BOOK REVIEWS

Editor’s Note: I would like to extend my personal thank you to Olaf Janzen for all his years as Book Review Editor of TNMLMN. His tireless efforts, attention to detail, and devotion to maritime and naval history have made it the best review section of its type anywhere. I am sure that readers appreciate what a great service he has rendered.

While I have no intention of changing the way the section works or appears, I would be interested in suggestions and comments on the reviews. I look forward to hearing from you and working with all of you in the future.

Greg Kennedy
Kingston, Ontario


The 1999 annual report of the Finnish Maritime Museum is devoted to the fact that the vessels in the Tall Ships race in the year 2000 will visit Helsinki, the capital of Finland that will be celebrating its 450th anniversary and will be one of the European “cities of culture.” Many cultural events in the city will focus on maritime history.

The volume begins with an overview by Hannu Matikka of Helsinki as a port for sailing vessels through the centuries, also looking at Finnish youth sail training. Another Helsinki-centred article by Ismo Malinen deals with shipowners in the town in the mid-eighteenth century. As in other Finnish towns, shipping was an industry that was concentrated in the hands of wealthy merchant burghers involved in large-scale trading. The author states that it was the high cost of shipping that kept the less wealthy away from the high-risk enterprise. The sailing season for the fleet of the town of Helsinki, as for every other Finnish staple town, was divided into two parts; it was the Mediterranean from autumn through the winter and the Baltic in the summer. An interesting and perhaps less known fact is also pointed out in the article, namely that wrecked ships were used as a base for building a new seagoing one. Thus, a usable vessel could be had for much less than a new construction.

For readers of this journal the article by Jouni Arjava about the Finnish war indemnity schooners might be the most interesting. It is supposedly well known that Finland paid its war indemnities to the Soviet Union right on time. Of the products delivered to the Soviets, 35.4 percent were vessels and among them most surprisingly, ninety wooden three-masted auxiliary schooners. New shipyards had to be founded to meet the demand and to be able to produce the wooden vessels in sufficient quantity. The vessels were built at four different yards along the southern and southwestern cost of Finland. New shipbuilding technology was also implemented in the construction of the schooners. In one of the yards they were built indoors in a large shed where eight ships could be worked on at a time, a technique that came into common use much later. The supply of timber for this number of vessels presented a problem. It was solved by the development of a gluing technology where beams, masts and spars were glued together from smaller pieces of wood. The method later came into practical use in house building where it is still used today.

The ships served three different Soviet ministries - fishing, navigation and navy - and operated in the Baltic, the Arctic Ocean, the Black Sea and in East Asia. One of the ships, now named Vega, has returned to Finland and is now being restored as a museum ship.

The volume also includes an article by Timo Salovaara on the causes of death and hospitalisation of Finnish seamen in the late nineteenth century, and the 1998 annual reports of the Maritime Museum of Finland and of the Finnish Association for Maritime History.

In all, the Finnish maritime museum has produced an interesting annual report. The layout is pleasant and the pictures are good. All articles in the volume are in Finnish but have full-length translations in English, which makes the volume accessible for the international reader.

John Hackman
Abo, Finland
The idea that boats and ships can be viewed as machines, as a carefully designed and assembled matrix of principles, materials and technologies, is one that deserves more serious attention than historians have hitherto paid it. Marine archaeologists, on the other hand, have always understood implicitly that ships and boats are constructed objects whose materials, design and function contain valuable information about the people and societies which built and used them. Unfortunately their influence is less apparent in research on the modern era. Naval architects and marine engineers, for their part, are driven by the scientific principles, economic constraints, and prescribed objectives of the work they do, but are seldom naturally disposed to historical analysis. Having spent some, albeit unequal, time in the company of all three parties, I have always felt that each had something of enormous value to offer the other two. Yet notwithstanding declarations of mutual interest, rare was the specialist who either thought it necessary regularly to transcend their favoured constructs and methodologies, and rarer still was the individual who, on attempting this, was welcomed or encouraged in his or her efforts.

