

## BOOK REVIEWS

Paul C. van Royen, Lewis R. Fischer, David Williams (eds.). *Frutta di Mare: Evolution and Revolution in the Maritime World in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International for the Dutch Association of Maritime History, 1998. 222 pp., illustrations, tables, figures, bibliography. 30f, cloth; ISBN 90-6707-475-6 [payment to Giro number 390150, Postbank The Netherlands, att. Treasurer Nederlandse Vereniging voor Zeegechiedenis, Laan van Arenstein 19, 2341 LS Oegstgeest, The Netherlands; or by Eurocheck or money order to that address, mentioning *Frutta di Mare*].

*Frutta di Mare* comprises a selection of papers from the Second International Congress of Maritime History held in 1996 in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The general theme of the Congress was "Evolution and Revolution in the Maritime World in the 19th and 20th Centuries," and sessions were divided into three categories: "Nautical Science and Cartography"; "Shipbuilding, Design, and Construction"; and "Management of Shipping Companies, Navies and Ports." This volume begins with Jaap Bruijn's survey of recent Dutch maritime research in honor of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Dutch Association of Maritime History, and concludes with an overview by Frank Broeze of all the papers presented. Only twelve papers are reproduced here, however; the other thirty-five presentations are identified in an appendix at the end of the book.

Conrad Dixon's piece on "Navigation Changes Direction from Art to Science" sets out to cover the enormous subject of the application of scientific principles to navigation over the last two centuries. Dixon presents a convincing argument that Thomas Sumner's discovery of position-line navigation in 1837, followed by the efforts of Marco St. Hilaire and T.S. Lecky, paved the way for increased dependability and security. Dixon concludes with a plea for original research among modern day fisherman and other seafarers before traditional knowledge vanishes. Lewis R. Pyenson tackled the prickly thicket of "The Prestige of Pure Research" in a decidedly anti-government manner which he projects into the present. If the antagonism of the state to pure research were quite so profound, then Pyenson's

own work probably would have more difficulty seeing the light of day. The bumpy narrative features personalities such as Oudemans, Bergsma, and Rambaldo who the author neither introduces nor places in historical perspective for an international readership. The overall result leaves much to be desired – fewer examples and more elaboration would have served the topic better. The author's personal polemics against military and naval authorities detract from the scientific survey and are so biased as to question the inclusion of the piece. In contrast, Art R.T. Jonkers' excellent survey of compasses is thorough and interesting – a most worthwhile work – while Wheeler's essay on the Battle of Camperdown (1797) underlines the importance of climate on history.

Edward W. Sloan covers so vast a topic in "Private Enterprise as Public Utility: The Management of Capital in Two Centuries of Shipping Business" that, of necessity, generalizations abound. Sloan's unique contribution to the literature of this era, in proving that the Cunard and Collins Lines in the 1850s had a hidden *cartel* which precluded competition, is relegated to a footnote. [18] Anita M.C. van Dissel provides a thorough analysis of personnel development in the Royal Netherlands Navy (1814-1914) supported by tables. Harry M. Lintsen surveys the development of the Dutch shipbuilding industry since the "Golden Age" of the seventeenth century. After the industrial revolution, industrial espionage frequently replaced invention, giving The Netherlands most of the major breakthroughs and naval secrets within a few years of their occurrence. Dutch shipbuilders elected to copy rather than innovate to which Lintsen attributes the ultimate collapse of the Dutch shipbuilding industry in the modern era.

Henk J. Wimmers provides a two-century overview of the complex subject of "ship-building materials" from wood to titanium but needs documentation in the text and something beyond a simple bibliography. Lewis Johnman's penetrating and thoughtful discussion of "Old Attitudes and New Technology: British Shipbuilding 1945-1965," might well be entitled "How Arrogance and Prejudice Killed an Industry." The attitude of British shipbuilders toward their clients, and particularly Norwegian shipowners who were

ready and able to place contracts in British yards, was condescending and regrettable. Equally devastating for the future of British shipbuilding was a negative attitude toward innovation in terms of powerful diesel engines, large tankers and welded construction. Johnman's tables are informative and his conclusion that British shipbuilders bear a large responsibility for the disastrous decline of this important British industry seems irrefutable. Yrjö Kaukiainen's excellent discussion of "the Maritime Labour Market: Skill and Experience as Factors of Demand and Supply" provides a masterful blend of literary and historical references about the nature and skills of the common sailor. His analysis of age, length of service, and variety of skills builds upon earlier work and makes a genuine contribution to the understanding of seafarers in the nineteenth century.

Gordon Jackson's "Ports, Ships and Government in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" is limited to Great Britain, while raising general questions with potential for universal application around the world. Jackson puts forth four generalizations with regard to maritime affairs: that the object of government was to pursue the interest of the state; that historically governments usually chose not to act; that any government decision represented interference of some degree; that there remains a public belief that government can act appropriately and benevolently upon occasion. Jackson derides the latter view with pithy sarcasm. He then proceeds to discuss some effects of the Navigation Acts without reference to mercantilism – which is a bit like seeking to reinvent the sail. Some of Jackson's broad assertions about British taxation of Baltic timber during the Napoleonic era in order to stimulate Canadian economic development, and in retribution against the infant United States, are far too complex a ministerial reasoning process to stand up under the harsh light of his own view of inept and unthinking government. Napoleon's "Continental system" also goes unmentioned, but probably did more to reduce the prosperity of British East Coast ports than any policy originating in London. A quantum leap from 1803 to 1931 in a single sentence, and to the Common Market in the next, is a bit much even given the constraints of a paper. Jackson's assertion that among nations having steamship lines "none would match the British expertise until the twentieth century was well advanced" is absurd. The Collins Line gave Cunard a run for its money in the 1850s and the

French C.G.T., the German H.A.P.A.G., and NGL, and the American International Navigation Company, were all maritime concerns worthy of international respect in the nineteenth century. If "the decline of British shipping was brought about by the ending of the sort of commerce in which much of it was engaged," as during the containerization revolution, then you encourage international cooperation and involvement in order to meet the financial challenges. To state that "the British government was powerless to resist" flies in the face of economic common sense. The role of responsible ministers should be to ride the wave of change, not to "resist" it. Hindsight is wonderful, but effective government policy rarely is built on resistance to change. Hence, it is reasonable to have some serious and well-founded reservations both to Jackson's approach and to his conclusions.

Adrian Jarvis is a leading authority on the Port of Liverpool and has written so widely that one might be skeptical about anything new. Yet Jarvis has a nose for interesting historical data and a dry wit that comes through in his presentations. His "Attempt at Reducing the Expenditures of the Port of Liverpool 1836-1913" might well be entitled "The Career of Jesse Hartley and Its Aftermath." Hartley, a Liverpool civil engineer of considerable ability, rose to be Liverpool Dock Engineer and entered on a building spree that lasted fifty years. Jarvis argues that cost reduction was usually fruitless and ineffective. The result was a steady increase in bureaucracy and paperwork that ultimately consumed the financial resources of the institution.

Frank Broeze discusses his view of: the relationship between maritime history and maritime museums; the relationship between maritime culture and ideology; the internationality of maritime history; and the generality of maritime history – how it relates to history in general. Broeze's fundamental quest is that history be honest and truthful, revealing the distasteful, as well as the pleasant, sides of humanities maritime existence. Accepting this premise, for a publication involving a broad international readership, Pieter Ceyl's special position needs explanation, the "Tromps" need identification if the North and South Holland quip is to have meaning, and "Kapitan Rob" leaves the reader at sea. Since most of the participants in this Congress are not identified until the Appendix, Broeze's essay, which generously touches upon their efforts, is

comprehensible only if one reviews the Appendix before reading the concluding essay.

Some of the papers in *Frutta di Mare* are worthy contributions to maritime and naval history and therefore command respect. Yet the level of scholarship in many essays is unsatisfactory, suggesting that no professional maritime conference in the future should ever guarantee publication to participants. Such guarantees undermine the value of refereed scholarship by removing the vital competitive edge. A number of these papers should have been rejected as unworthy of publication in their present form. Future editorial committees should have the freedom to replace inferior efforts with superior research. The reviewer deeply regrets having to state this, but someone must.

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Morten Hahn-Pedersen (ed.). *Sjoeklen 1997: Årbog for Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseet, Saltvandsakvariet i Esbjerg*. Esbjerg, Denmark: Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseet, Saltvandsakvariet, 1998. 148 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps, tables, figures, English summaries. 198 Dkr, hardbound; ISBN 87-87453-754.

In this, their tenth yearbook, the Fisheries and Seafaring Museum in Esbjerg presents a publication along traditional lines. As in earlier editions, the museum seeks to meet a variety of needs.

Those interested in local history will probably find Mette Guldberg's article on shipping in Ribe around 1730 and Thyge Jensen's paper on an old chart and the change of coastlines and landscapes over the ages, most interesting. Similarly, Soren Byskov's description of the activity in Esbjerg fishing harbour in 1997, the essay by Thyge Jensen and Svend Thougaard on stranded sperm whales, and the analysis by Henrik L. Hansen and Olaf C. Jensen of fatal accidents in Danish industrial fishing during the period 1989-1996 will probably also find its largest audience in the local fishing community.

For economic historians, Poul Holm's analysis should be of particular interest. Professor Holm gives a good example of how even the primary sector – in this case the fishing sector – has been influenced by the globalisation process. He goes further by seeking the forces behind the globalization. One conclusion drawn is that

extended economic zones in combination with the rise of aquaculture business have made the global fish markets grow exponentially. Morten Hahn-Pedersen has for several years worked on a business history on A.P. Møller, one of the dominant privately owned companies in Denmark. Based on this work, Hahn-Pedersen presents in this yearbook a paper on the oil industry in Denmark. His work will be of great interest to those working on the history of the North Sea petroleum industry, as it gives a good opportunity to make comprehensive analyses of, for example, Denmark, Norway and Britain. It is hoped that the work of Holm and Hahn-Petersen will gain reputation in academic circles at the international level, because their essays make it easy for other academics to use them in comparative analysis.

From an academic point of view, the focus of the book seems somewhat unclear. On the other hand, it seemed likely to appeal to the local public and local authorities, which is of great importance to the activities of the museum. In the annual report, the museum draws its lines back to 1988 when it set up a long-term strategy. The report clearly shows that a museum with a clear strategy, good leadership and high academic standards can make expansionary and successful plans. An evident example is a new five-floor building which will improve the academic work as well as the public facilities.

The 1997 yearbook also includes an index for articles published during the course of *Sjoeklen's* ten-year history. This will be a very useful tool, not only for those working in the same field as the staff at the museum in Esbjerg but for those as well who want to increase their knowledge in local history.

Anders Martin Fon  
Tonsberg, Norway

S. Haasum and I. Kaijser (eds.). *Människor Och Båtar I Norden*. Stockholm: Statens Sjöhistoriska Museet, 1998. 338 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps. 350 Skr, paper; ISSN 0349 0-19X.

Stockholm was Europe's cultural centre for the year 1998. To celebrate that occasion, the Swedish National Maritime Museum organized an exhibition of old work boats from the five Nordic countries, and Estonia, the Faeroe Islands, Greenland and The Shetlands. This remarkable book contains excellent drawings and illustrations of

different types of work boats built to meet specific economic and geographical conditions. It also provides information about the origins of different boat types.

Every chapter is written in its author's native language. The editors translated the Fair and Greenland chapters into Danish, while the English, Estonian and Finnish chapters were translated into Swedish. A reader will therefore need to be able to read Danish, Norwegian or Swedish.

The introduction by Dr. S. Haasum, the museum's Director of Research outlines economic, political and social reasons for the development of different types of boats. In support of her opinion, Haasum states that the Blekinge "eke" boats' form was developed both to meet the fishing needs of Blekinge skerries, and to be able to carry heavy weights such as stone. The introduction has some general information about boat builders and the preservation of boats. Chapter 1 by T. Watt, in English, suggests the Shetland Yoal is a descendant of the Viking ship adapted to meet local conditions. A. Mortensen of Torshavn states in Faeroese (translated into Danish) that "The Faeroese are born with oars in their hands." He provides drawings to show the seven different types used, all of Norwegian origin. L. Kristjansson of the Icelandic University and A. Georgsson of the National Museum, in their chapter in Icelandic (translated into Swedish), include a fifteenth-century Icelandic illustration of a skuldelev boat. The Norwegian small boat tradition is rooted in the stone age according to A.E. Christensen of Oslo University. He outlines the differences between boats built in Eastern and Northern Norway and the present revival of wooden boat building. Three well-illustrated chapters in Norwegian explain the origins and differences caused by climatic and wind conditions between the Sörland and Nordlands boats. An article in the Greenland language, translated into Danish, tells of Inuit boat construction. Four well-illustrated articles in Danish by Poul Holm of Aarhus University, A. Knudsen of Bornholm's Museum, D. Mortensoen of the Langeland Museum and E. Wohlfahrt of Copenhagen Museum provide a wealth of information about Danish boat development throughout the centuries. Incidentally, the west coast fishermen still prefer wood to plastic boats that stand up better to beaching. Six chapters by different experts provide much detail about different Swedish boats'

origins and their uses on the west and east coasts and inland waters. Fine coloured illustrations are included in the Gotland chapter. Finnish experts tell, in Finnish and Swedish, the histories of boat developments in six different areas of the country, beginning in the iron age. A short chapter contains some information about the Estonian boat. There is a translation of the chapter into Swedish.

A long time may elapse before another survey of the Nordic boat by so many experts becomes available. There is some overlapping in the Finnish sections. That, however, is a minor criticism.

Dan G. Harris  
Nepean, Ontario

Richard Woodman. *The History of the Ship: The Comprehensive Story of Seafaring from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1997. 352 pp., illustrations and photographs (b+w, colour), select bibliography, glossary, index. £30, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-721-X.

From the outset, I greeted the prospect of reviewing this book with mixed feelings. On the one hand, I saw the book within the very positive context of Conway's outstanding, multi-volume history of the subject. If this work was closely connected to that project (and the connection is suggested, at least, by the fact that the dust jacket borrows the cover-images from that set) then perhaps this would be an every-man's, one-stop, affordable alternative. On the other hand, I felt rather jaded; here was yet another general volume dedicated to the history of the ship. Even if one unabashedly shares John Ruskin's assertion, prominently set on the frontpiece, that the ship is "the most honourable thing a man has ever produced," one must wonder if yet another addition to the abundant English-language corpus is really necessary or even desirable. For this reviewer, the answer would rest on whether the single-author, single volume perspective on the subject offered anything fresh or provocative.

Woodman has organized his book into twenty chapters, with attention-getting titles like "Princes and Predators," "Twilight for the Gods," and "Technology, Turbines and Terror." His narrative spans a period that begins, in substance, with ancient Egypt and runs right up to the present day, with the focus squarely on western civilization. However, within the context of

western civilization, Great Britain's maritime past is given special prominence – a concentration Woodman argues is justified by his country's position as "the most influential" of the western maritime powers.

In reading the introduction for a statement of purpose or defining vision, I found the signs unclear. Woodman, to his credit, acknowledges the scope of the task ahead and its inherent pitfalls; he further notes that his "brief" had been to follow in general the arguments of the Conway series. He then warns the reader not to expect "a mere condensation" of that series – something I, for one, would have welcomed – even though it served as a significant reference source. Instead, Woodman identifies as the "mainspring" of the work his own lifelong involvement with ships (a quick look at the dust jacket reveals that Woodman spent thirty years at sea, as a navigating officer for the Blue Funnel and Glen lines, rising to the rank of Commander).

In essence, then, this is a mariner's book, well-informed but a nonetheless decidedly personal view. As such, the reader ought not to be surprised to find that, in the end, the mariner's pragmatism outpaces the historian's analytical purpose. Thus, Woodman writes in his conclusion that having "followed the ship throughout its remarkable history and fascinating though this is, history has no meaning of itself, unless it be to provide an insight that might help us to predict and perhaps plan for the future." [337]

Reading through the book, I paid special attention to areas with which I felt most familiar, in the hope of discovering something which might set the book apart. Through the lens of my own particular areas of interest I can report little which struck me as a notable departure or new emphasis. Most was competent, consistent with established interpretations and cautious; except on those – not entirely infrequent – occasions where the author indulges some personal or national bias. The lack of formal references may also frustrate some readers. Be that as it may, it must also be said that the author has compiled, and synthesized, an impressive amount of information and his evident passion for the subject does come through in the text.

Physically, the book is very attractive and the selection of images is generally pleasing, interesting and of a high quality. There is a select bibliography, together with a helpful glossary of terms and index. Whether, in fact, there is much about

this book which might recommend it as an addition to the libraries of ship aficionados, will ultimately depend on the acquisitive inclinations of the individual. As large-format, coffee-table type books go, this has a good deal more substance than most and I imagine that many general interest readers looking for an overview of the subject will be drawn to its evident qualities. But for this reviewer, searching for a fresh approach, much of my initial ambivalence, alas, remains.

Garth Wilson  
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Sharon Green, with Douglas Hunter. *Ultimate Sailing*. Toronto: Stoddart, 1998. 168 pp., colour photographs, plate notes. \$50, cloth; ISBN 0-7737-3083-4.

Colourful hardly seems sufficient to express the blast of brilliant colour that explodes from the pages of *Ultimate Sailing* by Canadian photojournalist Sharon Green and her accomplice, Douglas Hunter, former editor of *Canadian Yachting*. Here are 168 pages of stunning images capturing all the drama and intensity of ultimate sailing: sometimes you feel that you could be swept into the cockpit for the scenes are so compelling and, seemingly, only an arm's length away. Each section begins with a brief introduction and captions follow each photograph.

In the introduction, Hunter writes, "There is sailing and ultimate sailing." Ultimate sailing may be in a knockabout dinghy costing a few dollars or a Maxi yacht operating on a budget of millions. It makes no difference, the challenge is its own reward.

Spectators are now able to participate vicariously through the visual media, but they were never important; as Hunter concludes, "Ultimate Sailing does not exist to put on a show." Although sailing *is* increasingly putting on a show, television rights and advertising never created ultimate sailing; they only came along with the realization by corporate interests that sleek hulls and sun-splashed sails reflected on dancing waves made great advertising copy – moving billboards which catch the eye and leverage the pocketbook.

*Ultimate Sailing* covers some of the great races of the yacht-racing panorama: America's Cup, Kenwood Cup, Olympic Class Tornado, Southern Ocean Racing Conference (SORC), Australian 18-Foot Skiff, Admiral's Cup and

others. A photograph of the beautifully restored J-Class *Shamrock* owned by American heiress, Elizabeth Meyer, gliding by off Newport, Rhode Island, harkens back to that era of the first America's Cup races between England and America, for the *Auld Mug*, the "One Hundred Guinea Cup," inaugurated by Queen Victoria.

The book is arranged in ten sections, "Tangles of Angles" being an example. Here, a beautiful series of photographs highlights the infinite angles and triangles of intersecting sail and rigging geometry and the artistry of coloured sails. "Plate notes," the final section, includes a brief inventory of film and equipment, followed by an explanation of each plate. *Ultimate Sailing* also includes some of the finest sailing photography this reviewer has ever seen – brilliant examples of the photographer's artistry, capturing the elemental interplay of wind on sail and ships and the sea. According to the flyleaf, "Sharon Green has gone to the center of the action...photos proving that *Ultimate Sailing* is one of the greatest shows on earth." Her photographs are a convincing record.

Geoffrey H. Farmer  
St. John's, Newfoundland

John F. Devendorf. *Great Lakes Bulk Carriers, 1869-1985*. Rev. ed.; Niles, MI: The Author, 1996. v + 243 pp., colour frontispiece, bibliography, photographs, figures, fleet list, ship index. US \$39 (+ \$3.50 s&h), paper; ISBN 1-889-04303-6.

This revised edition of *Great Lakes Bulk Carriers* is basically a reprinting of the of the first edition (reviewed in *The Northern Mariner* vol. VII, no. 2, April 1997). The only significant difference is the incorporation in the text of the handful of corrections from the *errata* sheet supplied with the first edition.

The book remains a labour of love. *Great Lakes Bulk Carriers* is a volume for ship lovers and particularly those who are captivated by engines. Given the emphasis in the ship list on engines it is unfortunate that the author did not see fit to include any photographs of engines. More serious researchers may wonder why owners continued to order vessels with triple expansion engines long after the steam turbine had become an efficient power unit. This behaviour is particularly puzzling in light of the short Great

Lakes shipping season which puts a premium on turn around times to increase the number of trips in a given year.

Because all of this reviewer's original caveats still apply this reprint of *Great Lakes Bulk Carriers* can only be recommended to enthusiasts who did not purchase the first edition.

M. Stephen Salmon  
Ottawa, Ontario

Gerald Stevens. *Bottom Bunk, Two Top Drawers*. Bishop Auckland, Durham: Pentland Press, 1998. 157 pp., figure. £13.50, cloth; ISBN 1-85821-564-1

The title of this anecdotal description by Captain Stevens of his first voyage as an apprentice in a tramp ship in the 1950s is a reference to accepted practice in the sharing of the drawers built below the bunks in typical apprentice accommodation. By extension, the use of the phrase in other contexts had come to mean "just one of those things."

The author set himself the difficult task of trying to tell his story through his own eyes as a seventeen-year-old "first tripper," so presenting the reader with much of the day-to-day life and culture typical of an all-male work place. In presenting much that is normal, Captain Stevens avoids the distortion found in some reminiscences of a focus on extraordinary events, yet manages to recount day to day life at sea with some humour, though in language which may be typical, but is often rough. However, whether it is possible to be really objective decades after the events, must be doubted; certainly there are sections here which must owe much to subsequent experience.

The text is continuous, without subdivision into chapters, and is hung loosely on the chronology of a typical tramping voyage from the River Tyne to the Baltic to load wood pulp for Argentina and back to Liverpool with grain, some five and half months. The personalities of the officers, engineers and deck crew (she carried Arab engine room crew) come through strongly, but none are named, and even the ship's name and company are concealed.

The book is quite well produced, though there seems to have been little editorial interference with the text. Indeed the style of writing is most variable. There is no index, or any sources or references despite occasional content which

alludes to official sources. There are one or two inaccuracies. The hardback binding, with dust-cover, is extravagant, and has pushed the cover price to an unacceptable level.

Those who have served a merchant service apprenticeship in the middle decades of the twentieth century, will have had very similar experiences, not just on their first voyages but throughout the bulk of their four-year term. They will identify strongly. The mix of routine sailorising tasks with manual tasks on the bridge, usually reserved for the apprentices, is typical. So are the practical jokes (such as being sent to the second engineer for a "long stand"), though perhaps there are rather more than is normal. Readers who are offended by "strong language," the use of which is common in manual work environments and particularly among young men, should perhaps avoid these recollections, though its use in the text is not overdone.

Despite the weaknesses from an academic perspective, there is merit in this small book for the "feel" of sea-life experience it conveys to the non-seafaring reader, admittedly puerile at times. Perhaps most useful are Captain Stephens' descriptions of seafaring terms and work practices, such as "sooji," "connie onnie," "NEMEDRI," the kinds of commonplace matters which often fail to get into print, and are lost to posterity.

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Walter W. Jaffee, *The Track of the Golden Bear: The California Maritime Academy Schoolships*. Palo Alto, CA: Glencannon Press, 1996. xii + 212 pp., photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, ship profile at ends, index. US \$40, cloth; ISBN 0-9637586-8-3.

In his introduction the author tells the reader what the book is, and also what the book is not. He says, "This is not a yearbook. This story is about the training ships. Perhaps some future author will tell the story of the school." Basically it consists of the recollections of twenty-seven graduates of classes from 1933 to 1955, plus histories of the five ships that provided housing, work and study area for the enrolled cadets. An appendix provides the names of the Academy Superintendents and the Schoolship Masters. Another lists the years in which training cruises were held and the ports of call.

The remarks of the cadets who were interviewed provide accounts of activities typical of what you would expect in a merchant marine school-ship. Unfortunately there is much repetition, much of which concerns the chow that was served and the Line Crossing ceremonies. For instance, on two facing pages [116-117] we learn in three different places that the ship was a turbo-electric drive vessel. Elsewhere [131, 161] we are told three times when reveille was.

