary, Mansel Blackford has, I suspect, come closer to understanding much of what his own father, who was greatly respected as Captain of the *Mason* and who did much to keep its crew together as a fighting machine, must have known long before his son set out on his own journey.

Chris Howard Bailey
Portsmouth, England

Robert A. Dawes, Jr.. *The Dragon's Breath: Hurricane at Sea.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. xvii + 222 pp., maps, photographs, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US $29.95, Cdn $41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-153-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This interesting book is essentially an account of the sinking of the USS *Warrington* in a hurricane some three hundred miles off the coast of Florida on the night of 12-13 September 1944 with the loss of three-quarters of her officers and men. Yet it is much more than that. While the focus is clearly the loss of the vessel, the book is, in many ways, a biography of the ship. Commander Dawes, who commanded *Warrington* from early September 1943 until fourteen days before she sank, gives an account of the building and launch of the ship in 1937 and the compromises — some fatal — that went into her design. He covers her career in the pre-war navy, on the Neutrality Patrol in 1941, her assignment to the Pacific fleet, and her return to the North Atlantic in 1944.

Dawes makes it clear that *Warrington* suffered from some serious defects. For example, the broken-deck style of the hull resulted in a very low freeboard amidships and the lack of a covered passage from the forward to the after parts of the ship. Engine room and fire room blower intakes were consequently only some four feet above the deck and extremely vulnerable in even moderate seas. This flaw could have been corrected, but for various reasons, the shipyards never got around to the recommended alterations and additions.

Moreover, by the time *Warrington* was ready for service in the Atlantic, serious morale problems had developed. The leave given was not what had been expected, and the standards of uniform and deportment were much more severe than the ship's company had experienced in the Pacific. In addition, just before sailing on her fateful voyage, *Warrington* had received a fairly large draft of young seamen with no significant sea-going experience. Added to that, she had a new captain who, although experienced in small destroyers in the North Atlantic, was a newcomer to a ship the size of *Warrington.*

The disaster itself was due to bad management and bad judgment. *Warrington* sailed for the Caribbean from Norfolk, Virginia on 10 September 1944 in company with the USS *Hyades,* a new ship on her maiden voyage with a captain who had never before held a sea-going command but who was, nevertheless, the Senior Officer. Almost immediately things began to go wrong: failure of the engine room ventilation blowers; unreliable radio communication; and, by the second day out, deteriorating weather. They had been expecting this, and indeed, in consultation with the Staff Operations Officer in Norfolk, had plotted their course to pass ahead of the eye of the storm! Prudent seamanship would surely have dictated a different course of action. By 1800 on 12 September the wind and seas were so bad that *Warrington's* captain decided to heave to, while *Hyades* continued alone. As the weather worsened, a second and fateful decision was taken at midnight. *Warrington* altered course to the westward to run before the storm. One and a half hours later she broached-to and sank. Of the 315 souls aboard, 247 were lost.

This then, is the story that Commander Dawes tells in *The Dragon's Breath.* It is a fascinating account, well told and well supported by track charts, tables, photographs and appendices. In many ways it could also have been a case study warning of the accumulative dangers in overworking men and ships, in manning ships with inexperienced officers and men in ignoring the principles of sound seamanship. In my view, however, to achieve all these things effectively, the story would have to have been told in chronological order as the biography of a ship whose life experience, for these reasons, ended in disaster.

C.B. Koester
Kingston, Ontario

Carl Boyd. *American Command of the Sea through Carriers, Codes, and the Silent Service: World War II and Beyond.* Newport News, VA: The Mariners' Museum, 1995. 79 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, selected bibliography, index. US $12.95, paper; ISBN 0-917376-43-9.

Carl Boyd's integration of signals intelligence with carrier and submarine operations during World War II makes interesting reading. Clearly written for the general reader rather than the expert, the story of these wartime operations is

told well with some excellent illustrations to reinforce the narrative. The actual stories of submarine and aircraft carrier operations are very traditional; telling those stories from the perspective of the code breakers (British and American) and the strategic planning staffs who used that intelligence to deploy naval forces adds a novel dimension to what is now standard history.