Whatever else it may be, Les bateaux certainly represents the virtue of providing a more holistic, interdisciplinary view of its subject. This book consists of a collection of papers, all in French, on selected topics written from historical, archaeological and technical perspectives. Unfortunately, it does so without any explicit editorial intention, for the compilation bears no editor's name or introduction defining the objectives and limitations that governed the production of the book. The best one can do is infer an editorial intention from what can be gleaned about the publisher.

Pour La Science is the French edition of the well-known journal Scientific American. The Bibliothèque Pour La Science series, of which this book is a part, consists of monographs on relevant themes. While the various chapters in Les bateaux are not openly cited as having been previously published in the parent journal, an index search shows this to be the case for all but two of the contributions.

The book itself is divided into two sections. The first, "L'histoire des bateaux," offers twelve chapters by different authors (two of whom, John Hale and John Harbron, appear twice) covering a range of subjects beginning with ancient Greek shipping in Marseille and ending with modern ice-breakers. Though the order of appearance is roughly chronological, there has been no attempt to be comprehensive. It would appear that the selection of articles was very probably made with one eye on the interests of the French audience (there are three titles which apply directly to French history) and the other to material readily available to the parent publisher. There are three papers relevant to ancient Greek shipping, one on the Vikings, five on the early modern period and only one relevant to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively. The second section, entitled "Navigation et physique," deals exclusively with what might loosely be thought of as the physics of seafaring. This includes four studies on specific forms of propulsion (human, wind and mechanical), one article on stability, a short piece on the physics of ships' wake and one article on navigation.

While the articles in this collection tend to be short, journalistic survey pieces, they also reflect the standard of scholarship, and bold presentation of technical data, characteristic of Scientific American. Moreover, some of the authors are widely recognized authorities in their fields, lending a nice balance to the work. The book is beautifully and thoughtfully illustrated, a feature which will go a long way to assisting the unfamiliar in understanding the range of material presented. The general tone of presentation is one that assumes an intelligent interest on the part of the reader, while also explaining technical terminology and providing appropriate historical context. In those chapters which touched upon this reviewer's particular areas of interest and knowledge, the material presented was sound, easy to follow and informative for a general-interest audience. Admittedly, some of the articles date back to the beginning of the 1980s, though efforts have clearly been made to account for this by the careful revision of dated references. Even so, Canadian readers of the article on icebreakers will no doubt be struck by the references to Dome Petroleum's activity in the Beaufort Sea and the stillborn Polar 8 project.

Despite its various small idiosyncrasies,
overall *Les bateaux* has much to recommend it. Chief among its qualities is its inclusion under one cover of historical, archaeological and technical perspectives on the subject. That the publishers elected not to exploit this admirable fact by providing an appropriate introduction is, in this reader's opinion, a missed opportunity. Still, in the mix of topics addressed and in the quality of presentation, this book is a worthy addition to any library or generalist's collection.

Garth Wilson
Ottawa, Ontario


The title of this well-presented study by Denis Rixson might lead one to expect an extended essay on the Hebridean galley recognised by all from heraldry, jewelry designs and West Highland pub signs, yet there is much more than this, some only indirectly related to the galley. Two hypotheses are presented in the book - one, that with the departure of the Scandinavians after the 1266 truce with Scotland, naval architecture in the Hebrides suffered a stasis; no new design features were introduced and the ships declined in size; and two, that the late medieval Hebridean economy was so reliant on the supply of mercenary troops to Ireland that with its cessation after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, the combination of surplus manpower and lost income was a major factor in the collapse of Scotland into civil war and anarchy from the 1630s. Both theses are well argued.