The story is about the five ships. Nevertheless, with the exception of the inboard profile of one ship, there are no profile or deck plans to help the reader follow the comments of the cadets. It is not the story of the school, but the author does provide much information about the school's formation, locations and administrative matters. Although not a yearbook, which would probably be boring to anyone not a graduate of the school, it would be nice to know something about the accomplishments of some of the cadets interviewed. Some of them have achieved fame not only in the United States but internationally, and this would be of interest to any reader.

The price of the book is such that the reader is entitled to some clear photographs. Unfortunately the photo reproduction is of very poor quality; that on page 154 is totally useless. Nevertheless, the author is to be commended for tackling this subject, which we hope will initiate the development of a complete history of the California Maritime Academy as well as a series of histories of the Maritime Schools elsewhere in the United States. It is a subject that should be part of the recorded maritime history of that country.

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John R. Spears. *Captain Nathaniel Brown Parker: An Old-Time Sailor of the Sea*. Macmillan, 1922; Stonington, CT: Stonington Historical Society, 1996. xv + 269 pp., photoplates, bibliography, index. US \$16 (plus 10% p+h), paper; no ISBN.

This is a reprint of a book originally published in 1922. It focuses on the maritime career of Nathaniel Palmer from his early years as a coaster in Connecticut to his final years as a master of a clipper ship in the China trade.

The son of a shipbuilder, Palmer was born in Stonington, Connecticut in 1799, and there learn-

ed much of his father's trade before going to sea at age 14. By 19 he was master of a coastal vessel sailing between New York and Connecticut, and by 21 he had begun a career as a sealing master in the South Atlantic Ocean. It was during one of these voyages that Palmer reached Antarctica and, according to Spears, was the first to do so. Later, after the seal herds had been driven into near-extinction, he became master and a part owner of several of the fast American packets that sailed between America and Great Britain. Finally, he designed and supervised the construction of one of the first clipper ships in America and was a master and held shares in one of the first to sail to China. Palmer remained in this trade and continued to own shares in other clipper ships until his death in 1877.

The work offers some interesting insights into the nineteenth-century New England seal fishery in the South Atlantic Ocean and into the history of the evolution of the clipper ship. It is particularly useful in describing two main clipper ship designs and the competing arguments among contemporaries for the preferability of each. There are, however, some problems with this biography. For one thing, there is no serious attempt to describe the world of Stonington in which Palmer grew up. This is unfortunate since this capital of the early nineteenth-century New England seal fishery has had very little written about it. More serious is Spears' proclivity for hero worship. The ostensible reason for writing on the life of Nathaniel Palmer was to draw attention to a great American. He believed that Palmer had been denied his rightful recognition as the discoverer of Antarctica, and that he had been seriously overlooked in the central role he played in designing, developing and sailing the very first clipper ships. If we are to accept Spears' argument, then we must conclude that Palmer was one of the great American masters of the nineteenth century. Just how balanced is the evidence to support his position?

Although he researched some of the family papers housed in Washington, much of his monograph was built around written correspondence between himself and Palmer's niece. However, Spears never visited Stonington nor met the niece. This in itself is not fatal, but the reader quickly loses confidence in the objectivity of the Spears' evidence and conclusions when it becomes clear very early in the biography that he has another agenda for writing it. The nineteenth century was,

for Spears, as it was for a great number of American maritime historians who were his contemporaries, a period when everything that was noble about America shone, and nowhere was this more so than in the careers of its mariners and masters. They were for Spears a noble breed, and he began this biography with this assumption in mind. Thus, when referring to Stonington he stated that "In no town in the world was a higher standard of manhood maintained." Later he stated that "the skill of the crews who handled these vessels is memorable. [ 13, 15] That age of noble giants stood in stark contrast against his own age of decay. Comparing Stonington sealers to his own generation, he commented: "What would they (the sealers) say if they could return and meet the men who now organize labor monopolies by which to limit the production of the most skilled to that of the weaklings and slackers?" [18-19]

Using the past to decry the present was fairly common during this period. Sidney Perley's *History of Salem* (Salem, MA, 1924-28), a three-volume genealogical history of Salem, Massachusetts, was a means of separating the "superior" lineage of the established families of Salem (whose ancestors had been members of the early Puritan migration) from the mass of Irish and French-Canadians immigrants who had swarmed into the area at the end of the nineteenth century to work in the textile mills of Essex county. Later, J.D. Phillips used a series of studies on the history of Salem since its seventeenth-century beginnings to attack Roosevelt's New Deal, showing that throughout the early history of the town, its inhabitants had been able to face every crisis without any government intervention (*Salem in the Seventeenth Century* [Cambridge, MA, 1933]; *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* [Boston, 1937]; *Salem in the Indies* [Boston, 1943]). Like Phillips, Spears attacked those who, in his eyes, were destroying American individualism, and he used Nathaniel Palmer as the instrument in that attack. Palmer may have been a great American shipmaster and individual, but we must read with caution the biography offered by Spears in support of that position. In truth, the book says more about the age of Spears than it does about the age of Palmer. A balanced biography of Nathaniel Palmer, and indeed a history of the town in which he was born, still awaits to be written.

Vince Walsh  
St. John's, Newfoundland

Chris LeGrow. *Bound Down for Newfoundland: The Log of A Young Seaman on Board the "Matthew"*. St. John's, NF: Breakwater Press, 1998. 96 pp., photographs, maps, glossary. \$19.95, hardcover; ISBN 1-55081-139-8; \$9.95, paper; ISBN 1-55081-138-X.

Chris LeGrow is an adventurous young man from Topsail, Newfoundland, who before the age of 20 had experienced a remarkable number of adventures, including a partial ascent of Mount Everest and a circumnavigation in the school ship *Concordia*. In 1997, he was selected to be one of nineteen men who would sail the replica of John Cabot's *Matthew* of 1497 from Bristol, England to Bonavista, Newfoundland. This engaging small volume is the personal log Chris kept of that voyage from May 3 to June 24 1997, accompanied by personal snapshots and some simple drawings to show the progress of the ship across the North Atlantic.

To the landsman unaware of the environment of a sailing vessel at sea, LeGrow's journal paints in clear and unaffected language the trying and chaotic world of sickening motion, sodden and jumbled clothing and gear, cramped living spaces and continuous fatigue that is the lot of crews even of modern sailing vessels. The efforts to adjust to the limitations of the fifteenth-century design while facing the North Atlantic for the first time are clearly evident. The crew faced the problem of relearning the skills and dodges of handling the archaic vessel, for while designs have survived through the ages, seamanship manuals have not. *Matthew's* crew were as much on an archeological expedition into traditional sailing skills as they were trying to survive a North Atlantic passage. Once away from land, their recreation of Cabot's experience became very real. As LeGrow reflected, there was "a common element of these two voyages: the sailing is still the same and the environment both spectacular and unforgiving, just as it was 500 years ago."

Noteworthy, too, is the evidence of building tensions between the crew as they endured week after week of hardship and discomfort, yet rallying at key moments when the beauty around them, some warm cookies, or an ounce or two of rum allowed them to regain their ease with one another. There is as much to admire in the courage of LeGrow and his shipmates as in the qualities of the explorers of five hundred years ago.

The book overall has a simple charm en-

hanced by the "album" style of arranging the photos; small glossaries help explain LeGrow's nautical terms. For a quiet evening's read, this log of a courageous young seaman demonstrating that the past is "not dead history, but living material out of which man makes the present and builds the future," recommends itself well.

Victor Suthren  
Ottawa, Ontario

Brian J. Cudahy. *Twilight on the Bay: The Excursion Boat Empire of B.B. Wills*. Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1998. xiii + 242 pp., photographs, tables, illustrations, appendices, notes, indices. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87033-509-X.

*Twilight on the Bay* traces the excursion boat empire of Benjamin Bowling Wills from 1934, when he purchased the big side paddle steamer *Albany*, once the pride of the Hudson River Day Line, to provide steamer service from Baltimore to his amusement park at Chapel Point, Maryland. *Albany* was renamed *Potomac*, and proved to be such an ideal vessel for day trips and moonlight cruises that, in 1936, Wills abandoned his ailing amusement park to concentrate on the excursion boat business. Soon Wills' "Empire" expanded to include other ventures, such as a cross-Chesapeake automobile ferry service, the Circle Line's Statue of Liberty ferries and the old Nantasket Steamboat Company. In fact, Wills let very few opportunities slip through his fingers and, at one point, he even tried to initiate pleasure cruises on the noxious Houston Ship Canal.

By the 1960s, the end was in sight for the big day excursion boats. Fettered by government regulations and shut out of former destinations by local politics, one by one Wills' companies were wound up and their vessels sold off. Last to go was the *Potomac*, whose final assignment was that of a spectator boat for the America's Cup races off Newport in September 1967.

Cudahy has provided us with a wealth of information on B.B. Wills' business activities, both in the text and various appendices, although somehow the essence of the man seems to have eluded him. Nevertheless, we do learn that Wills paid meticulous attention to detail, never designated any authority to anyone else, and after the war, made a substantial fortune from his ship brokerage and Florida Real Estate Ventures.

At one time or other, Wills and Wills-con-

trolled companies owned no fewer than twenty-two steamers, ranging from the old iron side-wheeler *Tolchester*, built as the *St. Johns* in 1878, to the twin diesel *Holiday*, built as the *Virginia Lee* in 1928. As a result, the subject of *Twilight on the Bay* is, to say the least, complex. Its author has initially organized matters rather well, by designating individual chapters to cover specific areas of operation. This approach becomes less appropriate as many of these operations overlap chronologically, until one reaches Chapter 7, "Excursion Boats After the War," in which a clutter of subjects, including B.B. Wills' quite irrelevant interest in shrimp boats, get lumped together in some kind of potpourri.

Apart from these quite minor problems, there are two rather serious omissions: Firstly, there are no maps to illustrate the many routes and destinations of Wills' excursion boats. Secondly, and of more concern, is the lack of a "List of Illustrations" and the omission of any reference to illustrations in the "Subject" and "Vessel" indices. There are seventy-seven of the aforementioned illustrations and they are well chosen – lots of ship photographs, including some by R. Loren Graham, tickets, schedules, advertisements, etc. The many tables and notes contain a great deal of valuable information, the roster of Wills'-owned and Wills'-controlled excursion boats being of particular interest, as are the historical notes on the Hudson River Day Line and Wills' nemesis, the Wilson Line fleet.

Apart from these two major concerns, Cudahy has done a most credible job. He provides an accurate and detailed chronicle not only of what was, to all intents and purposes, the swan song of the big excursion boats with their nostalgic memories of big bands, romance and moonlight cruises, but, with the sale of the old Nantasket boats, the last days of coastal steam passenger service on the East Coast.

R.H. Wyllie  
East LaHave, Nova Scotia

Howard White (ed.). *Raincoast Chronicles Eighteen: Stories and History of the British Columbia Coast*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1998. 80 pp., illustrations, photographs, maps. \$14.95, paper; ISBN 1-55017-171-2.

Harbour Publishing has returned with another installment of its popular collection of West Coast

stories and essays. The general focus of these easily read, accessible publications is on those who lived, homesteaded and worked on or near the waters of Canada's Pacific shore. This issue is of particular interest to those fascinated with maritime history as it brings attention to the role that the sea played in the development of British Columbia. As Howard White (editor and founder of the publication) laments in the introduction, other than the odd rusting anchor and some artifacts in local museums, British Columbia is oddly devoid of maritime monuments.

A favourite formula of *Raincoast Chronicles* is to look at the characters central to the formation of British Columbia's raincoast mythology. In "Svendson and the Tax Man" Dick Hammond recalls an incident from his youth in which the operator of a small logging outfit put the run to a slick tax man after he stepped off the coastal steamer. Ruth Botel provides readers with insight into how her German immigrant family endured wilderness life on the northern tip of Vancouver Island as they struggled to make a living on their 160-acre preemption. Hallvard Dahlie also takes a look at his past, describing the experiences of a sixteen-year-old getting a job in 1941 as assistant to an eccentric lightkeeper at Cape St. James, off the southern end of the Queen Charlottes.

But there is more to this issue of the *Chronicles* than a collection of fond recollections of life along the coast. In a carefully researched story, Douglas Hamilton debunks a conspiracy theory that garnered national attention in the early 1990s. The leading proponent argued that the supposed shelling of Estevan Point on 20 June 1942 by a Japanese submarine was instead an elaborate hoax instigated by the federal government to unite the population behind the war effort. Hamilton uncovered a number of witnesses to the event and recounts a revealing 1973 interview with the commander of *I-26* who was responsible for the attack.

White and Robson deserve particular credit for featuring articles that explain the role that local innovators have played in establishing British Columbia as a world leader in the development of maritime technology. For instance, David Conn details how the towing industry found a more reliable way to get logs from up-coast logging operations to southern sawmills. Operators began purchasing retired sailing ships and American war surplus cargo steamers for conversion into barges after one too many log

booms broke up in foul weather. The massive self-loading and unloading log barges built in West Coast shipyards – a familiar sight on local waters today – are the direct descendants of the first of their kind: the former wooden steamer *Bingamon* and the steel windjammer *Drumrock* built in the mid-1920s.

An entertaining story by Tom Henry looks at how British Columbia became the leading edge in submersible technology. Three Vancouver scuba divers built *Pisces*, the first manned deep submersible in the 1960s, contrary to the popular belief that the achievement was only possible with the resources of a large high-tech manufacturing corporation.

If one must quibble about errors, a glaring one is the captioning of an ex-steel windjammer barge as the former wooden schooner *Malahat*. [59] Also, the poetry and the many drawings provided by local artists which graced earlier issues, and added to the *Chronicle's* appeal, are no longer featured. Nevertheless, and on the whole, *Raincoast Chronicles Eighteen* succeeds in its goal of providing the reader with a strong sense of how the sea has influenced lives and directed the development of British Columbia. The attractive format and unpretentious style make *Raincoast Chronicles Eighteen* an accessible read that will again prove popular.

Rick James  
Courtenay, British Columbia

Iain Lawrence. *Sea Stories of the Inside Passage: In the Wake of the Nid*. Bishop, CA: Fine Edge Productions, 1997. 164 pp., photographs, illustrations. US \$13.95, paper; ISBN 0-938665-47-2. Distributed in Canada by Heritage House, Surrey, BC.

Along the northwest coast of North America a string of islands creates a buffer between the mainland and the open Pacific. This stretch of water from Puget Sound to Alaska is referred to as the Inside Passage. Iain Lawrence with Kirsten, who does double duty as his mate, has spent seven summers exploring these waters in the *Nid*, a former naval whaleboat. Based on his experiences during that time, he submitted short pieces to a community paper, *Prince Rupert This Week*, and to the *Pacific Yachting Magazine*. Happily these pieces have been given a more permanent life in this little book.

Those who holiday on these waters will revel in the stories. There will be the shock of recognition as they read of familiar places, the empathy they will feel with the author as he depicts the dangers and delights of life on board a boat. It is almost certain that summer sailors will find their perception of their own experiences enhanced and heightened. Yet these stories deserve a wider audience than the seafarers in our midst. Though they are prose pieces, they have much in common with good poetry. There is original, frequently startling use of metaphor as the author wields his pen like a paint brush. There is an economy of expression which, like good poetry, is freighted with meaning and the conclusion is always satisfying, often leaving an echo in the mind. In a piece entitled "A Place Twice Abandoned" [91-2] for instance, the description of a deserted settlement which had been built on the ruins of an ancient Native village ends this way:

It is a place like none we've ever seen.  
It is a place where time has stopped,  
preserved like fading pictures in a family album,  
where nothing at all changes any more.  
Except for the people who come to see it.

Essentially the author is exploring relationships – between a man and his boat, a skipper and his mate, members of a family, the human and the animal world, and mortals and the sea. He constantly seeks the good in other people while striving to become a better person himself. He loves solitude yet, occasionally, gains respect for people he initially resented as interlopers. When he meets someone he cannot admire, like the skipper who browbeat his diminished wife, [39-40] he does not rage about the bully, but instead recognizes tendencies in himself that are fed by pressures of life on board a crowded boat and resolves to stifle them.

Morag Maclachlan  
Vancouver, British Columbia

Mary Palmer. *Jedediah Days: One Woman's Island Paradise*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1998. 224 pp., maps, photographs. \$26.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55017-184-4.

This autobiographical account of Mary Palmer chronicles her life and times on her island para-

dise in British Columbia's Strait of Georgia. The story progresses from buying the 640-acre Jedediah Island in 1949 through the Palmers' departure from the island in 1992. It ends with the Palmers' struggle to preserve the island in its natural beauty, culminating in a successful sale to the provincial government at well below market value and its dedication as a Class A marine park in 1995.

The author and her first husband Ed sold their landscaping business in Seattle and bought the island as a "life style enhancement" after World War II. Their summer trips to Jedediah soon progressed to year-round living. Unfortunately, Ed had to return to Seattle during their first winter of residence on unforeseen business. Mary stayed on the island and educated the boys through correspondence courses for several years. Eventually, she felt that the boys needed their friends and peers and so returned to Seattle. Mary and Ed divorced during these years and, in 1959, she married Al Palmer. They ran a landscaping business and shared a goal of saving enough money to live on Jedediah for a long time. She became Garden Editor of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and *Seattle Times*. In 1971 they retired to the island until poor health drove them back to civilisation in 1992.

The first half of the book focuses on the struggle for the resources to live on Jedediah year round, learning the ropes of survival, and the activities of family members and Jedediah Island caretakers. The second half of the book describes their life as year-round residents of the island. The emphasis shifts to the Palmers' involvement with the exploits and foibles of boaters and visits with friends on nearby Lasqueti and Texada Islands.

The author succeeds in keeping the focus of the book on the years in which she owned the island. She chronologically describes her life but treats the reader to the island's past by strategically weaving in some historical tit bits. For example, she observes some goats during a hike and tells her sons that eighteenth-century Spanish explorers kept goats on board for meat and milk and put them ashore on select islands.

Mrs. Palmer gives us a largely first hand account and includes interviews with former residents. Consequently, there is no bibliography. It would be helpful to historians to know if she is recreating her account from memory or relying on a diary. Regardless, *Jedediah Days* is meticulously written.

To enliven the text the author has strategically inserted eighty-two black-and-white photographs, largely of people. The self-explanatory and thorough captions usually include dates the earliest are from 1906. Mrs. Palmer's expertise as a garden editor is evident in her evocative descriptions. "We hiked over moss covered hills and crept down into a deep valley which was lush with high-growing ferns, salai, reeds and other heavy undergrowth." [51] Her engaging style lures the reader onward through many events such as fishing, boating and raising vegetables which, understandably, recur repeatedly. A few minor improvements could be made in future editions: adding a map showing Jedediah in relation to the coast of North America and making the italic font on the front cover more legible. As there is no mention of who took the photographs, one presumes they are from the author's private collection.

*Jedediah Days* eloquently describes the joy, peace and beauty of island life. It just as clearly depicts loneliness, danger and the physical and financial struggles required of those who eschew the city and embrace life in the bush. The book is a vivid account of life in the wild for the armchair city dweller and an informative guide for the prospective bushwhacker. Commercial and pleasure boaters who visit the area will, no doubt, derive the greatest benefit from reading it.

Suzanne Spohn  
West Vancouver, British Columbia

Flo Anderson. *Lighthouse Chronicles: Twenty Years on the B.C. Lights*. Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1998. 222, pp., photographs, index. \$18.95, paper; ISBN 1-55017-181-X.

Dave Stephens and Susan Randles. *Discover Nova Scotia Lighthouses*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing and the Province of Nova Scotia, 1998. viii + 95 pp., colour photographs, appendix, selected sources, index. \$10.95, paper; ISBN 1-55109-246-8.

Two recent additions to the growing number of books about Canadian lighthouses explore very different facets of these traditional aids to navigation. Flo Anderson's *Lighthouse Chronicles: Twenty Years on the B.C. Lights* recounts her family's experiences on five isolated west coast lightstations. Today twenty-seven staffed light-

houses in British Columbia still remain, in sharp contrast to the situation in Nova Scotia where all lighthouses have been de-staffed over the past thirty years. *Discover Nova Scotia Lighthouses* is a guide to eighty of these lighthouses, many of which are in danger today of being replaced by electronic navigational aids. Interest in the historical, cultural and aesthetic value of these lights is on the rise as many people seek to visit and learn about the varied lighthouses in the province.

*Lighthouse Chronicles* has made a timely appearance on the market with the recent moratorium on the de-staffing of BC's lighthouses. West coast lightkeepers continue to provide many of the coastwatching and lifesaving services to which the Anderson family was introduced when they arrived on the lights almost four decades ago. The Andersons' first posting on Lennard Island was decidedly primitive, with only a woodstove and fireplace for heat, and electricity only at night when the lighthouse itself was in operation. Anderson details the family's transition to the isolation and inevitable routine of lighthouse life. Her story is told with grace and humour, despite the many drawbacks encountered by the family, including irregular supply deliveries and temperamental, autocratic principal keepers (some of whom had a fondness for the bottle).

Anderson devotes a chapter to each of the lights the family kept, from wind-battered Green Island, the most northerly BC lightstation, to tide-washed Race Rocks in the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The text is not always rivetting, but through the experiences of the family a compelling story emerges — rescues at sea, the continuous vigilance of the keepers, their respect for nature and the power of the sea, and the ingenuity required not only to maintain lightstation equipment, but relations between families on tiny islands. The Andersons made the best of lighthouse life, and Flo's love and respect for her family and the life they shared during two decades on lighthouses spread over five hundred miles of rugged coastline, shines through.

On the opposite side of the county, in a province noted for its seagoing traditions, lighthouses are fast disappearing as they are downgraded or extinguished entirely. David Stephens and Susan Randles have produced a guide to lighthouses along the province's highway routes. The lights have been grouped into seven sections, under each of the scenic routes. Maps at the

beginning of each section show approximate locations of the lights and a photograph of each light is accompanied by two or three paragraphs briefly describing the structure, its history and surroundings. Detailed directions to individual lighthouses are included.

There has long been a need for a guide to Nova Scotia's lighthouses. Unfortunately, *Discover Nova Scotia Lighthouses* falls short of providing an accurate view of this crucial component of the province's maritime heritage. In the introduction the authors state that some lighthouses "are better known than most." [v] Although Halifax Harbour's Georges Island, and Sable Island are well known, their lighthouses are not. High profile lights like Peggy's Cove and Yarmouth's Cape Forchu are more likely to be widely recognized by Nova Scotians and tourists, and it is questionable that the Georges or Sable Islands lighthouses should have been included as representative of well-known lights in the province.

Amazingly, there are more than forty errors in the book, including the consistent mistake of describing many of the modern day lighthouses as being constructed of steel instead of fibreglass. A number of dates are incorrect. Thus, the current Medway Head light tower was not constructed in 1961 [83] but two decades later, and the Cape George light [36] near Antigonish could not possibly be 1000 feet above the ocean (the Canadian Coast Guard's list of Lights, Buoys and Fog Signals states that the light is shown 123.4 m, or 405 feet above sea level).

These erroneous technical details may not be of great concern to the weekend lighthouse enthusiast, but they are evidence of poor research. At least a dozen lights which appear in the book are not listed in the index and a number of page references are not correct. In addition, several of the photos are incorrectly identified, including an image of the Caveau Point Range light which on page 28 is identified as the Walton lighthouse.

*Discover Nova Scotia Lighthouses* is adequate only as a very general guide to the province's accessible lighthouses. Much of its usefulness is marred by poor research and sloppy editing. The many small errors detract from the overall integrity of the book — a revised, corrected edition would be well worth the effort.

Chris Mills  
Ketch Harbour, Nova Scotia

Kevin Monahan and Don Douglass. *GPS Instant Navigation: A Practical Guide from Basics to Advanced Techniques*. Bishop, CA: Fine Edge Productions, 1998. 315 pp., maps, figures, illustrations, appendices (incl. glossary, bibliography, references). US \$29.50, paper; ISBN 0-938665-48-0. Distributed in Canada by Heritage House, Nanoose Bay, BC.

As a surveyor who spent his early career doing intricate surveys to determine the precise geographic location of a few features per field season, I continue to find it mind-boggling that there is now GPS that will determine one's position within a matter of seconds with a piece of equipment the size of a cellular telephone.

The authors of *GPS Instant Navigation* — the one a Canadian Coast Guard captain with a Master Home Trade ticket, the other a globe-circling yachtsman with 150,000 miles of cruising experience — have combined to produce a knowledgeable, practical, and usable book, one that begins with the elementary and continues to the advanced levels. This book is addressed to the amateur, once-per-week yachter and to the professional, properly certified, ocean-going captain and to everybody in between.