One could easily conclude that Boyd's main interest lies in the use of intelligence to defeat the enemy. But that is not the case. As a former submariner (who took part in some unique operations during the Cold War), his bias shows a little but not enough to detract from the rest of the story.

Opening with a brief but intriguing history of signals intelligence and how it came into wide use during the War, he continues that theme through a well orchestrated series of vignettes on the evolution of submarines and carriers as the principal elements of sea control (or command of the sea). The story of how each capability grew to prominence and became a pillar of American sea power is told in simple terms without losing the significance of the technical details. Here, Boyd's skill as a story teller comes to the fore. So often, explanations of this type become bogged down in minutia, but he avoids that trap and weaves enough technical information into the narrative to satisfy the reader while keeping the story simple.

His summary of the way in which the US Navy's carrier force evolved during the 1920s and 1930s and then grew in strength to defeat the Japanese fleet is particularly good. But that is not the only aspect of carrier warfare discussed. He also ventures into the less familiar topic of US escort carrier operations and the way signals intelligence supported them. This part of the story is fascinating, particularly when he wanders off to talk about German submarine tankers and the huge Japanese seaplane-carrying submarines — complete with some excellent photographs.

The explanation of how signals intelligence helped submarine operations, after a long period when the staffs were reluctant to make full use of that information, is also excellent. One of the nicer features of this book is the way Boyd is able to keep a clear focus on the general reader, yet includes enough detail to hold the interest of the more experienced reader of naval history.

In his final chapter, Boyd examines the progress made in submarine and carrier development since 1945. These he sees as the essential components of American sea power which should be maintained in the interests of national security. While he acknowledges that some reduction in fleet size is inevitable to reflect contemporary funding constraints, he also suggests, convincingly, that operational capability must be maintained with modem weapons systems and through the use of intelligence to reduce casualties. This, Boyd believes, is merely part of the evolutionary process that took submarines and carriers from their most basic form in the 1920s, developed through World War II, and continued into the technical era of the Cold War. Although primarily concerned with the US Navy, Boyd's views on the future need for and structure of navies in the uncertain years ahead have applications to many other navies, including that of Canada.

Anyone interested in navies will enjoy this very readable little book.

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Malcolm Muir, Jr.. *Black Shoes and Blue Water: Surface Warfare in the United States Navy, 1945-1975.* "Contributions to Naval History," No. 6; Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1996. xvi + 348 pp., photographs, abbreviations, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. US $19, paper; ISBN 0-945274-31-9.

This latest contribution to US naval history will not be for everyone, but it is a well polished jewel in its class. Muir focuses tightly on his subject, the surface warfare portion of the US Navy in the first decades after World War II. He provides a thorough overview of the aspects he selects for his study, primarily the cruisers and destroyers of that navy in their efforts to thwart air and surface opponents. This approach consciously avoids the frequent focus on the more glamorous aircraft carriers or nuclear submarines in the post-war period. Instead Muir demonstrates how the traditional surface community, the "black shoes" of the US Navy, responded to the complex problems they faced after World War II.

There were many problems to be overcome. The advent of high speed aircraft posed a problem soon exacerbated by guided missiles that could be launched by even the smallest opposing surface

craft. New technology to counter these and other threats developed at what might best be described as an uneven but ever-accelerating pace, compounding the difficulties faced. New technology is often expensive, and rapidly increasing costs resulted in ever shrinking fleet size as the ships built in wartime aged. Even more serious in some respects was the competition for funds, and skilled sailors, from the more alluring (and better paid) submarine and carrier community. In the midst of all these technical challenges, the surface fleet faced profound institutional problems. Perhaps the most important turned on the efforts to improve the professionalism of the surface fleet, a task made more urgent, naturally, by the drain of many of the best potential surface sailors to the perceptibly more professional subsurface and air communities.

Clearly any work addressing these issues will be complex. What makes this book so worthwhile, however, is Muir's clarity and conciseness. His discussion of the technological initiatives of the US surface fleet is masterly. The US Navy developed a host of new systems to overcome the disadvantages faced by the surface fleet. These included a family of anti-aircraft missiles that eventually became the "Standard" missile system found in many US and some allied warships today, a new surface-to-surface missile called Harpoon which is even more widespread, and a land attack weapon known as Tomahawk, the US sea-based cruise missile that provides the punch in contemporary gunboat diplomacy situations. Knitting these weapons together are the new sensors and computer systems that took many years of frustrating trial and error to develop. Foremost among these are the new advanced radars found in the "Aegis"-class cruisers directed by their highly sophisticated command and control system. Today these systems provide a formidable shield and sword for the surface warships of the US Navy. Their often painful development is clearly explained in this book.