The text has been divided into two parts. The first section, "The History," begins in the sixth century with a brief account of the translocations of the Picts, Irish and Scots. It then covers the Viking presence from 795, the early fourteenth-century Wars of Independence with the oscillating loyalty of the coastal clans, the events in Hebridean waters after the Treaty of Northampton in 1328, which were of only local significance, and the resurgence of the threat of the Lordship of the Isles in the 1540s which required central governmental naval action. Finally, there is the English attempts to stop the shipping of mercenaries to Ireland in the late sixteenth century. This section also traces the history of ship-service from Pictish to late medieval times, using place names, land assessments and other returns; estimates the numbers and sizes of boats from the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth centuries; recounts what is known of naval battles throughout the period and then describes the decline and demise of the Highland galley.

The second section, "The Evidence," is less satisfactory. Because of the lack of archeological finds and the few descriptive documentary records, the shapes and sizes of the galleys have to be extrapolated from graffiti, grave stones and designs on crosses, as well as by analogy from ship designs elsewhere. Rixson has undoubtedly made the most of what does exist but there is a great deal of repetition, diversions down paths which are irrelevant (although interesting), and a substantial amount of unsupported surmise, particularly in the use of Scandinavian sources as analogues and in the estimation of galley sizes. Boat-building, seamanship, portages and navigation are also discussed, but again using largely foreign evidence.

The book has been printed on uncoated paper, no doubt ecologically sound, and is strongly bound in lined board. The cover shows the replica galley *Aileach* on a broad reach, superimposed on the impression of a ship seal with a just-visible section of an early Hebridean map in the background. The type-face is clear, with few literals but the use of *mediaeval* irritates; if æ dipthong was not possible, why not the now usual *medieval*? There are fifteen black-and-white plates that show medieval grave stones, cross-slabs, seals, graffiti and illustrations from the *Becket Leaves*, *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris*, the *Bayeux Tapestry* and the 1602 map of Ulster (the last four suffering from the lack of colour). The scholarly apparatus includes a necessary glossary, a comprehensive bibliography, expansive footnotes and a somewhat idiosyncratic index.

*The West Highland Galley* will appeal more to those interested in West Highland naval history than to scholars but until the uncovering of further evidence allows more definitive analyses of the West Highland galley, it will fill a long-felt gap.

Robin MacGregor Ward
London, England

This new offering is a companion volume to *The Archaeology of Ships of War* reviewed previously in this journal. That particular publication presented papers from a conference of the same name held at Greenwich in 1992. This latest volume continues with the presentation of the conference contributions albeit only three papers from that conference are included here. The other twenty-three contributions were solicited by the editor for inclusion in this publication. For this reason, and as might be expected, the presentations are somewhat more polished than in the first volume.

The title is not misleading. Almost without exception, the contents of this book deal with archaeological work, either excavations or surveys, carried out on a great many warships. Half of the contributions bear on British warships, five on American vessels while the rest cover Mediterranean, Scandinavian, Russian, Spanish and Dutch vessels of war. The vessels include such famous ships as the USS *Monitor*, the *Agamemnon* and the US Brig *Somers* through to lesser known ones as well as some not yet identified. All types of warships are considered, from schooners, sloops, brigs, and frigates up to ships of the line. The span of time covered by the presentations is extensive, ranging from the fifteenth century to World War II. In this regard, the reports have been ordered chronologically which is convenient for readers interested in a particular period. Geographically, the focus is clearly European although many of the sites are found in the far corners of the globe attesting to the extensive theatre of operations of the world's naval powers.

Among the articles themselves, descriptive site reports, in many cases quite general and in some cases short, predominate. The lack of in-depth analyses was somewhat disappointing given the wealth of information from some of the sites. In practically all cases, the authors deal with a single vessel. Exceptions include a survey paper of the Spanish Armada shipwrecks found in Ireland (Glover) and another paper on World War II vessels in the Pacific (Lenihan). A very few of the papers are generally historical in nature owing to the paucity of site remains.