Chapter One deals with the familiarization with the equipment — the "get out there, turn it on and see what it gives you" sort of approach. Included are a review of what latitude and longitude are, and what some of the basic menus on the receiver can give you. Chapter Two gets into the basics of using the GPS to do some simple navigation. The use of the nautical chart with the GPS receiver is stressed. Many of the terms used during navigation (dead reckoning, leeway, speed over ground, etc.) are explained. Next, there are the errors of GPS and the differences between precision, accuracy and repeatability. A comparison with the LORAN-C and GLONASS navigation equipment is discussed and the importance of the geodetic datum (origin of the latitudes and longitudes) of the nautical chart is well presented. Way point and route navigation are discussed in Chapters Four and Five followed by the uses of course and speed, cross-track error and other utilities. Chapter Eight is devoted to Differential GPS — as if stand-alone GPS isn't good enough; someone always wants to push the limits. Then follow two chapters on the actual installation and the hardware. The final two chapters get into the big-ship facilities of Electronic Charting Systems.

The last sixty pages include twelve appendices, a glossary, and "The Workbook." This last comprises seven pages with a table for the user to write down the key strokes necessary to perform specified tasks with one's equipment (such as "man-overboard"!).

With the exclusion of very few typographical errors, my only fault with the book is the description of how the receiver computes a position. The authors suggest that absolute time is a known quantity within the receiver (a nice simplification as one starts to learn) whereas the receiver actually has to solve for the correction to its internal time from the messages received from the four or more satellites. The authors eventually do describe the actual method — but not until Appendix J. One reason there is so little possibility of finding fault is the veritable "Who's Who in Navigation" in the list of acknowledgments.

The many chart sections (all black line and screen greys) were fascinating. Each one sparked my interest: not only was the example well presented, but each also tested my ability to locate them (hint: a world-wide lexicon of geography is necessary!). British Columbians will easily recognize Point Atkinson lightstation on the cover of the book and will be pleased to see the many BC charting examples. Nevertheless, the book has world-wide applications and examples.

The book is exceptional, and I suggest a necessity for mariners.

David H. Gray  
Ottawa, Ontario

Nicholas J. Healy and Joseph C. Sweeney. *The Law of Marine Collision*. Centreville, MD: Cornell Maritime Press, 1998. xlviii + 624 pp., frontispiece, tables of cases, appendices, index. US \$150, cloth; ISBN 0-87033-505-7.

This is a textbook — a reference text designed for law students who plan to specialize in Maritime Law. Yet it is also more than that, for it will serve anyone well who is engaged in maritime trade or who is interested in the evolution both of the international agreements governing the conduct of vessels on the high seas and "waters connected thereto" and of the interpretations put on those agreements by various courts sitting in Admiralty.

In these tasks, it accomplishes what the authors set out to do. The basic principles and the establishment of cause are explained in the first

two chapters, supported by a few examples and the citation of numerous cases. Sufficient information is therefore provided that students with access to an extensive law library are able to look up the cases given, an obvious intention of the authors. Most of these cases, and the legal framework provided are clearly directed at an American student readership, yet sufficient examples have also been taken from English and Canadian court rulings that the international nature of the law of the sea is made plain.

The introductory chapters are then followed by six more that are given over to the International Regulations for the Prevention of Collisions at Sea, or COLREGS as they are identified throughout the book. Significantly, when ratifying them for its own use, the United States first adopted the International Rules word-for-word, then enacted legislation in which those rules and sub-paragraphs were numbered identically but with additional sub-paragraphs to incorporate rules that applied to the Great Lakes and Inland Waters. These were known as the United States Inland Rules. In contrast, the Canadian government enacted the International Rules by adding Canadian modifications to meet the special needs of the Great Lakes and inland waters. Thus, two approaches were employed to achieve the same result, as allowed under the international convention. Indeed, the two sets of rules are so identical that the ship-master following either when on the Great Lakes need not worry under which jurisdiction the ship happens to be.

The next seven chapters in the book deal with liability, apportionment of blame, general averaging and marine insurance coverage. Again, although specific to the United States, the authors take care to note differences between the US Code and English Law. The final chapter concerns the official investigations into marine collisions and allisions, and is thus of concern to American vessels or those involved in incidents in waters under American Jurisdictions. There are as well eleven appendices which provide the full text or pertinent extracts of various statutes and international conventions relating to collisions. The full COLREGS are also included. Of particular interest to law students will be the alphabetical listing of all cases referred to in the text, numbering about twelve hundred in total.

*The Law of Marine Collision* does not make light reading, but the writing flows with surprising ease, making a complex subject relatively

straightforward. The use of legal terms can be disconcerting at first, particularly to the non-lawyer, but meanings become clearer as one proceeds through the chapters. Overall, this is an essential and invaluable book.

E.S. Parker  
Victoria, British Columbia

David J. Starkey and Alan G. Jamieson (eds.). *Exploiting the Sea: Aspects of Britain's Maritime Economy since 1870*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998. xiv + 220 pp., illustrations, photographs, figures, tables, maps, index. £14.99, paper; ISBN 0-85989-533-5. Distributed in North America by Northwestern University Press, Evanston, IL.

This book, appropriately dedicated to Stephen Fisher, is the latest in the long series of publications from the Exeter maritime history conferences which began in 1967. Some of their earlier volumes were open to criticism for being loosely themed – one, indeed, might more properly have been titled "My paper and those of a few of my chums." This one shows much tighter construction and editorial control and is the better for it.

There are ten papers, strung together by an introduction by David Starkey, who also contributes the opening paper, giving a broad brush approach to the economic position of the maritime industries of southwest England in relation to those of the country as a whole in the period 1870-1914. The other papers cover a wide range of topics, but four of them relate closely to each other in their concern with the decline of British shipping and (more particularly) shipbuilding in the period 1870-1964. Taken separately, these are good papers; my personal preference was for Gorst and Johnman on "British Naval Procurement and Shipbuilding, 1945-1964," but Jamieson's overview paper on "An Inevitable Decline" is a model of how to tread the tightrope between the general and the particular. Taken together, however, they posed editorial problems which are not, for me, entirely resolved. It is clear, for example, that Sidney Pollard regards late Victorian/Edwardian shipbuilding as pretty efficient while Andrew Gordon sees it as moribund, yet their papers ignore each other and the book, when taken as a whole, thus side-steps an important issue. One feels that an editorial letter to each contributor, drawing attention to what the other

had written, might have been all that was needed.

This block of shipbuilding papers in the middle casts adrift the first three papers and the last three, which is unfortunate because they have much to offer. I particularly liked Dyson's paper on the end of the Wilson Line because it brought out the nowadays sometimes neglected way in which personal and totally irrational considerations may influence the conduct of significant businesses. This is in no way to detract from the other papers, including John Armstrong's, in which he further explores the timing and nature of the "hinge point" at which things began to go seriously wrong for the British coasting trade.

One encouraging trend in recent maritime history is the study of things which the great men (for there were very few women in maritime history then) of the previous generation would have regarded as marginal or even frivolous. This collection does not disappoint, for there is a paper on yachting and another on the re-invention of the Welsh seaside resort. The latter is not entirely devoid of tourist industry puffing and is perhaps a little loose in its overall argument, but represents an interesting additional dimension to contemporary maritime history, extending the story of that particular form of maritime activity beyond its near-death experience at the hands of the package holiday. We may only be a "sub-discipline" but we are spreading the ground-loading to lay the foundations of a loftier structure.

Reviewers are supposed to find weaknesses here and there. I have to confess I found few apart from those already mentioned. There is one irritating typographical niggle, which is that the superscript reference numbers in the main text are tiny almost to the point of complete illegibility. This is not the case in earlier Exeter volumes on my shelves: someone at Exeter University Press made this decision deliberately and deserves to be sentenced to read, without any optical aids, a microfiche copy of Lynn White Jr.'s paper on the medieval development of spectacles. While the text, tables, diagrams and illustrations are generally commendably clear, plate 9.3 also suffers from unintelligibly microscopic print.

Overall, the strengths of this collection far outweigh its weaknesses and is definitely a recommended purchase.

Adrian Jarvis  
Liverpool, England

Poul Holm, Soren Byskov, Soren Toft Hansen. *Proteiner fra havet: Fiskemelindustrien I Esbjerg 1948-1998*. Esbjerg: Fiskeri- og Søfarts-museet, 1998. 179 pp., maps, photographs (b+w, colour), figures, tables, bibliography, notes. Dkr 198, hardbound; ISBN 87-87453-81-9.

For much of this century Denmark played an important role in the world fishing industry. A great deal of this activity took place in the town of Esbjerg, situated on the west coast of Jutland. Esbjerg has been particularly important in industrial fishing and in reducing fish into fishmeal. In 1998, *Esbjerg Fiskeindustri*, the fishmeal company in Esbjerg, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. It was in observation of this event that the company published *Proteiner fra havet*.

The book presents the history of this most important of Esbjerg's industries – the establishment of the first plant, the construction of new plants, corporate mergers, good times and bad. Yet this is more than a history of the fishmeal industry, for the book also provides a good description of the Danish fishing industry in the North Sea and to some extent of the development of the town of Esbjerg.

Three authors were assigned to develop this history. Poul Holm was the head of the project and wrote the final manuscript based on material provided by Soren Toft Hansen, who did the archival work, and Soren Byskov, who took care of interviews. The authors used all of the available sources well, including traditional historical sources from the company archives. But what is of equal value and which gives the book much of its superior quality is the use made of oral sources, through interviews of those who were engaged in the fishing industry. These give the reader a great deal of "inside" information about the way in which the fishmeal industry developed in Esbjerg, even as the interviews provide the book with a broader perspective. Also adding to the value of the book is the use of photographic material. The many photographs are good in quality and well chosen; they help bring the history alive and enable the reader to gain a better understanding of the industry's development.

The book is organized into four periods – origins, the growth years, the adaptation to changes, and regulations and the merger of plants. The first plant constructed in Esbjerg was a cooperative of the fishermen who supplied the plant with material. Real expansion came with the

so-called Bløden-fishery, when great quantities of young herring were discovered in the

triggered the industry's growing phase in the 1950s and '60s. More plants were constructed and new species were exploited for the industry. It is also at this time that there developed an awareness of environmental problems associated with the industry, such as the smell from the plants and the disposal of waste water. In the 1970s the industry began to face more difficult times – there was a ban on herring fishing in the North Sea, strict rules were introduced about by-catches, and new quotas and economic zones were defined. The plants began to run short of raw materials. This brought on the first merger in the 1980s. This period also experienced structural changes in the fishery, over-capacity of production and stricter environmental regulations. Another merger in 1989 led to the creation of the world's largest fishmeal plant. In this way, and by exploiting new species and producing high-quality meal for new markets, the fishmeal industry in Esbjerg has survived fifty years of growth, crisis and competition.

The book will appeal not only to historians but also to general readers interested in the fish processing industry in countries around the North Atlantic. It provides a good description of the fishmeal industry in Esbjerg and provides a clear account of the problems the industry has faced during this period, such as overfishing and other environmental problems as well as increasingly stricter fishing management. It also offers insight into the way in which perspectives on these matters have evolved during the latter part of this century. Finally it gives a useful overview of Denmark's industrial fishery and its changes.

Hrefna Margrét Karlsdóttir

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Michael Harris. *Lament for an Ocean. The Collapse of the Atlantic Cod Fishery: A True Crime Story*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1998. 342 pp., map, glossaries. \$29.99, cloth; ISBN 0-7710-3958-1.

Michael Harris has written a timely book about the decline in marine fish stocks in Canadian and adjacent waters. The book for the most part addresses the northern cod, with one chapter on recent troubles with Pacific Salmon. There is also

a brief diversion to compare the Canadian and Norwegian handling of cod crises. Hence, the book is not a comprehensive treatment of the management of marine fisheries. Nor do the fourteen chapters follow events chronologically, which at times can be confusing. Rather, they begin with the arrest of the Spanish trawler *Estai*, then go back and forth over the events of the past forty years leading to the "Turbot war" and the *Estai* incident. Harris maintains that the tragedy of the northern cod began with the arrival of the Russian mega-trawlers in the 1950s. The repercussions on the Newfoundland fishery through the following decades is described in detail. The quality of the book is similar to the Virtual Population Models that documented the demise of the northern cod stock – excellent for historic descriptions, progressively worse toward the present, and of limited value for future projections.

Harris is at his best when he deals with political intrigue. The descriptions of the Tobin-EU conflict are as exciting as any adventure novel – more so because they are true. Harris lays bare the historical context of the Newfoundland fishery since confederation with Canada in 1949. He frames the federal government agenda, which apparently was largely to bolster the number of people and boats in this fishery as a means to prop up a foundering economy with socially acceptable payments. Government agendas discounted any notion that productivity in the cod fishery could be endangered, and thus set the course to disaster. Harris hits his stride with historic descriptions of the over-fishing of the northern cod. He relates the various political and socio-economical situations that led to too much fishing, too many trawlers, too many plants, too much subsidization, too many foreign fisheries, and the sacrificing of biological sense to socio-economic and political goals.

Harris is less agile with the scientific debates that began in the 1980s. He can be forgiven for some lapses, but it appears that in some of the more recent controversies he describes, only one side was interviewed (disgruntled scientists). No matter whose side one might be on, this seems unfair. And it leaves the matter of a full investigation undone. In the end, this weakness leaves too many unanswered questions for this book to be considered the last word on this subject.

One of controversies that form a focus of this book is the role of the federal government in the fall of our fisheries. Yet the roles of the Depart-

ments of Fisheries and Oceans and External Affairs in all this are never made clear, despite extravagant claims on the jacket cover by Elizabeth May (Sierra Club) and John Crosbie. On the one hand, descriptions of how Brian Tobin and his DFO staff took on not only foreign overfishing but also half of the Ottawa establishment, made me proud to once have worked for DFO. From Kent Street in Ottawa to the deck of the *Cape Roger*, their efforts were truly heroic, and made not only the RCMP but also the Department of National Defence look feeble and flaccid. Many put their jobs, and indeed their lives, on the line to defend our fisheries. Was this the same DFO that is subject to so much ridicule in the rest of the book? Something is wrong here. Harris points out early on that the infinitely more powerful External Affairs Department was livid over DFO's defense of our fisheries. Harris states that External would not forgive DFO; interesting indeed! To Canada's shame, we know that government (read External Affairs) forced DFO to take down the *Estai's* net from the Ottawa exhibition in order to placate EU sensitivities. We also know that DFO has of recent been gutted of people, resources, and ships. Is it too far-fetched to see a connection? Harris devotes a lot of space to the remonstrances of a few scientists against DFO. External Affairs must have been smiling. Canadian fishermen have always thought that Canada traded our fisheries for external relations and other favours. Was Harris reticent to take on the real villains?

There are other rather curious outcomes to Harris' analyses. Captains of industry and politics come out looking remarkably benevolent. Not that what Harris reports isn't true. But it is more what is not reported that may mislead. For example, Harris quotes National Sea Products president Henry Damone as saying "the scientists said things are great in '88 or '89. Then, all of sudden...they say...Oh my God, things are not great." Not quite. Indeed there was considerable scientific debate during the late 1980s about the state of the northern cod. One of the key reasons why no action was taken to reduce catches was the optimistic view of Damone's company and others, who as late as 1989 were lobbying Government that catches of northern cod were as good as ever, and that negative signs and views from science should be ignored.

In a similar vein, the discussions of the recent reopening of the 3PS cod fishery present some

strong opinions from various people about the state of the resource and the reasons for the opening. Fishermen, industry, the union, and some scientists supported the Fisheries Resource Council of Canada (FRCC) in recommending a test opening. A few scientists strongly opposed it. Harris appears to buy into the opposition side of the debate, although it is never made clear why. In this light, it is curious and inconsistent that Harris appears to support the use of fishermen's knowledge in assessments, as was the case in 3PS (both sentinel and other fishermen, and their data, supported reopening). Yet when a real decision has to be made, Harris discounts the fishermen, and on the strength of the opinions of a few scientists who have questionable knowledge of this stock, appears to side against reopening. Readers are well to know that despite management problems, by most accounts the 3PS cod stock continues to do well since reopening.

Despite some questionable interpretations, the book is factually strong, as we have come to expect from Harris. Nevertheless, a few errors crop up. Dr. Odd Nakken, a well-respected Norwegian fisheries scientist, has his name misspelled. Comments attributed to Dr. J. Hutchings that dogfish and skate have replaced cod must be misinterpretations, as this has not occurred in Newfoundland waters. Nor is there evidence that biomass has remained about the same in the ecosystem, as claimed. These statements better reflect southern and warmer waters never seen off Newfoundland.

The final pages are unsatisfying. They are full of fisheries motherhood statements about sustainability and conservation, with no definition. There are several quotations by eminent people with various attachments to the fishery. However, little of what is said is consistent with the rest of the book or what is happening today. Dr. R. Myers claims the fishery was destroyed in fifteen years, which contradicts the earlier chapters which indicate that the real destruction began forty years ago with foreign fisheries. Dr. L. Harris blames technology for the decline, which no doubt is a component of the problem, yet Norwegian, Icelandic, and New Zealand fisheries, among others, are more technologically proficient, yet still have fish. Dr. V. Young of Fishery Products International claims the whole fishery needs to be reconstructed, which may be closer to the truth and is related to Cabot Martin's claim that to see the problem, Newfoundland needs to

look itself in the mirror (just what has been lost in exchange for all those transfer payments).

Despite the limitations of this book, Harris has written the best available summary of what happened to the northern cod. It is required reading for anyone interested in Newfoundland fisheries. It remains for future scholars to correct and supplement Harris' work.

George Rose  
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Bonnie J. McCay. *Oyster Wars and the Public Trust: Property, Law, and Ecology in New Jersey History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998. xxxi + 246 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-8165-1804-1.

Who owns nature? The legal position on nature as property is important to potential users of natural resources. This book looks at access to marine resources in New Jersey, especially at the social processes whereby relevant laws were instituted and subsequently altered. Whether oyster, clam and fishing grounds are common or private property has never been settled fully in New Jersey, and the dominant position has changed over time as a result of numerous social conflicts and related legal cases. Going back to the early eighteenth century, McCay examines a series of critical court cases that addressed conflicts over whether oysters and local commercial fish should be considered as common or private property, or under what conditions they might be considered as one or the other. She looks at the legal interpretations of public trust – how at times the public trust might be interpreted as giving the state the right to provide particular individuals with privileged access to the public's natural resources, as in the recent experiment with ITQs. We see the law frequently made and interpreted in such a way as to serve the local elite and the principles of capitalism, but also a law that at times protected the interest of the poor in their struggle to maintain access to coastal resources. Generally, McCay does well in bringing out the social and cultural characteristics of the people behind the cases – the plaintiffs, defendants, professionals and politicians who made this history.

While not scintillating reading, the text conveys the impression of scholarship and thoroughly addresses the important issue of public

trust in a way that is sensitive to the interests of ordinary local people. Although she does not make the mistake of ignoring theory (without which nothing can be explained), McCay is sensitive to the problem that arises when pre-existing models (such as the view that common property necessarily leads to a "tragedy of the commons") prevent the researcher from perceiving important aspects of the subject matter. In this book McCay herself offers a nuanced interpretation that appears sensitive to the data. Her work defies easy classification into traditional disciplines, being at once history, law, anthropology and sociology, even biology on occasion. Apart from its value to those interested in the common property-public trust questions, this book speaks well to the possibility of interdisciplinary, social ecological analysis. My only real reservation is that the book would have been of greater interest and more complete had McCay offered more analysis of the fisheries and their actual management, a gap she also recognizes. [197] This is book not to be missed by those interested in law and property concerning marine resources.

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Guðrún Pétursdóttir (ed.), *Whaling in the North Atlantic: Economic and Political Perspectives*. Reykjavik: Fisheries Research Institute, University of Iceland, 1997. 158 pp., figures, maps, tables. ISK 1,700, 100 NOK, paper; ISBN 9979-54-213-6. Available through High North Alliance, **Reine i Lofoten, Norway** (<http://www.highnorth.no>).

This edited volume contains the proceedings of a conference held in Reykjavik in March 1997. The book starts out with addresses of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iceland and the Prime Minister of Greenland Home Rule, which clearly enough signal the importance of the issue to these nations. Dr. Pétursdóttir writes in the preface that the conference "was meant to be an informative forum for objective discussion – not a propaganda affair for or against whaling." To a large extent the organisers have succeeded in this endeavour. The book is informative and objective. But the conference – and the book – is definitely not an arena for Greenpeace and the like. A majority of the eleven papers definitely have a view sympathetic to whaling – assuming that it can be de-

fended from a sound scientific resource management standpoint. The important concept here is that of "sustainable resource management" as it was delineated at the 1992 Rio conference.

The papers deal with a variety of issues relating to the whaling question of today. One gives an overview of the whale resources in the North Atlantic. Two deal specifically with Norwegian and Icelandic whaling – or rather the resumption of it. However, a majority of the papers discuss international organisations and legislation that are relevant to whaling. Several deal with different aspects of the International Whaling Commission (IWC). For years this organisation (established in 1946) was more or less alone and dominated the international arena of whaling management. That is no longer the case. While there have always been controversies and disputes (Norway, for example, left the IWC in 1959 for one year), the legitimacy of the organisation has been in serious trouble now for a number of years. As one author puts it, the IWC is becoming "largely irrelevant in relation to whaling." Several papers deal with this new reality. The role of the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission (NAMMCO) established in 1992 by dissatisfied whaling nations, is discussed, as is the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas, and the so called Pelly Amendment, the US domestic law which allows the US President to impose trade sanctions against nations that diminish the effectiveness of an international conservation program.

The contributors represent organisations involved in whaling management as well as universities. Some are involved in actual policy making, others are studying the process at a distance. Most papers are descriptive more than analytical. Some are very technical. But they all give the reader an interesting insight into the complexity of the international legislation and organisational structure which today in one way or another is involved in the regulation and management of international whaling.

For whaling historians familiar with how the IWC worked in the past, it is especially interesting to note the debate about the role of this organisation today. The situation within the IWC is obviously, as Professor Robert Friedheim writes in a very interesting essay on the future of the organisation, a product of history. Another author puts it this way: "Has the history of overhunt

deprived us the right to harvest the whale stock?" What, then, is the best policy to follow? This is not a question within the domain of the historian to answer. Based on our knowledge of whaling history, I will, however, question the course of action that several authors seem to recommend: to get out of the deadlock of the IWC, and to restore the decision-making and responsibility from the international community to the user – "to reduce the distance between resource manager and resource user," as Kate Sanderson puts it. History can produce numerous examples which suggest that this is a highly risky road to follow.

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Bilal E. Haq, Syed M. Haq, Gunnar Kullenberg and Jan H. Stel (eds.). *Coastal Zone Management Imperative for Maritime Developing Nations*. "Coastal Systems and Continental Margins," Vol. 1; Dordrecht, Boston and London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997. xiv + 394 pp., figures, maps, tables, photographs, geographical index, COSMO software (COastal zone Simulation MOdel, Version 1.3). f295, US \$169, £99, hardcover; ISBN 0-7923-4765-X.

Yuk-Shan Wong and Nora Fung-Yee Tam (eds.). *Asia-Pacific Conference on Science and Management of Coastal Environment: Proceedings of the International Conference held in Hong Kong, 25-28 June 1996*. "Developments in Hydrobiology 123;" Dordrecht, Boston and London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997. viii + 303 pp., figures, tables, maps, illustrations. 300f, US \$171, £102, cloth; ISBN 0-7923-4881-8.

These two volumes both concern the study and management of coastal zones, particularly in developing countries. Nevertheless, significant differences exist. The collection of essays edited by Haq *et al.* deals with both the general and the specific, the local and the global; the Wong and Tam volume is specific to the science behind coastal zone study in the Asian Pacific region, with heavy emphasis on the mainland Chinese (including Hong Kong) coastal environments.

*Coastal Zone Management Imperative* emerged from a 1994 International Workshop held in Karachi and which dealt in the broadest sense with management of coastal zones in developing countries. The target audience for the book

is operational executives, students of ICZM, environmental economists, policy-makers and senior managers, and governmental and non-governmental agencies.