Placing technological developments in historical context is difficult, but providing incisive commentary on the evolution of an institution's ideas and concepts of professional conduct requires even greater skill. Muir provides excellent insight into the problems and solutions encountered and adopted by the surface community in the difficult decades after the war. He describes the development of a professional standard of training and qualification for the surface community culminating in the formal classification of surface warfare officers as equals with their aviator and submarine focused contemporaries. While this formal classification carried no financial incentive equivalent to the other communities, the higher standards and greater achievement required for qualification provided an important, perhaps vital, way of restoring pride in their profession amongst surface sailors in the US Navy. In this age of business case analysis this positive assessment of a subjective factor such as pride may seem excessive, but there is no doubt that professional pride leading to professional capability is as vital as technological prowess in the quest for naval effectiveness.

The research supporting this book is detailed and varied. Muir clearly tapped all conceivable sources, and provided copious and clear notes to aid further researchers. The fifty photographs complement the book well, as does the thorough glossary and list of abbreviations, essential components of any book charting the history of such technical and jargon riddled services as the navy. Finally, Muir writes in a clear and easy manner. The "Contributions to Naval History" series is setting an admirable standard and serving the historical interests of the US Navy well, and this latest book is an excellent addition to the series.

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James J. Tritten and Luigi Donolo. *A Doctrine Reader: The Navies of United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Spain.* Newport Papers, No. 9; Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1995. viii +151 pp.. Available on request from: the President, Code 32A, Naval War College, 686 Cushing Road, Newport RI 02841-1207.

A Doctrine Reader is the product of a research project by the recently established (1993) Naval Doctrine Command of the US Navy to examine history in order to learn the lessons of naval doctrine development from the past. As most US Navy fleet officers are unfamiliar with the concept of written doctrine, *A Doctrine Reader* was published as Newport Paper Number Nine for use in American war colleges and other military

professional educational centres as a primer on the history of naval doctrine and theory. Multinational interest is suggested, given the US Navy's worldwide responsibilities. The work is a collection of essays that examines the development of doctrine in the navies of Great Britain, France, Spain and Italy and concludes with an interpretive essay on the application of doctrine studies to the post Cold War circumstances of the US Navy. Four of the five essays are by James Tritten; Luigi Donolo contributed the essay on Italian naval doctrine.

Tritten's first essay attempts to condense the 300-year development of "doctrine" and fleet tactics in the Royal Navy into thirty-two pages. He relies primarily on secondary sources and offers no new insights. British navalists, more familiar with terms such as "Fighting Instructions" or "Principles," will search in vain for a definition of the term "doctrine" as it applies to the Royal Navy, although a close relationship to tactics is inferred. Tritten is strongest in his discussion of rigidity in the thinking of RN professional practitioners who pragmatically stressed offensive action and their ambivalence towards theorists such as Corbett and Richmond. While some may take issue with his historical interpretations, Tritten is convincing in his argument that latterly Royal Naval "doctrine" has been driven mainly by interpretations of the impact of new technologies on strategy and tactics.

Tritten's essays on the French and Spanish experience maintain that naval doctrine developed as the result of unique national circumstances and particularly the strong influence of military (army) doctrine. He draws comparisons with the British experience but strongly admonishes those in the US Navy who advocate only the study of winners. He argues that there are lessons to be learned from negative results particularly where wrong-headed government policy has placed the navy at a disadvantage in war. Again, a clear definition of doctrine is not offered, though this would seem fundamental in a primer on the subject. The imperative of brevity unfortunately results in a presentation that at times reads like an annotated bibliography.