Given that the bulk of the papers are focussed on individual sites from an archaeological perspective, the editor has wisely chosen to include an introduction to place the articles in a broader historical context. This he has done successfully by delving into the rise of British sea power, including developments in tactics, strategy, artillery and gunnery practices, and the shift to steam propulsion and ironclads. Although emphasizing the Royal Navy, advancements in other navies are touched upon as well. As was often the case, developments in the British navy were mirrored or were a reaction to developments in the other great navies of the world.

Despite the preponderance of descriptive reports, a few contributions have gone beyond this, advancing the fields of both archaeology and history. A case in point is Myra Stanbury's paper on HMS *Sirius*, which played a leading role in the European settlement of Australia. As the presentation makes clear, a careful analysis of the archaeological data has clarified and corrected theoretical and historical questions pertaining to the traditional view of this vessel as less than fit and ill-suited for its role. Equally worthwhile, the structural analyses of both *Lomellina*, a sixteenth-century Mediterranean "round ship" (Guérout and Rieth), and *Dartmouth*, a small seventeenth-century English warship (Martin), provide valuable insights into these poorly understood periods of naval architecture.

One wishes that David Switzer's article on the *Defence*, an American revolutionary privateer, had been used as a model for the other papers. Here, in a clearly argued fashion, Switzer combines meticulous structural analysis, archival sources and other comparative information to arrive at conclusions about colonial shipbuilding practices, hull design and sailing qualities. On the site itself, he has documented instances of hurried and sometimes shoddy workmanship as well as less than standard building procedures that may have arisen from wartime conditions. This paper competently and concisely demonstrates the advances that can be made in naval history and underwater archaeology through careful study of both the material remains and related historical documentation.

Similar to the first volume, this is a well-produced book, although there are a fair number
of typographical errors, indicating that it may not have been as tightly edited as its predecessor. The book is also sumptuously illustrated with a wealth of archival plans, models, historical photographs, drawings and paintings, site structural plans, underwater photographs, as well as artifact drawings and photographs. The production quality is high and the large format of the book renders the illustrations more useful.

For underwater archaeologists, this volume will have obvious appeal as it gathers together a large number of site reports on a diverse field of shipwreck sites. Naval history enthusiasts, too, may find things of interest here as competent historical accounts accompany almost every presentation. Persons interested in material culture from shipwrecks will not be disappointed. As new, good quality, publications in the field of underwater archaeology are a comparatively rare commodity, contributions such as the present volume are a welcome addition to the literature.

R. James Ringer
Ottawa, Ontario


The study of Chinese ceramics is in a state of continuous evolution. The discovery of datable shipwrecks containing Chinese porcelain has revolutionized the dating of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century export porcelain. As an art historian studying export porcelain, I was delighted to read about the excavation of the Sydney Cove, a merchant vessel wrecked off northeastern Tasmania in 1797 while on route from Calcutta to Sydney (then Port Jackson), highlighting the important trading links between the British colonies of India and Australia. The excavation provides another important signpost which helps in dating export porcelain.

The authors have written a good basic introduction to the development of Chinese porcelain. Their bibliography contains over 150 references to a wide range of sources on Chinese export porcelain and is comprehensive and impressive, though it also includes at least one spelling mistake ("Ayres" for "Ayers") and one periodical was wrongly dated (the article by Tindall was written in 1975, not 1991). As well, some books and articles were included that are either out of date or not sufficiently scholarly (Hyde). Such sources were certainly worth consulting, but need not have been added to the bibliography, if only so that other researchers would not consult them.

There is, as well, a danger in making sweeping generalizations. For example, the authors quote from Rinaldi's Kraak Porcelain, an excellent source for the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century export wares of a specific type. However, they have extrapolated that all sixteenth-century porcelain falls into the category of kraak, [6] which is not so.