The book is divided into six sections. Part 1, dealing with the conceptual framework of ICZM, consists of three papers that provide a review of the state of the process. Particularly useful is the paper by Knecht on ICZM for developing maritime countries and the paper by Hildebrand on the status of public "buy-in" to ICZM initiatives, i.e., how meaningful has public participation in ICZM been in the last twenty years. The three papers in Part 2 introduce regional and global aspects of ICZM. The first deals with a review of the large scale meteorologic, oceanographic and geologic factors that influence the coastal zone and necessitate ICZM planning. The second deals with terrestrial inputs and human-induced influences on the coast, and the third paper identifies the necessary relationship between science and economics in coastal management. The two papers in Part 3 offer advice and procedures for monitoring and impact assessment programs relevant to coastal zone management. Both papers offer useful and practical information about how monitoring and assessment should be carried out (and warnings about how it should not!). Case studies in the second paper (by Hameedi) are particularly instructive. Part 4 deals with capacity building and technology transfer. Two case studies are included, the first a comparison of ICZM activities in south Asian countries (Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Pakistan and Sri Lanka), the second reviewing the experience of the Dutch initiatives in North-South transfer of technology and expertise. Part 5 offers a token representation of methods of monitoring and environmental analysis. One of the two papers in this section explores the use of animals as stress indicators, while the other focuses on the biogeochemistry of mangrove sediments. Presumably the editors feel these papers represent the types of work that could and/or should be carried out in order to monitor coastal changes over time. Part 6 consists of eight case studies of coastal zone management efforts in the Netherlands, Ecuador, West Indies, Africa, Pakistan, and China. These papers are particularly interesting in that they illustrate the many contrasting ways that coastal zone management is being approached and developed in different developing nations. The paper on Ecuador's approach to ICZM is particularly enlightening.

Overall, the book is well organized, yet readers would have been better served had the editors offered transitional narration between parts to point out the relationship between, and the significance of, the articles. In the several papers on conceptualizing and implementing ICZM, there is heavy emphasis on stating what should be done in developing this practice but little on practical applications. There is considerable repetition of how important ICZM is, yet there is little supporting evidence to indicate whether it is being practised well, if at all, in many developing countries. As well, in those countries that have developed some sort of management plan, there is limited indication that the process is producing results. While the title obviously reflects the derivation of the work, i.e., the 1994 IOC/UNESCO/Pakistani workshop on ICZM, it should be pointed out that many of the problems identified as obstacles to ICZM, such as capacity building, etc., also exist in developed countries. This work therefore has relevance to the more economically privileged countries as well as to the developing nations.

Unfortunately the high price of this book will almost certainly place it out of the range of most individual researchers and makes it a questionable purchase even for small college or university libraries in these times of shrinking budgets – particularly in "poor" provinces or countries. In view of the price, one would expect better quality in content and presentation. There are far too many typographical errors and misspellings in these pages, while writing style and grammatical construction are often awkward and distracting. There are errors not only in the body of the text but in chapter titles (ref. Ch. 16). There is at least one case in which an author's name is inconsistently spelled (e.g., Vedeled on p. 1 vs. Vedeld on p.27). Citation format also varies within the same article. For those with weakening eyesight, skip over Box 10 [ 153] – it will be unreadable.

The computer diskette included with this book contains one module (COSMO) of an interactive software package developed by the Resource Analysis Company and the Coastal Zone Management Center in the Netherlands. This module is part of a larger package which was developed "to raise awareness of ICZM issues for decision makers" and consists of a program which allows the user to change the parameters affecting a mythical coastal environment in order to investigate how increasing population, industrialization,

etc. might impact the coastal zone. The software is interesting enough to precipitate discussion at workshops or in classrooms. Anyone with serious interest in ICZM modelling would probably want to investigate the entire interactive software package.

*Coastal Zone Management Imperative* is a solid contribution to the developing body of knowledge relating to the interdisciplinary practice of coastal zone management. While it is necessarily incomplete and essentially describes a field that is "under construction," it is one of the better attempts to review the state of the art and should be perused by both professionals and students interested in the developing practice of coastal zone management.

The second book reviewed here is a volume of proceedings from the Asia-Pacific Conference on Science and Management of Coastal Environment, held in Hong Kong in 1996, and consists of twenty-nine papers on coastal environments in the Asian-Pacific region. I would question whether the volume deserves to be reviewed as a book, since it is, in fact, a bound reprint of a single volume (v. 352) of the journal *Hydrobiologia*. Given its extremely high price, one cannot help but wonder whether it might be more reasonable simply to borrow the journal volume and read and/or copy the articles that are of interest.

Moreover, attempting to determine the rationale for the arrangement of articles is difficult. In their preface, the editors advise the reader that the papers were selected from oral and poster presentations at the conference, yet there seems no particular rationale for the subject selection or the arrangement of the articles. The only binding thread is that the papers relate, for the most part, to coastal marine issues of the Indo-Pacific region, with heavy emphasis on work done in China; nine of the twenty-nine articles are specifically related to the coastal waters around Hong Kong, while five more relate to other coastal areas of mainland China. Of the remaining articles, Tasmania, Japan, Mexico, India, South Africa, and Yemen are each the focus of one paper, and two concern Taiwan, while the North Sea is, curiously, the focus of another. Six papers are not specific to a geographic region but focus instead on coastal management concepts or aquacultural techniques and improvements. Subjects range from the potential use of mangroves for treating wastewater to the impact of oil dispersants on barnacle larvae, from nutrient dynamics and

productivity of phytoplankton to the potential of N:P ratios in influencing the frequency of red tide blooms. Only two articles, by Thia-Eng and Strömberg, strayed from technical scientific research reports into the realm of the theoretical and practical problems of monitoring and managing the coastal environment.

Little fault can be found with the proofreading, the layout, the illustrations or the general appearance of this work, but then, one would not expect problems here since the articles were all reviewed previously when they were first submitted for publication in *Hydrobiologia*. Based both on cost and on content, it seems unlikely that this work will be sought or purchased by anyone or any organization other than those with a need for continuous and/or repeated access to the highly specialized and locality-specific articles found in this journal reprint.

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Richard W. Unger. *Ships and Shipping in the North Sea and Atlantic, 1400-1800*. "Variorum Collected Studies" series; Aldershot & Brookfield, VT: Variorum Press, 1997. xii + 316 pp., illustrations, index. US \$89.95, cloth; ISBN 0-86078-660-9.

My high school English teacher once explained the concept of metonymy by invoking the example "all hands on deck," to show us how parts of things may stand for wholes. The idea of metonymy and the nautical example surfaced from the murky waters of adolescent memory in reading this interesting collection of Richard Unger's essays. This is not merely because Unger sometimes considers how hands come to be on decks. In fact, the significant metonymy in this case may be a larger one: here the ship might be seen as a part which stands for a larger whole, the European economy.

*Ships and Shipping* brings together twenty of Unger's essays (in English) on shipbuilding and shipping, first published between 1972 and 1993 in *Mariner's Mirror*, *American Neptune*, *Mededelingen van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Zeegechiedenis* and other journals, as well as in conference proceedings and edited collections on specialized topics such as post-medieval boat and ship archaeology or early modern European navies. The essays are grouped in three sections:

the first deals with Dutch shipbuilding; the second ranges more widely over European shipbuilding, governments and shipping; the third concerns fishing and trade in the North and Baltic Seas. Despite the limitation to 1400-1800 implied by the title, many essays treat earlier issues and several are actually focussed on them. Thus, "The Netherlands Herring Fishery in the Late Middle Ages: the False Legend of William Beukels of Biervliet" is a fine example of Unger's clear and significant contributions to historical analysis of the role of shipping in the growth of the European economy. One of Unger's strengths is his ability to synthesize medieval and early modern developments that for too many of us remain, as it were, in separate volumes.

Besides making many of these essays more accessible, Unger suggests that this collection may serve as a record of one thread of research on what he calls the unresolved issue of the influence of technological change on the development of human society. Such technological changes may lie, on the one hand, in the details of hull construction and rigging or, on the other hand, in novel ways of financing ship construction and mounting voyages. (Compare "Warships and Cargo Ships in Medieval Europe" and "Selling Dutch Ships in the Sixteenth Century.") Another of Unger's analytic strengths is his ability to present material history and economic history in dialectical balance, without modes of transport dragging along modes of production, or vice versa. He addresses the past with a relentless utilitarianism, taking for granted the hierarchy implied by the celebrated *Annales* journal: economy ... society ... "civilization." This collection is not the place to look for cultural explanation of economic decisions. Inevitably, a collection like this one will be somewhat repetitive. The essay "Northern Ships and the Late Medieval Economy....," for example, is a sort of summary of other articles. On the other hand, that might make it just the one to assign a class in maritime history.

These essays are reprints in the most literal sense. Like other volumes in the Variorum Collected Studies Series, they are reproduced directly from original publications. This sometimes means that poorly-proofed texts stand uncorrected (for example, the essay on "Grain, Beer and Shipping..."). Most of the illustrations survive the process surprisingly well; what is murky becomes murkier. This kind of reproduction in octavo reduces the type face in some essays to the limits

of legibility, which seems unreasonable given the cost of the publication. On the positive side, the collection is well (and legibly) indexed. This will encourage readers to return to these essays for their many insights, not simply into the history of Dutch ships and European shipping over the course of some five centuries, but also into the expanding economies of which ships and shipping were such significant and typical parts.

Peter Pope  
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Walter Raleigh (transcription, annotation & intro., Neil L. Whitehead). *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997. viii + 232 pp., illustrations, maps, glossary, select bibliography, index. US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-8061-3020-2.

As Neil Whitehead points out in his introductory commentary, Sir Walter Raleigh's account of his *Discoverie of the large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* has always raised questions of authorial credibility. Raleigh's contemporaries were unwillingly to spend money on a search for the hidden empire of *El Dorado*, when he had nothing to offer as proof for its existence but reports of his discussions with native leaders. Most historians have tended to dismiss Raleigh's claims as inventions, intended to regain him favour at court and distract attention from just how little he had achieved by his 1595 expedition to the lower Orinoco. More recently "new historicist" literary scholars have focused on Raleigh's text as a prime example of the literary act of colonial appropriation. The native material in the text is seen as reflecting nothing more than the projection of European cosmographies and ethnographies onto native cultures, in the attempt to build an epic fiction designed to seduce the reader into supporting the colonial enterprise.

For historical anthropologists like Neil Whitehead, the question of credibility of Raleigh as an observer and reporter of native culture is part of the broader debate on the value of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European written texts as representations of New World peoples. Whitehead argues that if such texts are read carefully, within the context of anthropological literature, archaeological investigation and oral history, residual traces of authentic native

practice can be disentangled from imperfect European characterization. As he sensibly points out, colonial texts were not "culturally pure" European constructs. Rather, they were products of encounters between the observer and the observed, of mutual efforts to communicate intelligibly the one to the other and to negotiate meanings and equivalencies where everything was strange. In these circumstances native cultural tropes were carried into, and became an inseparable part of, the construction of colonial text.

In the second chapter of his introduction Whitehead uses specific examples from Raleigh's text to demonstrate his broader theoretical argument. Raleigh's observations about the native polity of the lower Orinoco and the empire of *El Dorado* were derived from interchanges with Spanish and indigenous informants as well as perusal of contemporary Spanish histories. Whitehead's own study of the results of archaeological investigations, oral history as well as sixteenth-century Spanish accounts suggests that Raleigh managed to glean material unique to the native polity of the lower Orinoco and the Guiana uplands. He contends that Raleigh's rendition of Topiawari's discourse on regional political geography provided a reasonably intelligible glimpse of older native political hierarchical structures, alliances and trading networks just as they were about to be replaced by new forms of political and military association. The designation by Raleigh of Lake Parima as the site of Manoa reflects his interpretation of native accounts of elite trade with gold-working peoples in the uplands of the Caroni, Cuyuni and Mazaruni. His reports of "Amazons" reflect gender uncertainties common to both the European and the native male, and his accounts of "headless-men" demonstrate the convergence of European classical myth with native usage of tropes of monstrosity to describe alterity. Whitehead concludes that Raleigh was in fact a competent if "imperfect" ethnographer, "a particular adept in the matter of such colonial mimesis of the native and this may help explain the persistent resonance of his name in native consciousness, even to the end of the seventeenth century." [ 100]

Inevitably, there are some corrections that can be made to Whitehead's use of the historical materials. Perhaps the most significant, given his overall argument, is his concern to explain away the possibility that Raleigh doctored the transla-

tions of Spanish documents appended to his printed text. Raleigh's extracts from the notarized accounts of acts of possession carried out by Berrio's men in 1593 contain references to *El Dorado*, "headless-men" and gold mines not to be found in the original in Seville. Whitehead carefully tries to defend Raleigh from the inference that he inflated captured Spanish accounts by suggesting that Raleigh may have taken his extracts from a different document. Had he consulted the State Papers Spanish in the Public Record Office he would have found the Spanish account which Raleigh used, containing the seemingly problematic material. The corresponding translation of it is deposited in the State Papers Domestic.

Neil Whitehead's edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie* is precisely what it claims to be, a narrowly focused, scholarly exegesis on the native material in the printed text. As such, it is to be welcomed. Although Whitehead's discussion of literary and anthropological theory is not free from the jargon which seems to be *de rigueur* for such exercises, he nevertheless brings a salutary and accessible dose of common sense to the question of the use and the value of European texts of encounters with non-literate New World peoples. As he rightly points out, if the written accounts of the complex and ambiguous process of encounter are simplistically dismissed as no more than depictions of the European self, then the witness of peoples who had so little historical time remaining to them will, once again, be marginalized and effaced.

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Jean-Nicolas Morisset. *Der Frachtvertrag in der Ordonnance de la marine von 1681*. Rechtshistorische Reihe, Bd. 146; Bern and New York: Peter Lang Verlag, 1996. 176 pp., appendices, sources. sFr 53,00, DM 65,00, US \$42.95, £27, FF 212,00, öS 442,00, paper; ISBN 3-631-49808-X.

The French *Ordonnance de la marine*, introduced in 1681, constitutes the most comprehensive codification of maritime law in the seventeenth century. Older European codifications, like the *Rôles d'Oléron* and the *Hansische Seerecht*, were integrated into this text. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century legislation, including the *Rotterdammer Ordonnantie* and the

*Seerecht*, was deeply influenced by it. As such the ordinance makes a rich source for different fields of research. In this, his doctoral dissertation, Jean-Nicolas Morisset has chosen to treat an important aspect of the ordinance from a juridical point of view: chartering and the charter-party.

In the initial, introductory part of his book the author explains how the *Ordonnance* came into being, stressing the driving force of Colbert behind the project. In its preparation, two phases can be distinguished. During the first period, from 1672 to 1676, different committees were charged with preliminary investigation on the admiralties, maritime jurisdiction, the condition of the French ports, the merchant fleet and the qualifications of the mariners. The second period, from 1676 to 1681, was dedicated to the processing of the collected information and to the framing of the ordinance. Morisset concludes the first part with a brief outline of the structure of the ordinance.

The rest of the book deals with the provisions in the ordinance that relate to the chartering of ships. Two kinds of freight contracts can be distinguished: the chartering by the shipload and the chartering by piece goods. A special form of this last type of freighting is the *affrètement à la cueillette* which could be translated by the chartering by accumulation. In this case the contract could be broken by the ship-owner or by the captain if they were not able to collect a remunerative load for the desired destination.

The two major types of records in the domain of law of freight are the charter-party and the Bill of Lading. Morisset discusses their contents and the relation between them. He notes that the Bill of Lading underwent an interesting development after the ordinance of 1681, gradually gaining in precision and growing from a mere commodity receipt into a transferable security.

The rights and duties of the contracting parties are essentially raised from the point of view of the captain. Among the agents, it was he who could exert the greatest influence on the realization of a charter-party. Numerous clauses in the ordinance prescribed his actions before, during and after the journey. Special attention was paid in the ordinance to the circumstances that allowed the contracting parties to break their engagement and what should be done if an exterior factor prevented the execution of the contract.

A sizable enclosure composed of extracts of the ordinance in German and French completes the book.

Overall, Morisset has provided a solid juridical study on an interesting but neglected subject. To historians however, his reading may turn out quite unsatisfactory. The book is rather descriptive and does not pay any attention to discrepancies between the regulations and the reality of chartering. A more interdisciplinary approach would have improved the legibility of the work.

Anna Wegener Sleeswijk  
Paris, France

Julian Gwyn. *Excessive Expectations: Maritime Commerce and the Economic Development of Nova Scotia, 1740-1870*. Kingston & Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998. xviii + 291 pp., maps, illustrations, tables, notes, index. \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1548-8.

Julian Gwyn has given us an important and generally sensible book on the economic development of pre-Confederation Nova Scotia. It would be wrong to call it either an "economic history" (despite the publisher's claims) or an exhaustive study of maritime commerce (despite the sub-title, trade comprises a relatively small part of the study). Instead, what Prof. Gwyn has given us is a superb study of some inter-related aspects of Nova Scotia's economic experience that, taken together, convincingly debunk the notion that there was ever a maritime-based "golden age."

To accomplish this is quite a task, and to do so in a readable manner is even more impressive. While Gwyn eschews both econometrics and jargon-laced prose, this does not mean that he is ignorant of economic theory. Indeed, his mastery of the theoretical side of the discipline underpins, albeit in an understated way, much of the analysis. I have only two minor quibbles with this side of the story. First, he seems somewhat surprised to find that pre-Confederation economic growth was extensive rather than intensive. Yet given my reading of Canadian economic history, I would have been shocked were it otherwise: the inability to achieve long-term intensive growth before the end of the nineteenth century is one of the more dismal aspects of our economic history. I also wonder at the need to set up Marxists as intellectual straw men, [4-6] especially given the relatively minor impact Marxist economic historians — as opposed to social historians or sociologists — have had on our understanding of Nova Scotia's development. In my view it would have been

more appropriate to have taken aim at the work of a much larger band of regional historians whose writings have been flawed by a tendency to see the past through a prism tinged with romanticism. While some Marxists fall into this class, they comprise only a tiny minority.

Yet leaving these observations aside, it is hard to dispute the main thrust of his argument, which is that Nova Scotia under mercantilism could hardly have been anything but marginal. In particular, he is right to stress the relatively poor resource endowment, something too many scholars have overlooked in recent years. In fact, the poor resource base helps us to understand why Nova Scotia lagged behind New Brunswick in shipbuilding and shipping: with limited commodities to trade, there was less need for vessels than in the newer colony. Yet at the same time I wish he had explored more fully the impact of human capital on the record of disappointing growth. While he does observe that successive governments failed to nurture higher value-added sectors — and while it is clear that the colony's fisheries' policy was always short-sighted — Gwyn stops short of linking this to a larger problem of *human* resources, despite a plethora of evidence that suggests this was at least as important as a deficient resource base. In ignoring this, Gwyn misses a golden opportunity to examine unexplored avenues first suggested by the late David Alexander in his last published work two decades ago.

Still, this is a fine piece of work and one that I doubt anyone but Julian Gwyn could have written. This is because there is no other historian who combines both a comprehensive knowledge of the Nova Scotia economy in this period with the necessary stamina and persistence to mine an impressive array of large and often intractable sources. In the preface, Prof. Gwyn suggests that he would like readers to see his work in the tradition of scholars like Joel Mokyr and David Eltis. I think a comparison to John McCusker would have been even more apt for, like McCusker, Gwyn has missed few significant primary or secondary sources. And the secondary sources that he ignored would not have materially altered his conclusions; indeed some, like more recent studies of shipbuilding, would likely have led to even more gloomy conclusions. While the term "excessive expectations" is an apt description of the economic dreams of pre-Confederation Nova Scotians, Julian Gwyn should fully meet the expectations of what I hope will be a large num-

ber of modern readers.

Lewis R. Fischer  
St. John's, Newfoundland

W. Gillies Ross. *This Distant and Unsurveyed Country: A Woman's Winter at Baffin Island, 1857-58*. Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. xlv + 258 pp., maps, photographs, illustrations, appendices, references, index. \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 0-7735-1647-3

The first title in the McGill-Queen's distinguished series of Native and Northern Studies was Dorothy Harley Eber's *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic*. This, the fifteenth book, returns to the same territory.

The combination of the title and the dust jacket, which is striking yet severe, might lead one to expect a bleak experience, to be undertaken only as a professional obligation. What we have, on the contrary, is a delightful collaboration between Margaret Penny (1812-1891), the wife of one of the most famous of Scottish whaling captains, and W. Gillies Ross, the dean of Canadian whaling historians.

Margaret accompanied her husband, Captain William Penny (*ca.* 1808-1892) of the *Lady Franklin*, when he wintered at Baffin Island in 1857 so as to get a head start on the whaling season in the spring. The journal she kept (part of which was written by William) is only 18,000 words and is therefore not substantial enough to be published in book form. Moreover, the original audience, presumably Margaret's own circle, was more familiar with the world depicted in the diary than ever we can hope to be. Ross responds to this challenge by making the diary the heart of a book about four times the length of the original document. Dividing the diary into chapters, he has used each chapter as a starting point for an essay on aspects of the whaling enterprise in the nineteenth-century Eastern Arctic. The wealth of knowledge resulting from his many years of research is given to the reader in a pleasant and sometimes engagingly humorous manner. There is an immense amount to be learned, and learned enjoyably, about whaling, about Margaret and William Penny and about the Inuit and their relations with Euro-Americans. Where there is a gap in the diary and in the ship's log from 2 February to 12 May 1858, Ross provides a chap-

ter on scurvy, to which one member of the *Lady Franklin's* crew fell victim.

Margaret also deserves much credit for the success of the book as a whole. She was clearly a special person. It was not common for whaling captains to be accompanied by their wives; when it did happen it was more likely to happen on American whalers in more hospitable climes. Margaret had intended twice before to sail with her husband but was apparently prevented by the distress the idea caused her children. When she did make it to Baffin Island, she became the first non-Inuit woman to spend the winter there. She was to sail with her husband to the Arctic once again in 1863-64.

She was a resolute woman. One day in May, seeing the whale boats in danger and the Inuit dashing to their aid, she "ran to the mate of the *Sophia* [the *Lady Franklin's* consort] telling him to run too." She continues: "He said he could not do so without orders, but I said they would be sent after him." And off he went. [171] She had sufficient courage of her Christian convictions to chide the Moravian missionary aboard, Matthäus Warmow, when he laughed at St. Peter's mistaken belief that he could walk on water. As is often the case with self-confident people, Margaret was open to new experience. She thrilled at the beauty of the Arctic spring, she was impressed by the hard-working sailors, she ate – and got to like – *maktak* [raw whale skin]. She particularly enjoyed her contacts with Inuit women. Although, given her background, she could not help but pity the Inuit for their lack of literacy and Christianity, she found them to be a kind, brave and intelligent people.

The fresh and candid personality that comes through in the pages of Margaret's diary may be the result of the fact that as a woman she was not obliged to take herself seriously. While Ross is not unaware of the issue of gender, he does not focus on it. Nor does he use the diary as a platform for the expression of his views on two obviously controversial issues – the whale hunt in itself and its effect on traditional Inuit lifeways. His approach, while morally responsible, is blessedly low key. He quietly makes the point that whale oil once "provided one of the principal means of replacing darkness by light," [xix] whereas today it fills no such pressing need. If he characterizes modern whaling as "brutally effective," he does not forget that in the old days "it was notoriously wasteful." [86] He manages to be

sympathetic both to the Inuit, whose traditional life cycle was seriously disrupted by the demands of the whaling industry, and to the missionary Warmow, although he does take him to task for interfering with an Inuit burial ceremony.

We value documents such as diaries because they are a living part of a world now past. Yet as the years go by it becomes more difficult for them to speak to us. By setting Margaret's diary in the context of his own wide learning, Ross enables it to come to life again and lead us into a vanished world.

Anne Morton  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

André Charbonneau and André Sévigny. *1847 Grosse Île: A Record of Daily Events*. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, Parks Canada, 1997. xii + 276 pp., maps, illustrations, and photographs (b+w, colour), tables, appendix. \$19.95, paper; ISBN 0-660-16878-2.