The Donolo essay on Italian naval doctrine is the most original as it achieves the cultural perspective required to give it authority and flavour. Apart from the remarkable insight it gives on the subject of loyalty, its great contribution is an exploration of the realm of military theory which provides an intellectual framework for the discussion of "doctrine." The task of definition is engaged by Donolo, who suggests that doctrine resides between strategy and tactics and is sometimes art and sometimes science, depending on the cultural origins of the user.

In the final essay, easily his best, Tritten discusses the challenges of developing doctrine in the post Cold War environment, the influences at play and the problems of resistance within the US Navy, US Marine Corps, and the other services to the concept of centralized written doctrine. This is the centrepiece of the collection and also explains the emphases and inferences in Tritten's other essays. He argues that naval doctrine has complex origins and he challenges the contemporary assumption that it is primarily the result of technological innovations. His conclusion is that the historical lessons in doctrine development suggest that a theory of "revolutions in military affairs" (RMAs) and paradigm shifts is required in order to understand major changes in naval warfare. Developing this theory and, principally, a new paradigm for the emerging concept of "maneuver" warfare for the US Navy is a priority for Naval Doctrine Command. The goal is to enable the navy to "fight smarter" through the exploitation of naval doctrine as a force builder. The assumption is that better doctrine may provide an alternative to the introduction of expensive technologies to improve combat capability.

A Doctrine Reader is the result of an ambitious undertaking to condense three centuries of "doctrine" development in four navies in order to provide the academic background for an argument designed to raise the comfort level of the US Navy and US Marine Corps with the concept of a centralized agency for written doctrine. It is an "in-house" document, providing insight on one approach being taken by the US Navy to meet the challenge of maintaining operational capability in an era of soaring weapons systems costs and diminishing financial resources. Readers are left with the impression of trying to accomplish too much in too little space. The work portrays an Atlantic bias and seems incomplete without analyses of naval doctrine development in Germany and Japan. Further, given the extensive intellectual resources available to the US Navy in

the foreign alumni of the Naval War College, possibly other national contributors could have been found to achieve the originality and authority found in Donolo's essay.

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Peter T. Haydon and Katherine D. Orr (eds.). *Canada's Maritime Tradition: Past, Present and Future.* Halifax: The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies for The Navy League of Canada, 1996. xi + 70 pp., index. $12 (+ $2.50 p&h), paper; ISBN 1-896440-02-9.

In May 1995, the Nova Scotia Mainland Division of the Navy League of Canada brought together several leading advocates of Canadian maritime endeavour in order to celebrate the centennial of the Navy League. It seems to have been a happy occasion. The published proceedings are well worth reading, and in themselves comprise an interesting historical document. Some time in the next century some historian or political scientist will doubtless use this little book as an example of advocacy on a par with that of the Navy League at the beginning of its existence in 1895.

There are some interesting comparisons. In 1895 as in 1995, Canadian Navy Leaguers boasted of a great Canadian maritime tradition. Then as now they had to overcome a widespread lack of interest. Canada may have the longest coastline in the world, with nearly ten million square kilometres of ocean to look after, and the country may have 16 per cent of the world's supply of fresh water (statistics cited by Commodore J.C. Michaud and Mr. Ron Macdonald, MP), but only Russia has a larger land mass. How do you persuade people who live thousands of miles from the sea that their well-being depends on a strong navy, good harbours and maritime activity? Canadians, after all, are descended for the most part from immigrants who left the sea behind them. That is perhaps even more significant in 1995 than it was at the turn of the century, before manned flight and all the other technological developments that have shrunk the globe.

The big difference, of course, is the Canadian navy. In 1895 it was barely a twinkle in the Honourable L.P. Brodeur's eye; in 1995 it is a national institution of some importance. Vice Admiral Hugh McNeil, a well read sailor who has served in several key national and NATO postings, and who was evidently a most reluctant advocate of nuclear-powered submarines for Canada, is able to document a remarkable degree of influence by the navy on NATO policy and operations. Marc Milner, historian of the Canadian navy in the Mid Ocean Escort Force, argues persuasively that the "Sheepdog Navy" (James Lamb's term) in World War II provided the foundation for such post war alliance roles. Ed Healey, a former naval engineer and Assistant Deputy Minister (Materiel) offers a brief, ultimately gloomy but nevertheless useful overview of a shipbuilding industry that must depend heavily on government and naval orders. He refers to Garth Wilson's *History of Shipbuilding and Naval Architecture* in Canada as the base from which to examine the industry. Seaborne trade, "our lifeblood," and ocean resources, dealt with by Commodore Michaud and Ron Macdonald, are seen as vital elements of a continuing maritime tradition, and the crisis in the fisheries as a wake up call. Indeed, the turbot affair, and the Pacific Salmon treaty, give the fisheries "an unusual profile." Canada, argues Macdonald, is a leader in the management of ocean resources.