The authors wisely divide their discussions of the porcelain on the Sydney Cove by shape and use: toilet wares, for example, include chamber pots and washing bottles. The discussion of each form is thorough and interesting. The figures consist of excellent line drawings that illustrate the various styles of decoration. There are also colour photographs of some fragments and whole pieces. The maps are clear and useful.

Most of the pieces in the collection are blue and white. The authors indicate that all are decorated in underglaze blue, though the piece on page 36 (tea saucer type 9) is, judging from the rim decoration, most likely overglaze blue. Although most of the pieces were blue and white, thirty-six percent by weight were decorated with overglaze polychrome enamels which have become degraded, leaving only a "ghost image." There are therefore no photographs of these pieces, but only line drawings. The authors have categorized these pieces as "famille rose," a French term in which the word "rose" means pink, not rose coloured, or reddish, as the authors state. They have compared the pieces decorated in polychrome to a reference in an American inventory that mentions "red and white breakfast cups." Such pieces were more likely to be painted with iron-red enamels than with the famille rose palette. The authors mention Margaret Medley's assertion that famille rose enamels were first developed in the 1720s. They then drew the conclusion that "The decoration of polychrome overglaze wares are believed to have
The Northern Mariner

originated around the 1720s." In fact, overglaze enamels were developed well before that time, during the Ming period (1368-1644).

Despite such errors of over-generalization, I would certainly recommend this book as an important record of some types of export porcelain that were available at the end of the eighteenth century. The authors have done extensive research and have produced a well-organized record of this important excavation.

Linda R. Shulsky
New York, New York


In this work of local history, June Cameron takes a nostalgic look back to when her family packed up their thirty-six-foot wooden boat Loumar, an ex-logging camp tender, and escaped Vancouver to spend the summer at their grandparent's homestead on Cortez Island. Cameron's maternal grandparents were part of the flood of British immigrants who arrived on Canada's West Coast in the early years of the past century, lured by the promise of cheap land available for the price of developing it and putting up a dwelling.

Over the last few years a large number of books published by writers recalling the settlement experiences of their pioneering families have appeared on the West Coast market. While many are self-published (and sometimes of dubious interest and quality) this particular collection of reminiscences merited the attention of Heritage House, a publisher specializing in softcover regional history books.

The particular appeal of Destination Cortez Island stems from the copious amount of photographs, especially those featuring the variety of small water craft that were essential to life along the coast before World War II. As well, Cameron does not take her reader for granted; instead, she takes the effort to explain the mundane details of coastal living in the 1920s and 1930s which may be unfamiliar to many of her readers today. For instance, as a young girl June Cameron tried commercial fishing. She not only describes her rowing style when trolling for salmon but offers a complete description of the fishing gear - right down to the brass swivel - that worked best for her and her brother. She also recounts how it was a common practice at the time to power small boats with automobile engines and notes that her father found a Willys Knight engine the most successful adaptation in the Loumar.

The careful recounting of how people survived among the countless islands and inlets that crowded the waters between northern Vancouver Island and the mainland in the early years of the century spotlights the achievements of those able to persevere in such an isolated environment. It also underlines the harsh realities of living up the coast far removed from an urban centre even as it offers insights into why so many ambitious families simply gave up their attempt to farm in a disagreeable, raincoast climate. (While boating in the area today one can still find moss-covered, collapsed house timbers surrounded by gnarled fruit trees with flowers from former gardens gone wild in quiet, out-of-the-way anchorages.)

On the whole, the book provides an adequate chronicle of Cortez Island life during the settlement period. Its wealth of information on island pioneers and their particular story of success - or failure - will ensure that all who live on Cortez Island, or who have family that may have at one time had a home there, will want a copy of the book. Of particular interest will be Cameron's approach in three chapters where she uses a 1939 boat trip that circumvented the island to document the histories of the homesteads and their residents at each bay and cove they passed.