For those unfamiliar with the name Grosse Île, it was a large island roughly sixty miles north of Québec City where, in 1832, a quarantine station was established at the beginning of British North America's first cholera epidemic. From then until 1937, it served as an initial place of arrival for hundreds of thousands of immigrants on their way to the Port of Québec City and other destinations along the St. Lawrence River and south into the Great Lakes. Recently turned into a National Historic Site, the island also witnessed the worst of the controversial Irish Famine migration of the mid-1840s. This book concentrates on one year of that particular migration, chronicling the events of 1847, including a devastating typhus epidemic. According to the authors, they have cleared up some of the myths associated with this episode, such as how many Irish emigrants actually died and the extent to which quarantine and other health measures reflected imperial and colonial administrative incompetence or neglect.

To write this book, the authors based their content on documentary and archival materials. As well they consulted a number of noted researchers of the subject. The introduction includes a description of the course of the typhus epidemic, the construction of facilities to house and treat emigrants, the problems of enforcing ship quarantine, and statistical summaries of ships, arrivals, diseased passengers, and mortality. The bulk of

the book, chapter by chapter, deals with the events of each month between February and December 1847. A list of agencies and individuals who worked on Grosse Île is also provided. The introduction includes a somewhat cursory sub-section on "ships," listing the country and ports of departure, the number of cabin versus steerage passengers, the composition of the ship passengers by age, as well as births and deaths during passage and in quarantine. Additional information is provided in the main body of the book on ship names and comments on their crossing time and their general condition. One also gains some insight into the nature of the Marine and Emigrant Hospital in Québec City.

This is a book clearly intended for the layman. For the scholar this book can only be described as highly frustrating. It does contain a wealth of information, much of it tabulated, making it a somewhat valuable resource. Yet nowhere is there a footnote or a citation which would aid in quickly identifying the source used, though the authors mention their use of various types of primary sources including newspapers and government records. The reason for seeking out such sources quickly becomes obvious. The intentional diary format consists almost exclusively of summaries. There is no real attempt to compare, analyze or interpret these primary sources. Existing passenger regulation, for example, is nowhere mentioned. Nor is any context provided. It is as if these events occurred in an historical vacuum and revolved only around this particular year. In short, historians or others interested in pursuing the information which the authors provide or who might have wanted to rely on this research to augment their own, are forced to redo their work. Undoubtedly, there would have been reams of citations. But to avoid them entirely weakens this contribution immeasurably. Somewhat ironically, the sources for every image used in the book are identified, presumably for reasons of permission and copyright. By omitting footnotes entirely and not offering some semblance of a bibliography to identify the manuscript collections used in this study, Parks Canada does a disservice to undergraduate students who might otherwise have used this text in a Canadian history course, let alone to other researchers.

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David C. Mauk. *The Colony that Rose from the Sea: Norwegian Maritime Migration and Community in Brooklyn, 1850-1910*. Northfield, MN: The Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1997. xvi + 272 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, photographs, appendices, notes, index. US \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 0-87732-086-1 (NAHA) or 0-252-02400-1 (University of Illinois Press). Distributed by the University of Illinois Press, Champaign, IL.

Norwegian immigrants, as foreigners who came to the United States, have a rich and colorful history spanning their departure from the native land to their establishment in the new world. The predominant maritime nature of Norwegian immigrants and their concentration in the Red Hook section of Brooklyn is the subject of David Mauk's two-volume, 614-page PhD dissertation, which has now been made accessible to the public with this nine-chapter book.

The reasons for sizable urban population concentration have been identified as those activities which are more economically accomplished in a cluster, as opposed to being dispersed. Economists have divided the reasons for urban location arrangements into three broad characteristics. First, population grows along transportation courses and junctions. Second, it grows around industrial function centers, situated in close proximity to a physical resource. Third, population grows in a central place which serves as a market for the exchange of goods and services with their hinterlands. These characteristics often work in unison with each other. They are also evidenced in the Norwegian settlement in the Red Hook neighborhood of Brooklyn, which became the largest center of foreign concentration of Norwegians. After an introductory chapter to his book, Mauk devotes two chapters to examine the maritime migration from Norway. Chapter four discusses the economic and social conditions of the Norwegian settlement in Brooklyn and Manhattan. The remainder of the book focuses on the development of the community and its institutions. Various tables, thirty-one pages of notes and, four appendices at the end of the volume, enhance its scholarly appeal.

When merchant ships came to port, cargo had to be discharged and new cargo had to be stowed on board. In the interim, sailors would explore opportunities aboard other vessels or in the port of call. Ethnic communities were formed

by Swedish, British, German, Spanish and Italian sailors who migrated, but according to Mauk, the Norwegians had a greater cause to find new opportunity. Norwegian ships were more prone to sink at sea than those of other national fleets. A Norwegian sailor was paid about one third the wages of his American counterpart. Moreover, he also carried dangerous cargoes of petroleum, coal, and grain which were not redolent. American galleys and quarters were better; more Norwegians were stricken with scurvy.

Between 1820-1860, the US shipping industry flourished, and New York became the nation's dominant seaport, a transportation junction for the transatlantic commerce which also offered job opportunities for sailors. By 1880, Norway had the third-largest merchant marine fleet in the world, which became a means of legal and illegal immigration for an estimated 70,000 sailors between 1866-1915. By the turn of the century, migration had made the Brooklyn Norwegian community the fastest growing one in the United States.

Chapter two attributes the Norwegian system of cottier tenure, in which population grew faster than agricultural output, for forcing unpleasant economic realities on Norwegian youth. Mauk carefully traces their decision to emigrate, their later decision to become day laborers or small businessmen who together formed the nascent urban class and the tendency of sailors to desert ship. As a result, in the 1870s the Norwegian population in Brooklyn almost tripled, and more than doubled in Manhattan. When the Brooklyn Bridge was opened in 1883, congestion in Manhattan was palliated, as immigrants and natives opted for more spacious, less expensive Brooklyn housing. This opening coincided with the "golden age of Norwegians in Brooklyn" from 1872 to 1886, when at its beginning and end, approximately three hundred Norwegian ships docked in Brooklyn annually, peaking with over 1100 vessels in 1879. The desertion and immigration are carefully delineated. In 1900, international freight rates fell, and maritime oriented Norway felt the economic pinch; between 1900 and 1914 more than 240,000 more Norwegians emigrated to the United States.

Starting with chapter five, however, the author becomes bogged down with too much detail tracing the institutions which the immigrants established in the United States. For example, when a controversy arose about lotteries for

raising funds, a Pastor Everson protested: "He announced his unalterable opposition to the use of lotteries and vociferously expressed his distaste at seeing children drawn into that illegal activity at the most recent bazaar." [115] Other aspects of the Norwegian cultivation made in the United States are given in excessive minutiae, which distracts from the otherwise fine research presented in this volume.

Michael Cohn  
New York, New York

James Norman Hall (intro. Dean King). *Doctor Dogbody's Leg*. "Heart of Oak Sea Classics"; New York: Henry and Company 1998. xiii + 248 pp.. US \$13, paper; ISBN 0-8050-5831-1.

It is unusual for a historical journal to publish a review of a work of fiction, but it can be justified on exceptional grounds. This book is one such exception. James Hall will be known to many as the co-author, with Charles Nordhoff, of *Mutiny on the Bounty* which is surely one of the most commercially successful novels ever written on the eighteenth century Royal Navy. Hall, an erstwhile American fighter ace of World War I, went on to write many more stories, and this one is reputed to be his favourite. The blurb, which for once seems to have it right, tells us that this is a "masterpiece of American humor."

The good Doctor Dogbody is portrayed as a surgeon in the Royal Navy of considerable experience. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, his ship paid off, he is spending some free time in his pub of choice in Portsmouth, the "Cheerful Tortoise." Here, with numerous old shipmates, he spins yarns with the best of them. Somewhere in his illustrious career he has managed to lose a leg, and naturally his companions enquire as to the circumstances. The good doctor reluctantly obliges when pressed, and provides copious details of the incident. Actually, he does this ten times, and no two stories are remotely the same. They occur on several continents, and stretch from the American Revolutionary War, right up to Aix Roads. And, yes, they are quite humorous.

Individual readers will have their own favourites, but one of the best involves Dogbody in the Cape Colony, taking an arrow in the doomed leg as he is desperately trying to control a runaway ostrich he has hired for the day for a jaunt

into the country, while straining to recall the command word which will make the crazed beast return to the city instead of continuing the run to the north. My own favourite occurred in Russia at the court of Catherine the Great. With a wondrous ointment obtained in the Caribbean, Dr. Dogbody is able to cure Catherine of a nasty condition which had baffled her own physicians. The imperial gratitude knew no bounds, and eventually led to an attempted royal seduction in a secluded dacha in the depth of winter. Unfortunately (or fortunately, given how Catherine treated her lovers!) the seduction is interrupted when the royal sleigh is attacked by wolves. As they flee, Catherine orders her servants, one by one, to jump off and sacrifice themselves "for Russia." When all are gone, it falls to Dogbody to make the jump, which he does bravely. Luckily, they are almost at a guardpost by then, and he is rescued before the wolves can do more than gnaw off one leg.

But is this of interest to readers of this journal? The answer is yes, because the writing is quite good, and the historical details are largely accurate. Hall did his research well, and the atmosphere of shipboard life rings true, whether on a ship of war or on a crowded slaver. This is not the work of a humourist using a maritime backdrop, rather this is the work of a maritime writer highlighting some humorous aspects of a sailor's life. Details of the battles at which Dogbody was present, where he lost the leg at Copenhagen, and at Aix Roads where he lost it again, for example, are quite solid, as are the social descriptions of various classes of officers and men on the ships.

The very serious student of naval history will regret a couple of inaccuracies, which originate in the fact the Hall followed the state of current scholarly opinion on some issues as it held sway in 1940 when the book was first published. On p. 39 for example we are treated to the standard condemnation of naval administration as run by thieves and knaves who fill their pockets by cheating the poor sailors. The victuals of the crews, purportedly beef, are described as mostly dogs and cats, with carcasses from bear-baiting events, decrepit hackney – coach nags, and an aged leopard from the zoo. Then on p. 225 the poor Earl of Sandwich, the First Lord in the American War, comes in for a traditional drubbing: "He was known for a rogue to the whole of Europe. There never was a greater villain in a

position of high public trust ... For barefaced corruption and incapacity, the Sandwich administration at the Admiralty is unique..." And so it goes. The current student of naval history will squirm a little at the perpetuation of such outmoded myths, and will regret that they are being trotted out for yet another generation.

However, let us remember this is a work of maritime humour, not maritime history. Despite some outdated views of naval life, Doctor Dogbody's stories are a treat. Who of us would not like to be present, just for one night, sitting by the fire at the "Cheerful Tortoise," quaffing a pint and listening to the good doctor explain yet again how he came to lose his leg in the service of King and country? Regular readers of naval history are accustomed to renditions of blood, sweat and tears; this book should bring more than one smile to the face of even the most hardened veteran.

Paul Webb  
London, Ontario

Frederick Marryat (intro. Louis J. Parascandola). *Peter Simple*. "Heart of Oak Sea Classics"; New York: Henry Holt and Company 1998. xxv + 450 pp., select bibliography. US \$15, paper; ISBN 0-8050-5565-7.

Life at sea in the age of sail continues to fascinate. The lure of ships and oceans leapfrogs over the structured investigations of specialists. Marryat's book was written for such a catholic audience of surrogate tarpaulins. Coleridge, no mean judge of sea lore, was a fan of this author, and of *Peter Simple* in particular. The book, in his opinion, was worthy to stand with Smollett, whose rakish heroes (i.e. Roderick Random) fitted into English Literature somewhere between the gallant lads of John Cleland and the sophisticated pursuit of pleasure that characterized that most accomplished seducer, Augustus Hervey. Smollett, of course, was something more than a chronicler of libertine activity, and his description of the bay at Cartagena during the attack of 1739 still terrorizes readers unprepared for graphic renderings of war. The modern successors to this genre have not proven unworthy of their forbears. Hornblower and Jack Aubrey detail aspects of that arcane environment with loving attention to detail, humour, and some sense of political and social purpose. Each novel almost brings us through the screen of history into times past, and

with their characters we suffer the vagaries of class, rank, luck, weather and competence. It has been suggested, by a French reviewer, that O'Brian is the most competent and compelling writer of this generation. Why not?

Both Smollett and O'Brian are impressive novelists. Neither of them, however, could equal Captain Marryat in sea experience. Furthermore, the latter had the good fortune to serve under Lord Cochrane, an unconventional and brilliant leader. But the strength of this book is in its social appreciations. The Irish nation swims into focus through a junior officer, O'Brien, without patronage or pedigree, whose guile and quick wit make him the equal to the demands of a life where social rank counts. But Marryat makes Chuck, the boatswain, delineate the great problem. Chuck's mother was a "bumboatgirl," but he cheerfully claims that he would "rather be the bye-blow of a gentleman, than the 'gitimate offspring of a boatswain and his wife." W.S. Gilbert carried this social preoccupation story to a brilliant conclusion in both *Pinafore* and *The Gondoliers* where the birth theme was dominant. Seagoing narrative notwithstanding, Marryat's hero, Peter Simple himself is aware that the probability of a real inheritance "on shore" is the most important determinant of his fate. This plot could have been devised by Smollett or Fielding!. The message is clear. As Noel Coward might have phrased it "Don't put your sonny on a ship, Mrs Worthington!" The question as to whether the level of competence on board would have improved with a crew of baronets is not addressed. Yet the description of life at sea is secure in the hands of a professional, and it serves as a wooden walled background to the unfolding of nautical human nature. In this marriage Marryat is not inferior to Forester, O'Brian, Hervey or Smollett. They are a select crew. It is fun dodging between marlin spikes and pedigrees in this agreeable book.

Donald M. Schurman  
Victoria, British Columbia

John Nicol; Tim Flannery (ed. & intro.). *Life and Adventures, 1776-1801*. Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1997. 198 pp., illustrations, maps, index. AUS\$16.95, paper; ISBN 1-875847-41-3.

This is the memoir of a man who served twenty-five years at sea and who recounted the story of

his life in 1822, shortly before his death, to John Howell, a bookbinder by trade. Howell was interested in the lives of common sailors and soldiers (three of the five books he published concerned such people), and recorded Nicol's story. Published later that year, *Life and Adventures* was reprinted by Cassell in 1937. This affordable paperback is based on the original edition, and includes some annotations where Nicol's memory of distant events was flawed.

Nicol volunteered into the Royal Navy in 1776, serving as a cooper on a sloop-of-war and a frigate in North American and Caribbean waters during the War of American Independence, pursuing privateers and protecting trade. When the war ended, he served briefly in the Greenland whale fishery, then the West India trade, before joining the *King George* which, with the *Queen Charlotte*, journeyed in 1785 to the Pacific to engage in the sea otter trade; among several episodes, he described their encounter in 1787 with the *Nootka*, Capt. Meares. Nicol returned to England in time to join the crew of the *Lady Juliana*, bound for Australia in 1788 as part of the Second Fleet with a cargo of female convicts. He formed an attachment with one of the transported women, who bore him a son before the ship reached New South Wales.

Forced to abandon his love in Australia, Nicol became obsessed with returning to Australia to reunite with his beloved and bring her back to England. This obsession drew him into service on the *Amelia*, a South Seas whaler, and later the *Nottingham*, an East India ship bound for China. Fate denied Nicol his wish; instead of Australia, he found himself returning to England in time to be pressed into the navy once again as the war with France began. During this second stint of naval service, Nicol saw action at the Battles of Cape St. Vincent (1797) and the Nile (1798), though his duties as cooper meant that his place in battle was deep within the bowels of his ship, the *Goliath*. During the brief Peace of Amiens (1802-1803) Nicol was discharged and returned to Edinburgh, where he married a cousin. By the time war resumed, he had lost his passion for the sea, so that for over ten years, he lived in constant fear of being caught up once again by the press gangs. It was in part for this reason that he could not give his cooperage work his full attention, so that by the time the war finally ended, his business was failing. He was indigent when he recounted his life to John Howell.

Tim Flannery described the story of John Nicol as "an extreme rarity," in that we have very few lower-deck accounts of sea service. Nicol was clearly not a typical seaman – he was literate, religiously devout, and had read a diversity of books. Nor does his memoir necessarily provide great insight into the events and developments he witnessed – we learn nothing about the privateers captured by the ships on which he served (their points of origin, where captured, their targets of choice). Yet Nicol had a discerning eye for the peculiarities of the cultures he encountered, and the incidents he recalled of his service at sea provide insight into shipboard life – a mutiny triggered by a diluted grog ration (164), the anxiety of weathering a gale with unseasoned rigging (105), or even the below-decks impression of a major fleet engagement. No admiral's perspective or tactical analysis here! That the book has been reprinted by an Australian publisher is understandable, given Nicol's involvement with the Second Fleet. Yet Canadians will also find the book appealing on account of Nicol's service on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. This is therefore a very worthwhile acquisition, and Text Publishers is to be commended for making it available to maritime historians once again.

Olaf Uwe Janzen  
Corner Brook, Newfoundland

Adrian B. Caruana. *The History of English Sea Ordnance 1523-1875. Volume II: The Age of the System 1715-1815*. Rotherfield, UK: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1997. xii + 500 pp., tables, figures, illustrations, photographs, bibliography, indices. £110, US \$185, leather; ISBN 0-948864-21-4; £70, US \$120, cloth; ISBN 0-948864-22-2.

This is the second volume of a projected three-volume study of English sea ordnance which, upon its completion, will become the definitive study of the use of cast metal, smooth-bore, muzzle-loading artillery in the Royal Navy from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The second volume, which deals with the central core of the subject, is an improvement over the first (reviewed in *TNM/LMN*, V, 4, October 1995). The author covers a shorter time span, has addressed some of the first volume's shortcomings, and improved the book's organization. The volume has a natural coherence, for, as Caruana

explains, the eighteenth century was truly "the age of the system." In addition to ship establishments and store regulations, there were gun systems. Contemporaries saw systems, like regulations and establishments, as solutions to a plethora of ills affecting the design, manufacture, supply, and use of naval cannons.

The author has organized his contents both chronologically and thematically. Five chapters deal with the major sea wars of the period, and preceding, interspersed, and following them are six more treating special topics affecting the evolution of guns throughout the century. The gun systems of General Albert Borgard and John Armstrong that influenced the production of sea ordnance during the years of Anglo-French entente and beyond, the development of canonades shortly after the middle of the century, and the 1787 Blomfield pattern guns that were developed during the final decade of peace, are the most important. The extended chapter on carronades may be the most authoritative in print. Three other themes included in this volume are gun carriages and servicing, howitzers and mortars, and fireships and infernal machines. Introductory and concluding chapters accompany the substantive ones. The former is quite helpful and it would be churlish to quibble over the text's digressions, its mind-numbing details, or the stress on technology at the expense of its social, economic, and political construction. This is more than a study of cannons. It is a close examination of the evolution of a weapon system of which the gun was only one component. In addition to discussing the sequence of gun design, the author carefully takes the reader through the history of the development of gunpowder, projectiles, and carriages, exploring the interconnectedness between guns and gunpowder. He argues convincingly that changes in the latter required new designs in the former in order to contain the forces produced by improved explosives. Major improvements in the purity of gunpowder during the eighteenth century occasioned a comparatively rapid succession of gun designs as it became more potent. But if improved technology forced new gun designs it did not operate in a vacuum. For in spite of the independence of the Board of Ordnance, the Royal Navy controlled the production of guns. By refusing to accept any increase in their weight the navy also negated the efforts to improve them. The Board of Ordnance became increasingly subservient to the Navy Board whose demands for and consumption

of guns far exceeded the Royal Artillery. Cannons burst with increasing frequency, especially during the War of American Independence, as old designs chiefly involved redistributing the same weight of metal about the same calibre of gun while gunpowder continued to improve, exceeding each new design's ability to contain its explosive power.

The heroes of the tale are Generals Sir William Congreve and Sir Thomas Blomefield of the Royal Regiment of Artillery who produced the new gunpowder and, finally, the gun to contain its explosive power. Naval officers who used the guns contributed nothing. The Royal Navy in 1815 was immeasurably more powerful than it had been a century earlier largely due to developments in sea ordnance rather than among the warships themselves. During the eighteenth century the firepower of naval ships increased between 30 percent in 100-gun ships and 500 percent in 20-gun ships. How powerful were these ships? Well, at the Battle of Waterloo, British heavy artillery, excluding mortars, was allocated forty-nine guns of assorted calibre with a total projectile weight of 1, 282 lbs, or something less than two-thirds the firepower of a single 74-gun ship launched the same year.

This will surely become an important reference work, and, as is customary with Jean Boudriot Publications, great care has been expended in its production. The ninety-four tables and nearly two hundred figures and illustrations add immeasurably to the text. The book contains a mine of information for military and naval history buffs and historians who, if they cannot afford the price, may persuade a nearby library to purchase a copy.

James Pritchard  
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Pavel A. Krotov. *Gangutskaya Batalia 1714 Goda (The Battle at the Gangut, 1714)*. St. Petersburg: Liki Rossii, 1996. 248 pp., maps, illustrations, appendix, index. Hardback; ISBN 5-87417-024-3. Available for US \$15 through Victor Kamkin Bookstore, Rockville, MD (fax: +1 301 881-1637).

On July 27 1714, Russia scored a decisive naval victory in the Great Northern War when a lone Swedish frigate and a squadron of galleys and small craft under Admiral Ehrenskjöld were

captured by the Russian galley fleet at Hangö Head. It concluded a stunning and swift, amphibious campaign which gave Peter the Great control of Finland and allowed his galleys to invade the Åland Islands, and from there to attack the Swedish coast. Though it took seven more years to force Sweden to accept a peace, Hangö was the decisive battle of the Tsar's successful Baltic campaign.

Pavel A. Krotov, lecturer in history at St. Petersburg University, has provided a much needed study of Hangö. It is an original new interpretation and reconstruction of the battle, one that is skillfully placed in the context of the campaign through Finland and the diplomacy of the era. Krotov is an exemplar of the "New Russian History" which has departed from the ideological direction of the Soviet era to explore original archival materials and to make use of a wider panorama of historical writing.

Well versed in foreign historiography, Krotov faults Swedish historians for leaning too heavily on contemporary accounts which are deficient in their knowledge of the Russian galley fleet and which have perpetuated misconceptions about Peter's tactics at Hangö. Yet Krotov also notes that Hangö has been largely disregarded by Russian historians, who assume that everything is already known about the battle. Krotov first raised the concerns he develops in this book in a 1990 article in *Istoriia SSSR*. His research has produced a complete revision of the most important naval engagement of the Great Northern War, one that provides new insight into Peter the Great's performance as a commander.

Contrary to the dominant opinion that the battle was a "simple frontal assault" in which a vastly superior Russian force surprised and overpowered the Swedes in three waves of attack, Krotov argues convincingly that Peter deserves greater credit. Thoroughly grounded on materials drawn from Russian manuscript collections, particularly the Russian Naval Archives in St. Petersburg (RGAVMF), Krotov's research presents the tactics employed at Hangö as a "complex flanking action." He demonstrates that the battle began with an efficient artillery duel from Russian half-galleys at both flanks of the enemy line, followed by boarding actions against the Swedish galleys; it ended with the final capture of the frigate *Elephant* in the centre. Krotov challenges the usual descriptions of the battle, which belittle Peter's skill as a naval commander by crediting

the victory to superior numbers and an unsuspected attack from the rear by galleys that approached the Swedes from shallow waters. Based on his research, Krotov concludes that only four galleys approached from that direction, of which only one joined the battle in its final moments. He maintains that the battle was not an unorganized *melée* of unequal forces, but was instead a well-planned tactical operation that proved the Tsar's worthiness as a commander.

This study ought to be in every serious collection on naval warfare, for the battle of Hangö was a unique and decisive engagement. The appearance of Krotov's book marks the debut for the young historian whose recent chapters on shipbuilding in the era of Peter the Great, contained in the first volume of the collection *Istoriia otechestvennogo sudostroeniia (A History of Russian Shipbuilding)* are of similar quality and interest. Together they announce the arrival of a scholar, who will no doubt make further contributions to the naval and maritime history of the era.

Richard H. Warner  
Fredericksburg, Virginia

David Syrett. *The Royal Navy in European Waters during the American Revolutionary War*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998. xi + 213 pp., figures, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-57003-238-6.