The link between the navy and the nation appears from these papers to lie in the concept of maritime resources as a single concern, and in the realization of mutual dependence among all this country's maritime activities. One could take issue with some of the arguments, but they provide the basis for an important debate.

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René J. Francillon. *The Naval Institute Guide to World Military Aviation 1996. Their Ships, Aircraft, and Armament.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. CD-ROM text, images (recommended system requirements: 386SX-processor or higher IBM PC, PS/2 or compatible computer, 256 colour VGA graphic capability [640-480 minimum], Windows 3.1 or later, 4 MB free space on hard disk). US $395, ISBN 1-55750-267-6.

For confirmed bibliophiles there is nothing to beat the pleasure derived from the perusal of a

favourite reference volume, particularly if it has been well produced on high quality paper and illustrated with top quality images. The advent of the CD-ROM is well on the way to changing much of that and *The Naval Institute Guide to World Military Aviation 1996* is an example of such electronic publishing as of mid-1996.

The CD-ROM format is an excellent platform for the display and sorting of large amounts of complex data as well as for the presentation of illustrative material in parallel with text. *The Naval Institute Guide to World Military Aviation 1996* is an example of how this technology can be used to good effect. The compiler of the information and illustrations, René Francillon, is a noted authority on aviation history topics and is well qualified for his role.

Francillon prefaces the main body of the material with an explanation of how the data were derived, including the caveat that different interpretations are used by various Air Forces as to what constitutes their current inventory. This is followed by a commentary on the global and regional strategic environments within which military aviation functions as of the end of 1995 and then an explanation of various developmental and procurement programs primarily as they affect the United States services.

Francillon provides a pithy and cogent "tour d'horizon" of the major issues impacting Air Forces in the mid- to late 1990s, ranging from the challenges of operating weapons systems designed largely to face threats that have receded, the downside of overly complex systems, procurement decisions influenced by poorly informed political arms of government and the rise of new regional strategic threats. The analysis has an American and to a lesser extent Western European orientation with Canada meriting only a fleeting mention. The argument advanced may be summed up as "Don't fall into the trap of complacency."

From the standpoint of content and user interface the application is workman-like though not brilliant. Installation is simple and the navigation system permits searches by country, aircraft model, name, number or manufacturer. Cross-referencing is possible. In all, the military aviation assets of 172 nations are depicted along with technical specifications for 360 types and variants in service. The specifications are illustrated with some 1,500 photographs and associated graphics. The information is comprehensive and, judging by the entry on the Canadian Forces, it is accurate. Its presentation, however, leaves room for improvement. Photographs are in black and white and, even when run on a high end machine, are of low resolution and poor contrast. Anyone anticipating the quality of the image on the insert in the jewel-box will be sadly disappointed. The lack of colour is a serious lapse in an application such as this and the reason for the decision is difficult to understand when colour images require little extra disk space. The default font for the text is Times Roman which leaves a cluttered look to the screen though this is not a problem when the data are printed. Finally the navigation tool does not provide an introductory screen for each service at the outset. Users are required to remember which force they are investigating and that they must go from a blank screen to menus for the Order of Battle or equipment inventories. This can cause a momentary lapse when browsing the database.

A final comment is called for on the pricing of this application. At US$395 it is many times by far the price of consumer CD-ROMs which retail in the $50 range for the most part. Given that the most likely clients for such a high priced application will be libraries and commercial or military users themselves, they might be excused for expecting better quality for their investment, especially as the information will be out of date as soon as it is published.

This is an acceptable first effort at using a CD-ROM format but it falls short of using the technology to its best potential. In subsequent releases the publishers are urged to pay more attention to the use of front-end evaluations by potential customers.

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