Whether the book will appeal to a broader readership is more problematic, as there are some shortcomings. First of all, like many regional history books that reflect on the writer's early years, a large part of the text is spent on the lives of a number of family members. The author also uses this approach when describing the background of many of Cortez's early characters with the result that one often ends up bogged down amongst familial relationships. In providing these family histories the book strays away from events that happened on Cortez Island.

Furthermore, if regional history books like this are to prove a success, the authors need to focus more of their attention on locating their cast of characters in a broader social, political and economic context. The first fifty years of the twentieth century saw some dramatic changes in the development of British Columbia, especially in the forest and fishing industries. Destination
Cortez Island would probably reach a larger market if it had dedicated more of the story to explaining how family and neighbours contributed to, and coped, with these changes.

Rick James
Courtenay, British Columbia


A Unit of Water, A Unit of Time is, as its subtitle promises, about the last boat designed by the noted American naval architect, Joel White of Brooklin, Maine. Without for a moment suggesting that it is anything for which to apologize, however, it is much more than a "boat book." It is also about connections: between wood and water, people and boats, northern Maine and New York City, and particularly between fathers and sons.

Writer Douglas Whynott spent a year visiting Joel White's Brooklin Boat yard in 1996 and watching White work as he designed a new racing yacht. It was to be the last year of White's life, for he had been diagnosed with cancer earlier that year just before Whynott began coming to Brooklin. Whynott frames his book with the story of White's design of the W-class racing sloop for real-estate developer and yachtsman Donald Tofias. We become caught up in the story of this creation, and come to understand how a successful yacht must reconcile many inherent tensions between art and science; owner and designer and beauty and budget. Tofias had a grand plan: He wanted to create an entirely new class of one-design yacht on a scale not seen since Herreshoff's legendary New York Thirties and Forties in the early twentieth century. The resulting W-class boats, as the cover photo attests, are stunningly beautiful and fast, and a fitting climax to White's distinguished career as a designer.

Almost more interesting than the design of the W-class yacht, however, is the abiding sense of place that Whynott conjures up around Brooklin Boat yard and its people. Joel White was the son of noted New Yorker writers E.B. and Katherine White, who moved to Brooklin, Maine from New York in 1938. Growing up there, his boat building and designing came to reflect the traditions, geography and spirit of this part of the coast. The W-class became a family project, and White's son and son-in-law each built one of the yachts at their yards.

Whynott's writing is fluid and supple, with an eye for the telling small detail. A Unit of Water, A Unit of Time has a meditative, understated quality not unlike White's best boat designs. It begins and ends with launchings, and in between records the pace of work, talk and life in a boat shop. Descriptions of the W-class' evolving design are interspersed with profiles of boatbuilders at the yard, tales about White's training as a boatbuilder, snatches of his and his father's writing and reflections on the nature of boats.

In the end, this really is not a book about designing boats, nor about building them either. It is, rather, a reflection on convergence, on the way in which designs, and people, and wood come together to create boats. At one point, during a day-sail with White, Whynott professes surprise that "so much could be imbued in a boat line." That is, in a way, what the whole book is about. This thoughtful exploration of the creative process, the influences of fathers and sons on each other and the way of life in a unique part of the United States is highly recommended to anyone for whom boats, and especially beautiful wooden ones, have even the slightest appeal.

John Summers
Newport, Rhode Island


Two perennial icons of the oceans have been condemned to sail forever upon an expanding sea of printer's ink. One - Titanic - was a great ship; the other - Joshua Slocum - was an intrepid sailor. Ann Spencer's book about the latter was released recently during the burst of new and reprinted literature published to commemorate the centenary of Slocum's epic solo circumnavigation. Many in this literary lexicon are merely old wine in new bottles - previously published words on the subject are rearranged and a new title is added. But this does not altogether apply to this book. Spencer has researched well and uncovered
interesting new information and previously unpublished photographs and letters. The author has woven her story deftly into Slocum's familiar tale. (He wrote other works besides *Sailing Alone Around the World.*) Spencer's book is written to entertain and despite a prior knowledge of the solo sail, readers will find themselves willingly turning the pages.