It has always been astonishing that a great world war whose events were largely determined by the course of the fighting at sea, should so often be described by historians as though the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and indeed (for many US historians) the entire world outside the continent of North America did not exist. One partial excuse was until recently that there was no respectable modern study of the naval war. Ten years ago, David Syrett's excellent book *The Royal Navy in American Waters, 1775-1783* filled one half of that requirement, and now he has completed his task with this history of the naval war in European waters. This is a straightforward narrative of naval operations set within the context of politics and diplomacy. It shows how the British fought with three grave disadvantages which they had not faced in earlier wars. They fought against substantial odds, they failed to mobilise early, and, above all, they failed to adopt the strategy

which had served so well in the two previous wars, and was to do so again. Professor Syrett's clarity on the strategic issue is especially welcome, since contemporaries, including British ministers, were thoroughly confused about it, and many modern historians have been no less muddled. The strategy which had won before and was to win again was the Western Squadron, as it was originally called: the main fleet kept in the Western Approaches of the English Channel, the one station where it could protect against invasion, cover British trade and progressively dominate enemy naval movements. When all Britain's naval enemies lay close at hand in Europe, the control of these waters translated into naval control of the world. It was by keeping the main fleet close to home that the Royal Navy came to rule the world in wars before and after – and might have done so in this war, regardless of the misbehaviour of the colonials, had not Lord North's government dispersed its naval strength to America, the West Indies and other peripheral areas.

This refreshing clarity on the naval strategy of the war is one of the book's notable virtues. Indeed clarity is its leading characteristic. The skill with which Professor Syrett distills complicated events into lucid prose gives the book a deceptive air of simplicity, but expert readers and other compulsive scrutineers of notes will appreciate how much research and learning underlie the narrative. Here and there, there is room to differ from the author's opinion – on Sandwich's handling of patronage, for example, and on the strategic significance of Britain's failure to secure a European alliance – but at every point his learning commands respect. One slight anomaly (it cannot be called a defect) in the structure of the work is worth noting; Chapter 4, "Neutrals, Naval Stores, and the Royal Navy, 1778-82," essentially reproduces the author's earlier work *Neutral Rights and the War in the Narrow Seas*, a detailed analysis of policy-making and diplomacy hitherto only published as a pamphlet by the US Army Combat Studies Institute at Fort Leavenworth. It is good to have this admirable study reissued in a more accessible form, but it is distinctly different from the other chapters.

The book has, perhaps, only a single weakness, if it can be called a weakness. Essentially this was a world war in which fleets based in Europe repeatedly crossed and re-crossed the Atlantic, and in which the central strategic issue

was whether to concentrate in European waters or American. Circumstances rather than logic have led to the subject being divided between two short books. Now that Professor Syrett has completed his coverage of the war, all that is lacking is to find some opportunity of running the two together to produce the definitive study of this most momentous of naval wars.

N.A.M. Rodger  
London, England

Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.); foreword to this edition [in Volume I], Michael Nash. *The Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson. Volume II: 1795-1797; III: January 1798 - August 1799; IV: September 1799 - December 1801; Volume V: January 1802 - April 1802; Volume VI: May 1804 - July 1805; VII: August 1805 - October 1805.* London, 1845-46; London: Chatham Publishing, 1997-1998. xxviii + 495 pp. (II), xxxvi + 527 pp. (III), xxxi + 540 pp. (IV), xxviii + 523 pp. (V), xxxv + 502 pp. (VI), xxxii + 424 + cxc (VII), figure, appendices (incl. Letters), index (figure, appendices and index in Vol. VII). £18 each, paper; ISBN 1-86176-049-3 (II), -050-7 (III), -051-5 (IV), -052-3 (V), -053-1 (VI), -054-X (VII). Distributed in North America by Barnes & Noble, New York, NY.

In the remarkably short time since they reprinted the first volume of Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas' *The Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson* (see review in *TNM/LMN*, VIII, No. 3, July 1998) in 1997, Chatham Publishing have issued the remaining six volumes. Apart from a brief forward by Michael Nash in the first volume, the set is an unedited reprint of the original 1844-46 publication. It is the most complete collection of Nelson's writing available in print. The value of the correspondence is enhanced by the editor's copious notes. Nicolas was a former naval officer whose knowledge of the sea and careful scholarship help to clarify terms, people and events with which his reader might otherwise be unfamiliar. Almost certainly, for scholars and Nelson buffs alike these seven volumes are the most valuable of the many "Nelson" books appearing in this 200th anniversary of the admiral's great victory over the French at the Battle of the Nile.

Horatio Nelson, Britain's greatest fighting seaman, victor of the Nile, Copenhagen and Trafalgar, was an extraordinarily prolific and self-

revealing correspondent, whose writings are often compared to those of Samuel Pepys. Arranged in chronological order, the correspondence forms both a unique and vivid autobiographical work and an historical narrative of the sea war against Napoleonic France. Battle instructions, notes on the everyday running and victualling of the fleet, and to Emma, his mistress, reveal vividly their writer's warm, passionate and guileless nature. Even his dispatches to their Lordships at the Admiralty possess none of the stiff formality normally associated with such reports. They are the straightforward record of the professional concerns of a naval officer in the heyday of the age of sail. The private letters reveal the inner life and thoughts of a sensitive and complex character. The stages of Nelson's rise from midshipman to admiral are documented in vigorous prose, as are the stages of his marriage to Frances Nesbit and of his love affair with Lady Hamilton. Ever since its publication, the "Nicolas," as it is generally known, has been indispensable to anyone writing about or with a deep interest in Admiral Nelson's life and times. It is amazing that the set has not been re-issued before now.

In brief, volume I included Nelson's autobiographical sketch, the American Revolution, the first meeting with Emma Hamilton and the loss of his right eye at the siege of Calvi; volume II covers the victory of Cape St. Vincent and the disastrous assault on Tenerife, where Nelson lost his right arm; volume III includes the first of Nelson's great victories, the Battle of the Nile, and the controversy over the admiral's treatment of the Neapolitan rebels; volume IV takes the story from Palermo to the Battle of Copenhagen and Nelson's return to extra-marital bliss at Paradise Merton at the end of 1801; volume V contains many letters to Emma Hamilton written between 1802 and 1804, Nelson's appointment as Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean, until his promotion to Vice-Admiral of the White in April 1804; volumes VI and VII cover the Trafalgar campaign and battle. Volume VII also contains a valuable addenda of almost three hundred pages of material collected by Nicolas, including British, French and Spanish descriptions of the Battle of Trafalgar; an account of Nelson's funeral; some notes regarding Nelson monuments erected after his death and some "Trafalgar" poems, plus Nelson letters which had been omitted from earlier volumes. A fifty-page index of the entire work is appended to the final volume.

Researchers have long used the "Nicolas" in concert with the Nelson collections in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, the British Library and the Public Record Office and minor holdings elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Now they are within reach of a much wider relationship. Even at £18 (approximately US\$35) a volume, many Nelson enthusiasts will acquire the complete set. The publishers are to be congratulated on the completion of this long-overdue project.

Gerald Jordan  
Toronto, Ontario

John F. Beeler. *British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era 1866-1880*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997. xix + 354 pp., photographs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. US \$49.50, cloth; ISBN 0-8047-2981-6.

A perennial fear of doctoral students is that someone is going to publish a really authoritative and comprehensive study on their subject before they have a chance to submit their own thesis. If anyone other than John Beeler had been working on British naval policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli era for a prospective PhD, their worst nightmare has just come true. Professor Beeler's book is impressive by any standards and deserves the glowing endorsement of it by Dr. Andrew Lambert that appears on its dust jacket.

It begins with a short and useful introduction setting out the nature of the dramatic change in warship development arising from the Industrial Revolution and the pace of technological changes and goes on to discuss the strategic parameters that underpinned the shaping of British policy in the mid-Victorian era. Apart from inquiring into the state of the navy and the quite distinct roles that its vessels were meant to perform, Beeler has little trouble in pointing out that of all the prominent politicians of his day, Gladstone was alone in remaining unconvinced about the wisdom and efficiency of maintaining naval forces overseas on a permanent basis. Gladstone's penchant for economy is, of course, well known and his prompting on this score was important in substantially reducing the number of ships serving on foreign stations in the years of his administration.

After looking at the nature of Admiralty administration and naval spending from 1832 to 1868, the author has several more chronological

chapters that consider the record of both Tory and Liberal governments on naval matters. Of the various ministers who were appointed as First Lord of the Admiralty in these years, Beeler appears more sympathetic to the controversial figure of Hugh Childers, arguably the most talented and yet almost certainly the least popular occupant of that office as far as officers of the senior service were concerned. Although something of an apologist for Childers, Beeler does recognize the essential shortcomings of his administrative reforms and presents them for inspection. In this respect, perhaps a case could be made out for giving George Goschen's tenure at Admiralty House more praise than it receives at the hands of Professor Beeler. After all, it was Goschen who recognized what was wrong and took sensible steps to ameliorate the worst effects of the Childers' reform package from 1872 onwards. In his discussion of the Gladstone years, Beeler guides the reader through the almost incessant bickering and feuding that pitted Spencer Robinson and Edward Reed against Childers, surveys the background to and the investigation of the HMS *Captain* disaster, and reflects upon the uproar over the appalling state of HMS *Megaera* and the reasons for her loss in the Indian Ocean.

Turning to Disraeli's second premiership, Beeler has few problems in discerning a clear difference in emphasis and direction on naval matters between the former Liberal administration and the incoming Conservative government. Whereas the Liberals were inclined to build up the fleet to fight future wars and trusted in its deterrent value, the Tories were more weeded to the creation of a naval force that was sufficiently powerful to take up the cudgels on Britain's behalf, virtually instantaneously, anywhere in the world. In analysing the performance of both George Ward Hunt and W.H. Smith at the head of the Royal Navy, Beeler recalls that the former was inclined to exaggeration and political rhetoric, while the latter was the more fortunate and competent of the two.

After providing a chapter on evaluating the strength and weaknesses of Britain's naval rivals at the time – an exercise that reveals just why so many historians are apt to describe the period as that of *Pax Britannica* – Beeler moves on to discuss the issues of strategic planning and imperial defence. Apart from demonstrating that the building of heavily armoured, coastal assault

ships by the Admiralty was an attempt to evolve an alternative strategy to that of the close blockade, he discusses the logistical problems of maintaining coal-fired ships in the fleet and the necessity of having adequate coaling stations along all trade routes to cater to their needs. In addition, he reminds his reader that many naval officers were prejudiced against the principle of convoy in protecting maritime trade on the grounds that it was too defensive in nature and "alien to the British naval genius." [221]

Notwithstanding the mistakes that were made by the Admiralty in the mid-Victorian era, Beeler is in no doubt that the Royal Navy did what it was designed to do between 1866 and 1880, even though it may have looked stronger than it actually was. This difference between illusion and reality, or form and substance, is discernible in the following decade as Beeler shows in an epilogue that gives credence to Theodore Ropp's view that the British, rather than any of their continental rivals, were responsible for the spiraling naval arms race that so bedevilled international relations in the 1890s and beyond.

Although the subject matter of *British Naval Policy in the Gladstone-Disraeli Era* may not appeal to the masses, it is a fine book that deserves to do well.

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Richard Knowles Morris. *John P. Holland, 1841-1914: Inventor of the Modern Submarine*. Rev. ed.; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1966, 1998. xx + 221 pp., photoplates, appendices (maps, figures, documents), notes, bibliography, index. US \$16.95, paper; ISBN 1-57003-236-X.

A classic of marine history updated with new information, *John P. Holland, 1841 - 1914: Inventor of the Modern Submarine* is the sole full-length biography of a man whose technological innovations led to the launching of the first modern submarine in May 1897. While David Bushnell is considered the father of the submarine, it was Holland who was responsible for the technical improvements that enabled the craft to operate equally effectively whether submerged or surfaced, and it was his design that the US Navy purchased in 1900.

This new edition adds a chapter on Holland's

life and work that was not available when the original book was written. The Graf Collection at the Paterson Museum, now open to scholars, provides details about Holland's early submarine experiments in the United States as well as information about the man and his family. Richard Knowles Morris draws on diaries and papers left by his grandfather, a long-time friend of Holland and superintending engineer of the Holland Torpedo Boat Company, to trace the inventor's life.

John Holland was born in Ireland in 1841, and it was there that he received his formal education and training. While growing up, two events were to have a profound impact upon the young inventor. At an early age, Holland witnessed famine and disease. He lost a brother and two uncles to cholera, saw his youngest brother contract smallpox, and suffered through the Great Famine that ravaged his homeland. According to Morris, "the early events of his life filled him with deep resentment toward an England that he and his countrymen felt was responsible for their misery and poverty, and...this resentment prodded him to devise an instrument that would bend the will of the Mistress of the Seas." [14] In the spring of 1862, Holland read in the *Cork Examiner* of the engagement between the Union *Monitor* and the Confederate *Merrimack*. This strange encounter of ironclad vessels in the American Civil War captured his imagination. Years later, he wrote that were *Monitor* a vessel completely submerged, she would "present the unique spectacle, when used in attack, of a weapon against which there is no defence." [17] By 1869, Holland had sketched his first design for just such a vessel and began modest experiments with his one-man submarine. In 1873, at the age of thirty-two, Holland packed his meagre possessions and departed for the United States. Among his belongings was the sketch of his first submarine. It was in his adopted country that he would perfect the submarine, aided in large part by the Fenian Brotherhood. A submarine was exactly the kind of weapon the Fenians needed to sweep Britain from the seas, and thus secure Irish independence.

The author traces the technical developments of Holland's submarines from the first primitive prototype through increasingly more sophisticated designs. In all, Holland built six submarines between 1878 and 1897. The last, *Holland VI*, was the culmination of years of trials and experimentation. Despite the fact that Holland was not

a trained mechanical engineer, his designs were revolutionary and became the standard by which all others were measured. Borrowing and then improving upon earlier designs such as John Bushnell's *Turtle* and Robert Fulton's *Nautilus*, Holland's submarines incorporated a number of key features which allowed a craft to operate efficiently underwater, including the all-metal porpoise-shaped hull, single centreline screw, stern diving planes, a compressed air supply, and two propulsion systems, one for the surface and one for submerged runs. Holland also anticipated the application of diesel power to submarine boats. *Holland VI* became the archetype of navies around the world. Indeed, his ideas revolutionized naval warfare and made the submarine a potent weapon when it was mated to an invention developed some years earlier – Robert Whitehead's torpedo.

Sixty-one years after *Holland VI* was christened, the US Navy launched USS *Skipjack*, the world's first submarine designed from the keel up for optimum underwater performance, and which incorporated hydrodynamic features from Holland's earlier designs -- the porpoise-shaped hull. As early as 1906, Holland predicted "that submerged speed equivalent to the torpedo is not beyond reach." [131] The submarine had truly come of age, thanks to the pioneering work of John P. Holland.

Morris' extensive research is well reflected in the finished product. His polished prose is more academic than entertaining, in keeping with the nature of the topic. The many photographs that grace the pages complement the text more effectively and provide a snapshot of Holland and his boats as well as the Holland Torpedo Boat Company. The appendices are detailed, well-organized, and provide valuable technical information about Holland's submarines. This book remains the standard biography of Holland, and its re-issue, some thirty years after it first appeared, attests to that fact. Its intangible value, however, is no less important; a new generation of naval historians will be able to purchase this important and groundbreaking work – a book long out of print. This is an excellent book, and is highly recommended as an addition to any naval collection.

Shawn Cafferky  
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I. D. Spassky and V. P. Semyonov (eds.), with Norman Polmar. *Submarines of the Tsarist Navy: A Pictorial History*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. 94 pp., maps, illustrations, photographs, tables, index. US \$42.50, Cdn \$61.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-771-6. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Jukka Eenilä, Marja Pelanne, Yrjö Kaukiainen, Henrik Rosenius (eds.); Juha Rouhiala (trans.). *Nautica Fennica 1998: The Maritime Museum of Finland Annual Report 1998*. Helsinki: The Maritime Museum of Finland, 1998. 89 pp, photographs, maps. FIM 80, paper; ISBN 951-616-030-1.

Though seemingly unrelated, these two books are actually on the same theme – ship performance in the north Baltic 1900-1920, mainly in the Imperial Russian Navy (IRN). The first is a pictorial account with many photos and designs of the disparate and not very successful sixty-nine submarines in the IRN when Russia went to war in August 1914 and their dismal fates after the Bolshevik Revolution began in 1917. The second, a small soft-cover offering from Finland's Maritime Museum, also with many photographs, is about the two famous Baltic Sea icebreakers, the *Tarmo* of Finland and *Suur Tõll* of Estonia which began operations under Imperial Russian naval administration, then were active in the fight for the independence of these two Baltic countries during 1918-1919.

*Tarmo*, built at Newcastle-upon-Tyne ninety-two years ago, is the well-preserved founder of Finland's contemporary icebreaker fleet which today, is the world's fourth largest after the Russian, Canadian, and American fleets. The German-built, eighty-five-old *Suur Tõll*, named for a mythological Estonian giant, was originally the Russian *Volynets* because Estonia was a Russian province prior to its first independence in 1919. In a curious twist of fate, the icebreaker reverted to her original Russian name *Volynets* after the Soviet reoccupation of Estonia in 1940, until that country's second proclamation of independence in 1990. Both ships were converted in 1951 from coal to oil, and continued to serve as active icebreakers into the 1960s. Unlike the mercifully long-gone IRN submarines, which like all pre-1914 boats in European navies were potential submerged death traps for brave crews, the two icebreakers are still around as maritime

museums – *Tarmo* in Kotka, *Suur Tõll* in Tallinn.

Neither author makes the point specifically that their books outline the beginnings of what would become two distinctive shipbuilding achievements by Russians and Finns during the late twentieth century: ballistic nuclear submarines (SSBNs) by the Russians and both conventionally and nuclear-powered icebreakers by the Finns. This omission by the authors is strange. Co-editor V.P. Semyonov of the first book is one of the designers of the giant Soviet "Typhoon" SSBN still in service as the largest submarine ever built. And by 1985, the former Oy Wärtsilä shipyard in Helsinki had become the world's largest designer and builder of conventional and nuclear-powered icebreakers.

It is true that in 1919, neither country could foresee dynamic futures for their indigenous naval and marine industries. Indeed, all the earlier IRN boats until about 1907 and the two icebreakers (as noted above) were built elsewhere – in the United States, England, Germany and Italy. Then, in 1911, the Russians built the 370-ton *Akula* on their own as a modern boat with a crew of thirty-four and eight torpedo tubes at the famous state-run Baltic Shipbuilding and Design Works in St. Petersburg. However, *Akula's* fate was dismal. In late 1915, she disappeared during an initial minelaying exercise against German shipping and warship routes between Libau and Memel. Nearly all the Imperial Russian Navy submarines suffered similar experiences, as can be seen from brief statements throughout the book on the fate of an entire class. For example, the *Som* (*Salmon*), one of the seven "Fish" class, was lost in 1916; four more were captured by the Germans at Reval in the spring of 1918; the last two were scuttled in 1919 by White Russian forces retreating from Sevastopol.

Both these small books are replete with what naval scholars and submarine buffs demand – plenty of contemporary photos and drawings to scale. The second book is filled with candid photos of icebreaker officers and crews and of Finnish independence leaders which *Tarmo* successfully smuggled into Helsinki in 1918. The many submarine design drawings, all taken from the Russian Naval State Archives, are clear enough. Sadly, nearly all the submarine photographs in this book are muddy and hard to see. This is unforgivable, given both its sub-title, *A Pictorial History*, and perhaps more importantly, given the ability of today's laser photocopyers to

reproduce photographs of great age such as these almost better than the originals.

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Phillips Payson O'Brien. *British and American Naval Power: Politics and Policy, 1900-1936*. Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 1998. x + 274 pp., appendices, bibliography, index. US \$59.95, cloth; ISBN 0-275-95898-1.

In considering apples and oranges, the conclusion often reached is that apples are apples and oranges are oranges. This is the unintended result of Phillips Payson O'Brien's comparative study of British and American naval power in the period from 1900 to 1936. This is ironic, for O'Brien's stated intention is to consider whether this period marked a gradual decline in British power, particularly naval power, *vis-à-vis* the United States (the orthodox view) or whether Britain was able to maintain her dominant naval position until World War II (the revisionist view), with the implication that these are linked matters. In my opinion, he does not achieve his goal. This is due to two flaws, one having to do with methodology and definition; the other resulting from O'Brien's choice of sources.

After defining naval policy as "mainly ... the debates and discussions surrounding the annual naval construction programs," [12] O'Brien divides his book into two sections: the period from 1900 to 1918 and the time from 1919 to 1936. The focus is on certain key issues. Before 1914, the British section examines the two-power standard and the 1909 budget while the American section considers Theodore Roosevelt's infatuation with things naval and the period of stagnation under Taft and Wilson. The second section considers the Paris peace conference and four naval arms limitation conferences: Washington (1922), Geneva (1927), London (1930) and London again (1935-36). O'Brien concludes that the Royal Navy did not have a gradual decline, that it remained a formidable force until World War II, when a series of events – the fall of Norway and France and the simultaneous belligerency of Germany, Italy, and Japan – made the task of maintaining command of the sea virtually impossible. He also shows that American naval power increased considerably from 1900 to 1939.

What are we to make of these conclusions?

The first is that there is very little demonstrable connection between them – that is, there was no causal link between the changes in British and American naval power. While American building programs (or threatened building programs) perhaps were occasioned (in 1916 and 1927) by British actions, America was only one factor (and, generally, a negligible one) in British planning. This stems from the fact that the two navies had completely different roles. The Royal Navy was an essential component of Britain's global empire and global trading position; the United States Navy had no similar function. And, O'Brien's definition of naval policy is simply inadequate. It not only fails to consider the substantial amounts of money used to provide the infrastructure of bases and supplies that supported a navy (and how different that was for Britain than it was for the United States), but also, and much more importantly, it does not reflect the fact that naval policy is inherently linked to foreign policy.

The book is based on an impressive array of private papers from both sides of the Atlantic, and a less satisfactory number of government departmental papers (in passing, O'Brien's footnotes are in need of rigorous editing; they utilize both an idiosyncratic and inconsistent style – volume numbers with respect to collections of private papers also would be nice). Although the unpublished Foreign Office papers appear in O'Brien's bibliography, there are fewer than ten footnotes that refer to them – the US State Department records are similarly underemployed. While the Admiralty and US Naval departmental records are utilized, O'Brien does not look at the Chiefs of Staff Committee (COS), where the narrow needs of the Admiralty had to be balanced against the requirements of the other service departments. Nor, despite their inclusion in the bibliography, does he make any real use of the papers of the CID, where the evaluations of the COS were considered in the context of the views of other departments of state (including the Treasury, whose files do not make any real appearance in the footnotes). In short, this book is the view from the Admiralty and the US General Board.

His secondary sources are erratic. There is no mention of the recent work of scholars such as N. Lambert, R. Williams, C. Bell, G. Kennedy, T. Kuramatsu and O. Babij, all of whose works would force O'Brien to re-think some of his ideas. And, works cited in the bibliography do not make an appearance in the footnotes where they might

be expected. Experts in the field will find nothing new in this book; non-experts should be counselled to avoid it and to rely on other work.

Keith Neilson  
Kingston, Ontario

George F. Gruner. *Blue Water Beat: The Two Lives of the Battleship USS California*. Palo Alto, CA: The Glencannon Press and The Associates of the San Francisco Maritime Museum Library, 1996. xvi + 300 pp., photographs, figures, notes, bibliography, index. US \$62, cloth; ISBN 1-889901-01-6.

Launched in 1919 at San Francisco Bay, the super-dreadnought *California* was the first and only capital ship ever built on the West Coast. George Gruner, a retired newspaperman, describes the political maneuvering that obtained the contract for the Mare Island Navy Yard, construction of the ship, and the ceremonies surrounding its launching and commissioning in great detail.

He devotes equal space to tracing the service of the ship, 1921 to 1941, during which time the *California's* prominence as a "state-of-the-art" warship was prolonged by the Washington Naval Treaty's fifteen-year ban on capital ship construction. By drawing upon the ship's records and newspaper accounts of port visits, Gruner captures the spirit of service in "The Prune Barge," as the *California* became known. For most of the era it served as flagship of the Battle Fleet in the Pacific while its men tested new ideas (such as replacing sailors' hammocks with bunks), cruised to Australia and New Zealand in 1925, participated in war games, assisted in earthquake relief in Southern California in 1933, and competed for gunnery and engineering prizes.

When World War II loomed, the *California* was readied for action by the modernization of fire control systems, the installation of additional anti-aircraft guns, and the augmentation of its crew. On 28 November 1941 it steamed into Pearl Harbor. Ten days later its first career, as a leader of the Battle Line, came to an end when Japanese torpedo and dive bombers sent it to the bottom of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. Salvaged and reconstructed for gunfire support and anti-aircraft protection, the *California* reentered service in January 1944 as virtually a new vessel.

When the *California* reached Hawaii, it joined a war being fought by fleets formed around

aircraft carriers, not battleships, and one of amphibious operations on a scale far greater than anyone imagined only a few years before. It was through amphibious warfare that *California* struck back at the Japanese. During the invasions of Saipan, Guam, and Tinian in the Marianas Islands and Leyte and Lingayen Gulf in the Philippines, the *California* steamed along the coast with the Fire Support Force, its 14-inch guns pounding major targets while its 5-inch guns supported forces landing on the beaches.

*California's* one great surface action was in the Battle of Surigao Strait. Gruner's account of its role in the engagement is balanced. In other incidents, some readers will judge him overly kind to those involved, e.g., to the officers on duty at the time of *California's* collision with the *Tennessee* and those on the destroyer *Kimberley* when its gunfire struck *California* killing or wounding several men.

*California* sailed to Puget Sound to repair damage suffered from kamikazes during operations in the Philippines in early 1945, but returned to the war zone in time to shell Okinawa and cruise the East China Sea before peace came on 10 August 1945. On 15 October the *California* left Japan sailing for home arriving via the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. It arrived to a hero's welcome at Philadelphia on the fourth anniversary of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Decommissioned in 1947, the *California* was sold for scrap in 1959.

Well-chosen illustrations and extracts from contemporary documents (formed in "Memory Logs" at the end of each chapter) contribute to making this a near model for a ship's history. Readers with no connection to the vessel can read it for entertainment and profit.

James C. Bradford  
Bryan, Texas

H.T. Lenton. *British and Empire Warships of the Second World War*. London: Greenhill Books and Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. 766 pp., photographs, tables, figures, appendices, index. £100, US \$125, cloth; ISBN 1-85367-277-7 (Greenhill), 1-55750-048-7 (NIP). NIP books distributed in Canada by Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, Ontario.

It was with a great deal of excitement that I opened the package – as the dust jacket says, "this book catalogues in encyclopaedic detail, the

navies of Great Britain and what was its empire." It is indeed an impressive volume – weighing in at just under 3 kg! – and includes every one of His Majesty's Vessels, from battleships down to small harbour defence motor launches. It is clearly the product of years of research by a historian with a reputation for detail. The tremendous amount of work that went into this volume deserves recognition, and I wish that I could give it an unqualified recommendation, but sadly, I cannot; despite its undoubted usefulness, even a cursory skim through the book turns up errors.

There is much to admire in this book. Every ship in the Commonwealth Navies during World War II is listed: 20,000 ships, according to the dust jacket, and I certainly do not doubt it. The listings are arranged by type and class, each with its own worthwhile introductory section. Noteworthy examples include the entry describing the origins of the *Dido* class of light cruiser, mentioning the influence of anti-aircraft ammunition supply on operation, and the barbed comments ("they made up in complexity and cost what they lacked in length") in the discussion of the J-class of destroyers. [166] Legend details for each class include the usual dimensions as well as armament, complement, and fuel capacity *cum* radius of action. The pendant number, name, builder, engine manufacturer, dates laid down, launched, completed, and final fate for each ship is provided. There are many photographs, of varying levels of detail, too often undated.

In addition, there are supplementary particulars such as the lists of embarked aircraft (by squadron) for each carrier and the aircraft used by each Fleet Air Arm squadron; the description of pre-war destroyer funnel markings; and the lists of asdic (ie sonar) sets fitted in *some* subclasses of vessel. This is an immense compendium of data, and should be invaluable to the researcher.

Unfortunately, there are errors – many of a very basic nature. Examples: the caption for HM S/M *M3* [205] has confused the submarine's bow and stern, and even states that the White Ensign is being flown on the jackstaff; Lenton is wrong when he has *Royal Oak* without her torpedo tubes when sunk in 1939 [17-18]; *Vanguard's* completion date was 25 April 1946, not 1948 [31]; the text describes HMS *Express* as an "early war loss" [157] but the table correctly shows her as being transferred to the RCN as HMCS *Gatineau*; many of the Canadian *Bangor* class minesweepers kept their 4-inch gun [254]; some of the dates

(and sites) of the breaking up of Canadian corvettes are in error [276-277] – *Bittersweet* and *Mayflower* being quickly found examples; and the information for HMC Corvettes *Kitchener* and *Vancouver* is muddled. [280] No distinction is made between ships simply manned by other Commonwealth sailors (such as the former USN "4-piper" destroyers *Chelsea* and *Leamington*) while remaining RN ships *vice* those commissioned directly into other navies, such as HMCS *Niagara*. All are simply listed as "RCN" – and this information is absent for HMS *Nabob*, unlike her sister HMS *Puncher*.

Other data are missing that should have been present, final disposal dates in particular, even for such large ships as the cruisers *Nigeria* and *Ceylon*. There is an extensive list of pendant numbers in the appendices, but all of the Flag K superior entries are missing – though entries in the index suggest this was a typesetting error. The tables which show details of building and fates are at best confusing if a ship served in multiple roles – for example, HMCS *Prince David* and *Henry* first show up as armed merchant cruisers with the entry "RCN, LSI(M) (1943)" under the "fate" column. [79] In the "Landing Ships Infantry" table [443] there is no indication of their former role – just their return to mercantile service – and no mention of their final demise.

An obvious comparison is with Lenton's earlier works, such as *Warships of World War II*, co-authored with J.J. Colledge. Much more introductory material has been added, and some tabular information converted to text and expanded. The addition of an index in which each ship is listed is a major ease-of-use improvement. More vessels are listed, and some (but not all) information has been updated. Yes, *British and Empire Warships* is better. But only just.

This book should be "the definitive work on the subject" as claimed by the jacket. It would be, if it weren't marred by so many errors and omissions. The price alone means that it is targeted at the serious researcher. However, although the vast majority of the information is correct, I've found mistakes enough so that I can't trust anything without double-checking with other sources. For my purposes, that means that the book is almost useless. Don't buy it yourself – borrow a copy through your library.

William Schleihauf  
Pierrefonds, Québec

Kenneth Wynn. *U-Boat Operations of the Second World War, Volume 1: Career Histories, U1 - U510*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. vi + 362 pp., appendices, maps. US \$45, Cdn \$62.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-860-7. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Axel Niestlé. *German U-Boat Losses During World War II: Details of Destruction*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. viii + 304 pp., tables, maps, indices. US \$27.95, Cdn \$40.50, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-641-8. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

Peter Sharpe. *U-Boat Fact File: Detailed Service Histories of the Submarines Operated by the Kriegsmarine 1935-1945*. Earl Shilton, Leics: Midland Publishing Group, 1998 [orders to: Midland Counties Publications, Unit 3, Maizefield, Hinckley, Leics. LE10 2EG, England tel.: +44 1455 233 747; fax: +44 1455 233 737; e-mail: midlandbooks@compuserve.com]. 224 pp., photographs, figures, maps, tables. £16.95 (+15% p&h for overseas orders), paper; ISBN 1-85780-072-9.

Victory in the grueling Atlantic campaign was pivotal to the success of Allied strategy during World War II. While much has already been published about U-boats, these three new titles are in fact reference books and each is timely and welcome. Predictably, many facts are duplicated among the three works. Nevertheless, each has its own particular focus and strength.

The two volumes of Kenneth Wynn's *U-boat Operations of the Second World War* contain meticulous histories of all German submarines in commission during the war. Each operational patrol is summarized in a succinct but comprehensive narrative. The entry for each boat identifies its builder, commanding officers, and ultimate fate. Even the *Feldpost* number of every boat is shown and cross-referenced in a separate appendix "for those interested in the postal history of the Kriegsmarine." Useful appendices with more obvious appeal give complete listings of commanding officers, the names and compositions of U-boat operating groups, allied warships and merchant ships sunk, as well as the warships, auxiliaries, merchant ships and allied aircraft mentioned in the text. In addition there are computer-generated maps showing operating

areas which show geographic names but, disappointingly, not distances, nor great circle and convoy routes, etc. Nevertheless, the volumes contain a wealth of reliable detail, and the superb narratives lie at the heart of both. These provide a context for each patrol as well as a brief sketch of what happened; sinkings and torpedoings are included. Because these narratives are crafted to put across material in an easily grasped manner, they avoid the mind-numbing quality that all too often seems to characterize other authors' descriptions of convoy battles.

Ken Wynn is a retired British mechanical engineer who earlier published research on the Battle of Britain. He wrote your reviewer that he "thrives on long-term projects, involving detailed research and much cross-referencing." *U-boat Operations* is the result of years of careful compilation and is based on material in archives in the UK, Germany, the US and Canada. The author also received assistance from the renowned Doctors Niestlé and Rohwer in Germany who have made study of U-boat activities their lifetime work, the U-Boat Archive at Altenbruch plus other sources. Apart from Michael Hadley's *U-Boats Against Canada* there are no Canadian published works shown as secondary sources. This is unfortunate because otherwise the context for several narratives might have been given further depth.

Dr. Axel Niestlé, a geographer by background, has for decades made a study of U-boats a consuming interest. His research is based on archival sources in several countries including Canada, correspondence with other experts in the field and exhaustive personal archives of U-boat records. *German U-boat Losses* is a complete and painstaking listing of each loss. According to the book 648 boats were lost during operations (it is significant that one third occurred during first patrols). U-boat Command was unable to gain precise information about the date or cause of loss of more than 60 percent of these boats. Particulars about individual losses therefore initially depended largely on the meticulous assessments of attacks made during the war by the Admiralty and the US Navy's COMINCH. During the decades since 1945 individual assessments have been checked and have been revised in many cases. Reassessments by the Naval Historical Branch of the UK Ministry of Defence as well as Dr. Niestlé's own research is reflected in his book. The author and the Naval Historical Branch

cooperated and reached identical conclusions in several instances. Other updated assessments are based on the Niestlé's work alone. His aim has been to ensure that as far as possible causes of loss are backed by factual evidence. Unless convinced the author tends to apply the Scots verdict of "not proven". He therefore shows seventy-two boats lost to unknown causes while on operations, whereas the postwar total published by Captain Roskill in 1961 was twenty-nine. The reassessment process has also revised the total losses ascribed to shore-based aircraft downwards from 246 (Roskill) to 204..

In each case Dr. Niestlé provides a note to support his revisions. For the most part these are informative. One update concerns U-484, lost west of Scotland on 9 September 1944. After studying the evidence the author decided in 1994 that this boat was destroyed by two British warships, not HMC ships *Dunver* and *Hespeler* as had earlier been assessed.

*German U-Boat Losses* is organised by class of U-boat. Unfortunately there is no overall index (all boats commissioned or ordered are covered). There is a chronological list of boat numbers by class but the reader then has to hunt through the book for the type involved and chapters are not identified at the top of each page. There are several useful appendices and indices, including maps showing where each boat was lost. There are lists of U-boat and allied warship and aircraft commanding officers. Both Kenneth Wynn and Axel Niestlé thus provide allied warship COs and this useful feature sets these two references apart from others that show only aircraft COs. Finally, there is a table showing U-boat losses by cause for each month of the war.

Peter Sharpe's *U-Boat Fact File* is a model of compression. There is an entry for each boat commissioned. These give type, builder, building dates, the commanding officer's name and crew (naval entry year) plus basic data about his career in submarines, flotillas to which the boat was assigned, patrols, vessels attacked and final fate. Appendices cover U-boat types (brief descriptions of each are accompanied by outline drawings), U-boat flotillas and their bases, submariners who won the Knights' Cross, refuelling operations by U-boats, the naval quadrant system used to signal positions, and boats ordered but not completed. Peter Sharpe has been at sea in the merchant navy and is apparently a U-boat enthusiast. He apparently consulted the Naval Historical Branch in

London, individuals in the UK and several former German submariners. He compiled the book over a fifteen-year period. There is no bibliography so the reader is left to infer, for example, that the lists of sinkings are based on Dr. Rohwer's *Axis Submarine Successes* (1983). When showing losses this book is eccentric in including the names of the commanding officers of allied aircraft but not of warships.

In summary, Kenneth Wynn's *U-Boat Operations* can be recommended as a ready and reliable fund of information about individual patrols of every operational boat. Dr. Axel Niestlé's *German U-Boat Losses* is an exhaustive study of the fates of all German wartime submarines and provides the result of reassessments over the decades since the war. Both of these books are based on painstaking research and are in a class by themselves. Finally, Peter Sharpe's *U-Boat Fact File* contains a wealth of data in only 217 pages.

Jan Drent  
Victoria, British Columbia

Marc Milner. *Incident at North Point*. St. Catharines, ON: Vanwell Publishing, 1998. 234 pp., map. \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55125-011-X.

Historians "have no business recreating events," and should not write novels. That, at least, was the judgement of a recent reviewer in this journal (*TNM/LMN*, VIII, No. 2, 123). He took exception to two historians who, though they had indeed produced "a cracking good read," had to his mind not been communicating the truth about a high seas battle between a Canadian destroyer and a German submarine. Hence the warning to others to back off. The critic's stance was curious, for it echoed literary debates begun and settled almost 250 years ago both in Britain and on the European continent about the limits of history and novel. Around the mid-eighteenth century history was understood as "true facts," and was largely in chronicle form. The novel, a successor to the Romance, was deemed to deal in fantasy, adventure and wanton chambering until – in the British case – it emerged as a fictional account of potentially real conditions and people. By the 1790s, when interest had turned to matters of circumstantial evidence and psychology, the historical novel was an established genre. Thus *TNM*'s critic was at least two hundred years out of

date. Still, the shift from "fact" to "fiction" presents a major challenge to the educated imagination.

Noted naval historian Marc Milner now enters the lists with an intriguing tale that attempts to unravel a mystery that neither historians nor maritime investigators have solved. The *Diver's Guide to Prince Edward Island* catalogues the wreck of a German U-boat on the ocean floor off North Point. Side-scan sonar and echo-sounding seem to confirm a submarine's presence. Naval historians say it simply cannot be a German or Allied sub. Others say it could not even be a sub at all. But a lighthouse-keeper had scribbled in his log on 7 May 1943 that he had in fact witnessed a battle in which a corvette sank a U-boat. No other record of the event survives anywhere – except in the memory of a naval officer who insisted to his dying day that Canadian ships had indeed sunk a German sub at that place and time. Yet we historians know that this was impossible. In the years since this seabed anomaly first came to light, nautical buffs have brain-stormed and speculated. If Canadians had in fact sunk a German submarine in 1943, why would they not have broken the sensational news? After all, the prime minister was craving hot news about Canadian successes in home waters. For the historical novelist, 1943 offers an exquisite seedbed for intrigue: the turning-point of the Atlantic war, inter-service rivalries, tensions in domestic politics, personal ambitions, and the impassioned Anglo-American wrangling over the future of France. "So if something was sunk off North Point [PEI]," Milner insists, in an historian's epilogue, "it had to be something that could not then, and perhaps not even now, be revealed." [233] The only "fact" remains: whatever is down there looks like a submarine.

Milner brings a firm grasp of history to bear on his subject. But he also reflects the inventive mind-set of the sleuth, which I suspect motivates most archival researchers. It is Milner the sleuth who leads us into the undocumentable realms of circumstantial evidence and psychology. Taking vital strands in hand, he weaves a reality that historical fiction alone can provide. Here "real" figures of history come alive in astonishing ways.

The tale is an entertaining read despite the short-comings of the first-time novel; for instance, the very difficult narrative techniques of dialogue and characterization need polishing. Yet his descriptions of storms, seas and atmospherics, are

arresting, and his plot – full of skulduggery and deception – is wicked. "Whodunnit?" Certainly not the butler.

Michael L. Hadley  
Victoria, British Columbia

George E. Melton. *Darlan: Admiral and Statesman of France, 1881-1942*. Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 1998. ix + 250 pp., photographs, note on sources, index. US \$55, cloth; ISBN 0-275-95973-2.

Any study dealing with the Vichy or one of the regime's leading figures is bound to be controversial. George E. Melton's biography of Darlan is no exception. He argues that Darlan was a patriot who, in the wake of the 1940 catastrophe, tried to protect the fleet and the empire and sought to reach a political accord with Germany. Like Quisling of Norway and Tiso of Slovakia, Darlan sought to integrate a sovereign France into a German-dominated European system. Whether Darlan or deGaulle pursued the proper course for France is a political and moral issue beyond the scope of historical inquiry.

Melton's biography is well written and well researched. It provides a wealth of information concerning Darlan's life and policies. Unlike most French naval officers who were Catholic and Royalist, Darlan was raised in a Radical-Socialist milieu. Prior to 1940 he was quite comfortable serving left-of-centre governments including the socialist-led Popular Front.

During World War I Darlan served on the Western Front, commanding dismounted naval guns that supported the army at Verdun and other major engagements. After 1919, his career advanced steadily as tours at sea alternated with service at the Ministry of Marine. Faced with Italian and German aggression he initially took a hard line and called for closer relations with the Royal Navy. In 1939, however, he had little zeal to fight the Axis and argued that France and Britain should leave Germany free to expand to the east.

As commander of the Navy in 1939-40 Darlan pursued what the author admits was a bizarre strategy. He advocated attacks against the Soviet Union as if France did not already have enough enemies. After the disastrous campaign of May and June 1940, Darlan initially favoured continuing resistance from French Africa, but

when the government asked for an armistice he, like the vast majority of officers, accepted the decision. His primary concern at this time was to make sure that the empire and fleet remained in French hands.

Although he had no patience for Vichy's National Revolution Darlan served the regime as head of the armed forces and briefly as head of the government (Pétain remained head of state) Darlan followed a consistent policy of defending the empire and collaboration with Germany to avoid Axis encroachments and to try to mitigate the rigors of the armistice. Ultimately Darlan hoped to transform collaboration into a genuine political detente with the Third Reich. In return for the restoration of French sovereignty over all of Metropolitan France except for Alsace and Lorraine France would become a German ally in the war against Britain and the USSR. In pursuit of collaboration and detente Vichy fought against the British and Free French in West Africa and Syria, allowed the Germans to use bases in Syria and permitted the transit through Tunisia of war equipment for use by Axis forces in the Western desert.

With the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942 Darlan asserted falsely that he was acting in Pétain's name and halted resistance to Anglo-American forces in Morocco and Algeria. He emerged as the ruler of Algeria and a *de facto* American ally until his murder in the following month.

Whether or not one agrees with the author's view of Darlan as a French patriot, Melton does demonstrate that his policies did not differ from the majority of the French officer corps nor did his approach differ substantially from that of Pierre Laval or for that matter Marshal Pétain. Darlan's differences with Laval were really based on matters of degree rather than substance.

Whatever one's judgement of Darlan, Melton provides ample evidence upon which to base a judgement. One problem with the book is the absence of a detailed bibliography. Chapter endnotes are detailed, while the note on archival sources is useful, but a more detailed bibliography would have been preferable. This minor point aside, Melton has presented an important study of Darlan and the regime he served.

Stephen Ross  
Newport, Rhode Island

Donald J. Young. *First Twenty-Four Hours of War in the Pacific*. Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1998. x + 178 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 1-57249-079-9.

In 1995 the noted and extraordinarily prolific British historian Martin Gilbert, best known for his thorough and dazzling multi-volume biography of Winston Churchill, issued *The Day the War Ended: VE-Day 1945 in Europe and Around the World*. Making extensive use of primary and secondary sources from a wide variety of nationalities, senior civilian and military officials, far more humble servicepeople, and children, as well as many interesting photographs, Gilbert was able to produce a fascinating account of the last day of World War II in Europe.

Donald Y. Young, an American historian, attempts to emulate that success with his account of the first day of the war in the Pacific in December 1941. Taking his cue from President Roosevelt's list of western outposts targeted by Japanese forces on that "day that will live in infamy," Young seeks to convey the sense of shock and disbelief that Japan's sudden and startlingly successful offensive inflicted upon the allies. Unfortunately, Young is not altogether successful. First, unlike Gilbert, Young relies exclusively on secondary sources and thus provides little new information to the reader. Moreover, while Gilbert used sources from a variety of nations, Young concentrates mainly on British and American accounts. There are no Chinese, Australian, or New Zealand viewpoints represented – let alone any stories from Malaysians, Indonesians, or any colonial peoples in the region – and while Canadian troops accounted for a substantial portion of Hong Kong's ill-fated garrison, those troops are mentioned only just and then only in passing. Indeed, Young has nothing to say how the war's onset affected North America's civilian population, especially the increasingly panicked American and Canadian west coast polities. Also lacking is a sense of context which would give meaning to the experiences Young relates.

A number of errors also mar the book. Young's monograph certainly would have benefited from a good editor given the numerous grammatical errors and needless repetition, while a tendency to employ short paragraphs prevents Young's writing from flowing. The author also makes some serious factual mistakes. For exam-

ple, he claims that British Prime Minister Winston Churchill asserted in November 1941 that "If Japan goes to war with us, there is not the slightest chance of holding Hong Kong." [46] Churchill did utter those words, but several months earlier, on 7 January 1941, at a time when Britain faced a possible war with Japan with no guarantee or even reasonable prospect of American aid. By September 1941, and reasonably certain that Roosevelt would not stand idly by if Japan attacked Britain's far eastern interests, Churchill approved the reinforcement of Hong Kong, hoping this would help deter Japan from additional aggressions. Canadians will also note that Young asserts that the Netherlands was the first country to declare war on Japan on 7 December, and "the only country to do it prior to being attacked." [136] This is only half right. Canada's declaration of war followed that of the Dutch by hours, and Canada too had not been attacked.

In 1995 Gilbert set a very high standard with his articulate and perceptive description of the war's last day in Europe. Unfortunately for Donald Young, that standard has proven to be too high to hurdle.

Galen Roger Perras  
Calgary, Alberta

William L. McGee. *Bluejacket Odyssey, 1942-1946: Guadalcanal to Bikini: Naval Armed Guard in the Pacific*. Palo Alto, CA: Glencannon Press, 1997. xxii + 518 pp., photographs, maps, sidebars, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$35, cloth; ISBN 1-889901-05-9.

William L. McGee's *Bluejacket Odyssey* is several books in one: a general account of his life up to 1942; a wartime memoir; and a capsule history of the Pacific War. The first two chapters relate his life in rural Montana in the 1920s and '30s and also recount his journeys to California and other states. His account of adolescence during the Great Depression will strike a chord in the memory of many a reader.

For a year after the attack on Pearl Harbor, McGee worked in various shipyards on the US Pacific Coast. But like millions of other Americans in 1942, he attempted to enlist. His first choice was the US Marine Corps, but he was rejected on medical grounds. The US Navy accepted him for service and fixed the medical problem. He volunteered for service in one of the

most hazardous but least-remembered branches of the US Navy – the Naval Armed Guard, which provided the gun crews for armed merchantmen.

The remainder of the book is McGee's account of his wartime service. He candidly recounts *all* aspects of his service years: training in such frigid climes as Farragut, Idaho, visits to tattoo parlors, brief sexual encounters so typical of wartime, deployments to far-off bases, combat, and the late-war threat of Japanese kamikaze attacks. McGee survived the war and was even an observer of the atomic tests at Bikini Atoll in 1946. Interspersed throughout the narrative are "sidebar" articles that define terms, illustrate aircraft and ships, and explain the military campaigns, the fate of ships mentioned in the narrative, and the Bikini Atoll tests. To distinguish them from the narrative, they are presented on a light grey background. Oddly, the Bikini Test "sidebars" are written by other authors. McGee also presents a chronology of events of the Pacific War with his narrative.

What can be learned from this book? It is truly a mixed verdict. McGee certainly does the history world a service by writing about the Naval Armed Guard. This is a little-known branch of the World War II US military, and the appendices serve as a resource for Naval Armed Guard veterans – a summary of the wartime activities of the US Merchant Marine, an article by another author on the Navy Armed Guard, the vessels that were Bikini targets, and a list of associations and government agencies that may be of assistance to Merchant Marine and Naval Armed Guard veterans. Some of the associations and agencies listed therein may well be helpful to a scholar in this field. Also, McGee often ties up a loose end – the eventual fate of the ships mentioned in the book. Often in footnotes McGee states when the vessel was decommissioned and scrapped. It is a nice touch all too often overlooked by other writers on maritime matters.

McGee's book also serves as a starting point for those who wish to learn about the Naval Armed Guard. It is well-written and the author's love for the subject clearly shines through. However, it is not without its flaws. First, the photographs exhibit uneven quality of reproduction – some look as if they were properly printed, while others seem as if they were run through a photocopier or scanner and then printed in the book. Moreover, the grey background used in the sidebars is uneven; some are darker than others.

This can be distract the reader. Finally, the sidebars of chronological matter, together with the sidebar material itself, chops up the narrative and causes disjointedness.

The book then, is a mixed bag; it is not a scholarly work, though scholars will find value in it. It is not an overall history of the Pacific War, though historical narrative can be found in it for a reader unfamiliar with the subject. Subject to these comments, McGee's *Bluejacket Odyssey* can be recommended.

Robert L. Shoop  
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Louis R. Harlan. *All at Sea: Coming of Age in World War II*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. xiii + 211 pp., photographs. US \$24.95, cloth; ISBN 0-252-022332-7.

Among the many World War II memoirs that crowd our library shelves, Louis Harlan's account stands out for its honesty and perception. The author, a prize-winning historian noted for his scholarship on Booker T. Washington, was a young college graduate when he became a reserve officer in the US Navy early in 1944. In *All at Sea* Harlan recounts his naval experience over the next two years. More fundamentally, the author depicts his outlook as he grew into adulthood. Harlan places that development in perspective by noting that for his generation as a whole the war was an integral part of its "passage from adolescence to manhood." [2] In Harlan's opinion, this is an underlying reason for his generation's belief that World War II was a "good war."

As the title of this book suggests, Harlan joined an amateur Navy composed for the most part of men such as himself who had no seagoing experience and only limited training. Specifically, he became part of the Navy's amphibious forces when he was assigned to LCI(L) 555, a 159-foot landing craft designed to land troops over the beach. But within slightly more than three months after a very green crew reported to that vessel, Harlan's ship crossed the Atlantic and successfully landed infantrymen on the hotly contested Omaha Beach during the first day of the Normandy campaign. Later in 1944, LCI(L) 555 participated in the invasion of Southern France. By the summer of 1945 Harlan and his ship were in the Western Pacific preparing for the dreaded assault on the Japanese homeland. He and his

shipmates felt no moral qualms when they heard that nuclear weapons were dropped on Japan in August 1945. But the end of hostilities soon thereafter did not mean that LCI(L) 555 could return home immediately. Instead, in November 1945, the ship assisted in redeploying Chinese Nationalist troops from Vietnam to North China. That operation had considerable political significance since it led the French to seek to reestablish their colonial authority in northern Indochina.

Professor Harlan offers intriguing insights regarding his generation's outlook during this period. Although the author is a noted authority on Afro-American history, he does not conceal the racist attitudes that he and his shipmates harboured during the World War II era. He frankly discusses his romantic relationship with a number of women and the role they played in Harlan's maturation. This material reveals that several of Harlan's women had an independence and strength that may surprise those who believe that feminism began in the 1960s. Another striking feature of this book is the author's discussion of the gap between the home front and the fighting forces. Harlan echoes the observations of veterans of other wars in noting that civilians failed to comprehend the awful reality of combat.

Louis Harlan recalls with considerable disdain the Navy's red tape and the sea service's other peculiar habits. Nevertheless, the author expresses quiet pride in the ability of his ship to perform its mission. He is contemptuous of shipmates who did not do their jobs. And, in a passage that may not be popular in politically correct circles, Harlan admits that after he took off his uniform in 1946 he recognized how much he had depended, during a critical transitional period of his life, on the "ordered, hierarchical social structure of the Navy," and the "fixed status and fixed responsibilities" he enjoyed as an officer. [ 189]

As an historian Harlan is well aware that memory can be a treacherous source. Fortunately, he is able to base much of his book upon contemporary letters, diaries, and logs. The result is a moving addition to the literature on World War II. *All at Sea* will be read with profit by anyone interested in naval history, in World War II, or in the strange condition that we call war.

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Rodney P. Carlisle. *The Relationship of Science and Technology; A Bibliographic Guide*. Washington, DC: Navy Laboratory/Center Coordinating Group, Naval Historical Center, 1997. x + 85 pp. US \$5.50, paper; ISBN 0-945274-38-6, GPO stock number 008-046-00185-5. [For any of these books, order from: Superintendent of Documents, PO Box 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954 (fax: 202-512-2250; tel: 202-512-1800). Cheques payable to Superintendent of Documents.]

Rodney P. Carlisle. *Management of the U.S. Navy Research and Development Centers During the Cold War; A Survey Guide to Reports*. Washington, DC: Navy Laboratory/Center Coordinating Group, Naval Historical Center, 1996. xvii + 119 pp., photographs, abbreviations, notes, management reports, index. US \$8.50 (+ 25% for international orders), paper; no ISBN, GPO stock number 008-046-00176-6.

Rodney P. Carlisle. *Navy RDT&E Planning in an Age of Transition; A Survey Guide to Contemporary Literature*. Washington, DC: Navy Laboratory/Center Coordinating Group, Naval Historical Center, 1997. ix + 111 pp., photographs, chronology, notes, bibliography, index. US \$7 (+ 25% for international orders), paper; ISBN 0-945274-37-8, GPO stock number 008-046-00184-7.

Navies have always been technically oriented; one cannot, after all, have a naval service without ships (though Canada has come rather close on occasion). Three books by Rodney P. Carlisle discuss such technological issues, mainly as they apply to the post-war period. Since each work stands on its own, they will be taken in turn, though together they form a coherent whole.

The first, *The Relationship of Science and Technology*, is more than a bibliographic guide, notwithstanding its sub-title. Part I is in fact a forty-two-page discussion of such issues as the rise of "Big Science" during World War II and whether funding should focus on basic research (scientists) or development (engineers). It also includes a chapter on science and technology in Japanese industry. Canadian readers should be warned that Part II, an annotated bibliography, does not deal with such Canadian monographs as J. Rodney Millard's *Master Spirit of the Age*. It is nonetheless a useful source for anyone who is just beginning to study the history of science and technology, or who wishes to bring such knowl-

edge up to date.

Carlisle's second book, *Management of the U.S. Navy Research and Development Centers During the Cold War*, is also more than just a guide, for it, too, provides much in the way of historical perspective. As it discusses issues pertaining to navy research, it provides a wealth of detail on the myriad changes in organization that accompanied such discussions among policy makers. The book also delves into such matters as pay and promotion for scientists, how research was carried out in a bilinear navy (where operations are separate from technical and administrative issues), and the harmful effects of personnel quotas (as opposed to using budgets as a fiscal control measure).

*Navy RDT&E Planning in an Age of Transition* narrows the focus even further. Here, Carlisle discusses research, development, test and evaluation issues. The book therefore traces out an important theme – the impact of post-war demobilization on research and development. An introductory chapter retraces events following the two world wars. The focus then moves to the Cold War, with particular attention to the period from 1986 to the early 1990s. Once the Soviet-US confrontation came to an end, the US Navy faced different and not necessarily complementary operational scenarios, notably limited intensity warfare and high intensity regional conflicts. This meant that demobilization after the Cold War followed a different path from that after the two world wars, though admittedly the story is not over yet.

Whether one uses them separately or takes them as a group, these three books will be very useful both to students of science and technology and students of the post-war US Navy, not only as guides to sources but as historical narratives.

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David McLean and Antony Preston (eds.). *Warship 1996*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1996 and Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 224 pp., figures, photographs, illustrations, tables, reviews, naval year in review, gallery, index. £26, US \$42.95, cloth; ISBN 0-85177-685-X. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

This annual volume, issued for 1996, is the twen-

tieth in a series designed to allow publication of scholarly papers on a wide range of naval subjects "by established and recognised authors" as the dust-jacket blurb phrases it. This means that not every article will be of great interest to all readers, nor can a reviewer necessarily assess critically every article. But the publication serves as a valuable tool to allow carefully researched and written articles on a broad range of naval subjects to be placed in the public – and accessible – market. Additionally there are brief sections devoted to book reviews, warship notes and current events, and a new five-page photographic gallery section.

This volume contains eleven feature articles, ranging from Swedish armoured coastal defence ships of the 1861 to 1901 period and the consequences of the English-French *Entente Cordiale* of 1865 to a careful description and analysis of the Royal Navy's proposed heavy cruiser of 1944. This reviewer found much of interest and new material in a long article on German minesweepers of World War II. These ships and actions are usually accorded only abbreviated treatment, even though they absorbed a major portion of German naval personnel and operational planning, and apart from minesweeping duties, were used, as were the Allied *Algerines* and *Bangors*, for escort and convoy defence with considerable success. There was a similar article in *Warship 1995* on German naval auxiliaries, both articles touching on Canadian destroyer battles in the Channel with the 10th DF.

The world-wide naval sphere is covered well by interesting articles that are certain to appeal to some readers in each field: one on the last voyage of the giant Japanese submarine *I-52* in mid-1944, the boat disappearing in mid-Atlantic on the way to Germany with vital supplies (and including a useful table of all twelve of these Japanese submarine voyages undertaken, their cargoes and fates); another on the Royal Navy's perception of lessons learned from the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War concerning the use of speed, guns, shells and fuses, gunfire options, fire and damage control, etc.; still another on the development of cruisers for the newly-emergent Chinese Navy of the 1880s from initial gunboat orders in Germany, the article including a compact summary of the Franco-Chinese and Chinese-Japanese wars of 1884 and 1894 which will be useful for those who are only vaguely aware of these brief struggles. There is a very detailed article, mostly drawn

from eye-witness accounts, of the loss of the battleship *Queen Mary* at Jutland, accompanied by extensive drawings of the ship's layout, armour placement and photographs. There is an interesting (to naval gunnery experts!) article on Admiral Sir Percy Scott's development of battleship gunnery directors. He encountered much resistance by the Admiralty and even his contemporaries to their adoption. The point John Brooks makes is that while they were eventually surpassed by later developments, and their adoption hindered by the splenic Scott (who is probably best known for his righteous but unfortunate arguments with his Chief, Admiral "Charlie B" Beresford), they were a major step forward from the abysmal results of the RN's long range gunnery in the pre-1914 period, as proven by the losses at Jutland.

The list of articles is completed by one on E-Boat operations in the Western Channel in 1942-44, small boat actions that were a serious thorn in the side of the Royal Navy, and culminating in the disastrous raid on a training convoy that was occupied in Exercise Tiger in late April 1944. E-Boats from Cherbourg sank two American LSTs and damaged another with the loss of some 749 troops. These E-Boats were considerably faster, by about five knots, and, with diesel engines, far less subject to fire than their Allied counterpart MTBs and PT boats. They were a major inshore fighting problem right to the war's end.

Altogether this is an interesting and valuable volume, as every volume in the series has been, filling in details missing from the more general histories for these periods.

Fraser M. McKee  
Markdale, Ontario

Roy A. Grossnick, with contributions from William J. Armstrong, *et al.* *United States Naval Aviation 1910-1995*. 4th ed.; Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1997 [order from: Superintendent of Documents, PO Box 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954. (fax: 202-512-2250; phone: 202-512-1800). Cheques payable to Superintendent of Documents]. xxii + 811 pp., glossary, photographs, appendices, tables, index. US \$73 (+ 25% for international orders), cloth; ISBN 0-16-049124-X; GPO stock number 008-046-00177-4.

From its splendid dust jacket art depicting the

NC-4 on its trans-Atlantic flight in 1919 to the last of its thirty-four appendices, this is a magnificent chronicle of the history of aviation in the United States Navy. The aim of the team which assembled the book was to give readers a factual chronology of events and developments, be they administrative, technical or operational, which shaped naval air during the course of this century. In addition, in the comprehensive appendices they have provided data in abundance which respond to the requests for information most frequently directed to the Naval Historical Center.

The chronological treatment is dealt with in twelve sections, each prefaced with a short overview, starting with the 1896-1916 period and ending with the half decade 1991-1995. More space is devoted to the 1940-1945, 1960-1969 and 1970-1980 periods though each other decade is treated very thoroughly in its own right.

The description of each period includes technical matters such as the introduction of new materials in the construction of aircraft, administrative changes which affect the deployment, command and control of naval air assets, and operational details. Each section is copiously illustrated with a good selection of photographs, some well known, others not. Unfortunately the reproduction of the photographs suffers and they are not of the standard which the book merits. On the positive side, negative references are supplied for each image, something that not all publishers remember to do.

While the chronology is in itself an excellent contribution to an understanding of the evolution of aviation in the US Navy, it is the appendices which add real value to this work. Occupying some 375 pages, they cover a vast range of topics and provide excellent levels of detail on such subjects as: "The History of Naval Aviator and Naval Aviation Pilot Designations and Numbers;" "Training of Naval Aviators and the Number Trained (Designated);" "Aviation Commands;" "Aviation Ships" (which details every ship in commission ever to operate, repair or service naval aircraft); "Aircraft on Hand" for each year from 1911 to 1993; "Aircraft Designations and Popular Names;" "Bureau (Serial) Numbers of Naval Aircraft and U.S. Navy and Marine Corps Squadron Designations and Abbreviations."

Apart from these reasonably standard appendices, the authors also present a wealth of exotica such as "Ships Named for Naval Aviators;" the "Current Squadron Lineage List;" "Lists of Early

Naval Jet Pilots" and full details of all squadron deployments afloat and ashore during the Korean War, Vietnam, Grenada, Libyan confrontation and the Persian Gulf War. Others deal with tail codes, lists of aces, Hall of Honor inductees and the Grey Eagle Award made to the active duty aviator of longest standing.

Altogether, the book is a magnificent accomplishment. As might be expected in a work of this size, there are a few inconsistencies, factual inaccuracies such as references to the Canadian Royal Flying Corps and editing errors such as the transposition of column headings in part of Appendix 33 as well as a curious style of not setting out ship's names in the italicized text of photograph captions. Nevertheless, such failings are trivial against the wealth of information presented.

The main improvement which might be considered for future editions would be the inclusion of colour illustrations, both in the photography and in the colours and marking carried by US Navy aircraft over the years. As one of the authors (John Elliott) is the recognized authority in the field, the addition of a sample of such material would not be beyond the realms of the possible.

Even at US\$73 this book is a bargain for anyone with a serious interest in the subject and is highly recommended.

Christopher J. Terry  
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Nadia El-Sayed El-Shazly. *The Gulf Tanker War: Iran and Iraq's Maritime Swordplay*. New York and London: St. Martin's Press and Macmillan, 1998. xxi + 403 pp., tables, maps, charts, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$75, £47.50, cloth; ISBN 0-312-21116-3 (St. Martin's), 0-333-71642-6 (Macmillan).

Raise the subject of war in the Persian Gulf and most thoughts run to the American-led Coalition against Saddam Hussein. The Gulf War of 1990-1991 prompted an explosion of writing, most of it contributing to the debate as to whether this episode did or did not presage a modern-day revolution in warfare.

Arguably, however, the Gulf War with the longer-lasting implications was the attrition warfare waged between Iraq and Iran for the eight long years of 1981-1988. The land battle between

the opposing Islamic states held little interest in the West until, as it bogged down in stalemate, first Iraq and then Iran shifted the focus of their attacks to the numerous and vulnerable oil-laden tankers plying the Gulf. Even with the lifeblood of the West threatened, it still took several years before outside naval intervention could be organized, and the effectiveness of that remains questionable. Although the Tanker War is the more likely of the scenarios to be repeated in the Gulf and elsewhere in coming years, until recently it has been under-studied. This was due in part to the lack of availability to Western observers of primary source material from either of the protagonists, and then because it was overshadowed by the televised spectacle of the Coalition's air and ground wars of early 1991.

The appearance of critical analyses of the Tanker War has begun to correct this imbalance. Interestingly, the more detailed studies have been undertaken by non-Western scholars, albeit working at British universities. First to appear was Navias and Hooton's *Tanker Wars* (reviewed in *TNM/LMN* VII, No. 2). Now, Nadia El-Sayed El-Shazly has made a valuable contribution to the study of contemporary maritime warfare.

Essentially, her thesis is that, although the Iran-Iraq War was first and foremost a ground war, Saddam Hussein's use of the Tanker War strategy contributed to the eventual ceasefire and assisted in bringing the Iranian regime to negotiations. She readily admits to some contradictions in her conclusions. Iraq's persistent attacks against Kharg Island never did totally destroy Iran's oil export facilities. Although the majority of the 463 ships disabled during the war were tankers (note that very few were actually sunk), oil tanker traffic did not diminish. Indeed, an international tanker surplus induced shipping companies to compete for contracts to lift oil regardless of the risks involved in sailing to a war zone. Similarly, the international community was hardly affected economically by the Tanker War. The initial sharp rise in oil prices, far from leading to an oil shortage, turned into a glut as all Gulf states over-produced in response to world demand. The re-flagging of Kuwaiti tankers and the increase in the number of foreign warships neither safeguarded Kuwaiti shipping nor reduced the intensity of the conflict in the short term. Instead, after the summer of 1987 Iraq and Iran fought more vigorously over Gulf waters than at any other time.

El-Shazly dissects each of these issues and more. She carries her argument home through an impartial demonstration and sound analysis of the sometimes conflicting evidence. The first half of the book establishes the strategic, political and geographic background to the Tanker War, while the second details the main topic. It is supported throughout by numerous tables, maps and appendices, and has a useful bibliography. The political scientist's love of jargon is compensated by a comprehensive list of acronyms.

The availability of effective anti-ship weaponry increases the potential for non-traditional maritime states such as Iraq and Iran to exert an influence over shipborne trade. More than just a thorough case study, *The Gulf Tanker War* provides many interesting points to be considered in determining the response to the next such outbreak, wherever that may be.

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Raja Menon. *Maritime Strategy and Continental Wars*. "Naval Policy and History" series; London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998. xvi + 215 pp., tables, figures, maps, appendices, index. US \$45, cloth; ISBN 0-7146-4793-4. Distributed in North America by International Specialized Book Services, Portland, OR.

This book is intended to redefine maritime strategy from an Indian point of view. The "continental" perspective of the title therefore reflects the problems the Indian Navy has had in sustaining its capabilities in an environment where the land has seemed the dominant military medium. One can detect throughout the book the frustrations of an officer who has spent his professional career defending a service whose necessity his political masters have found too often less than obvious.

This laudable mission has been enough for certain navalist commentators to suspend their critical faculties and give this work their unstinted praise. This reviewer cannot join them, however. There is a looseness about the book's structure, content and methodology that makes it, at best, unsatisfactory and, at worst, seriously flawed. The volume is riddled with errors of fact and superficial historical allusions. The author's criticisms of naval historiography reflect his own shortcomings rather than those of his subjects. His background

is in submarines, a fact which soon becomes clear in his tendentious passages of support for under-sea operations even when they were clearly less than effective. This problem is illustrated rather well by a sentence like "The employment of submarines as a force invariably leads to an operational or strategic goal although they have been used in tactical roles with poor results." [8] Perhaps understandably for an officer who served in a navy that had close Soviet connections, the gospel according to "Gorskov" [*sic*] is accepted uncritically when the Russian simplistically overstates the Allied efforts that were required to deal with the U-boat menace during World War II.

Menon's survey of the current literature is superficial and partial. His footnoting is at best slipshod and his citation of my 1988 edition of Corbett is hopelessly inconsistent. Menon entirely misses the point of Corbett's opposition to the Dardanelles adventure; Corbett opposed it because it was "naval" in conception, not "maritime," i.e., joint. Indeed the author's strong criticisms of Corbett are in general hard to understand and startlingly ill founded. It is nice to see Richard Hill's excellent work get due credit but hard to recognise what Menon is getting at in his commentary upon it.

Some errors are so basic they are hard to credit. GDP is consistently explained as "gross defence product" and MTCR as "missile technology control region." Is this poor editing, or something more serious? Questionable statements abound as well. Is it really true that in the past "when opposing battle fleets met, the resultant battle was invariably decisive as far as the maritime war went."? Menon's grasp of World War I is annoyingly weak. Schlieffen would have been surprised to learn that his plan was designed to outflank "the British left" and that he assumed that "the world ended on the Flemish coast and soldiers proceeding further would fall off." Haig did not take over command in France in 1916. Zeebrugge was not a success in blocking German forces in Flanders. Germany did not come off best in every battle on the Western Front until 1918.

The discussion of World War II is no better. What is meant by "Pearl Harbor was , therefore, the only Mahanian battle in the Pacific war but it was as inconclusive as Jutland or Midway"? Was Midway not in the Pacific? It is surprising to read that a climactic battle failed to occur around Leyte Gulf and there is no mention of Spruance's classic

success at the Battle of the Philippine Sea in destroying Japan's carrier air arm.

Menon concludes by trying to make the case for modern navies having a potentially much greater role in continental wars than their predecessors have had. His analysis is weakened to some extent by his apparent inability to decide precisely what a continental war is. Not every war affecting events ashore is "continental." Nevertheless he is correct to point to the capacity of navies to affect what goes on and over the land as never being greater, given the potential of electronic information systems coupled with the reach of modern missiles. Menon is right to criticise naval thinking in some countries for insufficiently recognising this revolution but it is the more to be regretted that he weakens a good case by the manner of his presentation. There is something to be gained from reading this book beyond merely spotting the errors but it is a matter of considerable regret that it does not succeed more in its stated aims of codifying a new maritime strategy. Any attempt to do so must be much more disciplined both in its use of evidence and in its overall analysis.

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Sharon Hanley Disher. *First Class: Women Join the Ranks at the Naval Academy*. xii + 362 pp., frontispiece photograph. US \$29.95, Cdn \$41.95, cloth; ISBN 1-55750-165-3. Canadian distributor, Vanwell Publishing, St. Catharines, ON.

In 1976, Disher was among the eighty-one female midshipmen to end 131 years of all-male tradition at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. Like others who entered the Academy that year, the first women expected to find an environment that taught honor, leadership, scholarship and fellowship because that is what the United States Naval Academy catalog stated. *First Class* documents a different experience, one that included an environment of prejudice, hostility, and bigotry which evidently met with a measure of approval by the leadership. Frequently encountered abuses were mostly unreported and therefore unpunished. Fear of the consequences of reporting incidents and the overwhelming desire to fit in, achieve and graduate provided survival guidance to the first women of the US Naval Academy.

When the time came to tell their story, Disher mailed a survey to all the women in her class, asking whether a need existed for such a book. The answer was yes, though not all were willing to provide personal stories of their experiences. "Reliving those four years was too difficult – almost impossible for some .... the scars too deep, the skeletons too painful to drag out of the closet even sixteen years later." [Preface]

On induction day the welcome comments were revealing: "...this day is going to get long, hot and bothersome. In fact that's how the next four years of your life will be if you stick around this place" [11] and, in essence, Disher's book recounts multiple incidents of discomfort – abusive discomfort – that were encountered during training at Annapolis. Although this was the first attempt at integration into the Naval Academy, and despite planning, preparation and discussion about "what is conservative mascara and when should mascara not be worn" [48] women were informed that they were not welcome. One sub-commander said "Let's get something straight ... I don't like you here. I don't like women in my school, so I am going to be on your butt every waking minute." [27] Male classmates were equally unenthusiastic about female plebes. Upon requesting a move to live next door to a particular woman, a male upper class man said "I am personally going to see to it that your little boyfriend stops visiting so often, and that the three of you girls are not here when I graduate." [157]

The story that Disher tells is about teenagers who were faced with issues that were still unnamed in the 1970s – sexual harassment, eating disorders and date rape. It is a book that describes individual victories (fifty-five graduated) and disappointments as the young women endure the emotional roller coaster of confused gender roles, academic overload, hazing, illicit love affairs and dashed dreams (thirty-five did not graduate). Beyond being a first accounting of a first-time experience coping with professional and social challenges in the Naval Academy, *First Class* will make a contribution to Naval Academy and other military literature because it reveals the difficulties of integrating women into an institution that is aggressively male and continues to be so even under the umbrella of integration.

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