Slocum was not an entirely likeable man. He had peculiarities of character which made him appear at least eccentric. In a letter to a friend in Nova Scotia in 1910 after Joshua's disappearance, his second wife, Henrietta, wrote that "Captain Slocum's love for adventure I have always felt led him beyond all reason for his own good and the well being of his own family." [268] As Spencer says near the end of her book, he was: "part poet, philosopher, dreamer, hustler and adventurer, and a wonderful spinner of tales." [249] He was also irascible, hard-headed, troubled and sometimes misunderstood. Yet his uneducated writing, as seen in his correspondence (when sensitively and carefully edited), was replete with vivid description and erudition. *Century Magazine* published his enthralling major opus, *Sailing Alone*, in succeeding editions, almost exactly a century ago. The complex man has found a new and sympathetic biographer who re-tells his story and expands our knowledge with an enthusiastic flair.

The book takes us through Slocum's life in a generally uncritical manner, rapidly sliding through his early Canadian roots and developing his character through vignettes re-told from contemporary newspapers, correspondence or magazine articles. It is written in a popular biographical format and much local colour has been added to place the chronological events in contemporary context. The author's enthusiasm sometimes puts historical details ahead of their context. For example, when Slocum was a young boy on Brier Island in Nova Scotia, ca. 1850, tern schooners were not a common sight locally, and the stench of decaying herring for lobster bait would hardly be present as the lobster harvesting industry had not yet been developed. The Foulis foghorn had yet to be tested on Partridge Island so was not likely to be found on Brier Island when the restless teenager was unwillingly learning to make sea-boots with his father. Erroneous factual details such as these detract from the book's usefulness as a reference work, but do not clash with the readable story. They perhaps reflect on an editor more than a writer.

The endnote format is new to this reviewer, and is attractive in that numbers are not inserted to interrupt the flow of words. Instead, less intrusive quotation marks are used and the first few words precede the source against the page number in the Notes Section at the end of the book. Not every quotation has been sourced.

Spencer's work sparked this reviewer's interest in the topic and *Sailing Alone* as well as much of Teller's controversial work on the man, his life and his voyages were re-read. All three make fine summer reading.

David A. Walker
Halifax, Nova Scotia


This attractively designed and brief glimpse of Halifax during the first two decades of the twentieth century uses 140 postcard images with captions to provide a glimpse of this important period in the history of one of Canada's foremost seaports. Many of the photographs used in producing the original postcards were hand-coloured and lithographed to provide a sense of authenticity not always found in black and white images. The high production quality of this book captures the colour of the original postcards. Most of the photographs used to produce the postcards have been lost, leaving these small images as part of the historical record. The author provides a concise introduction and conclusion, and ten chapters dealing with the city's military, civilian, institutional, recreational, and commercial life. One chapter even deals with the use of postcards during this era, referring to them as "The New Edwardian Media,"[viii], providing some excellent examples of speciality cards complete with verse. Quotations from the writings of visitors to Halifax during the period introduce each chapter.

Although the views of Halifax selected for this volume cover all aspects of city life, there is much to offer the marine historian or nautical buff. Nearly all of the ten chapters provide views which reflect life in the port, including the waterfront, merchant and naval vessels in the harbour, and recreational boating. Many views of yachting and boating on the harbour or the North West Arm, reflect the small craft of the period. Of
special interest is the chapter dealing with the Explosion of 1917, the result of a collision between two ships in the harbour, which spawned many sets of postcard views of the disaster, especially as it effected the Richmond district, named for the Virginia city from which cargoes of cotton arrived during the late nineteenth century. In keeping with their sombre content, none of these postcards were coloured.

The author also uses the captions to provide glimpses into the city's rich history prior to the period covered by the book. A postcard showing the harbour entrance, circa 1912 [2] provides an opportunity to describe the size and early history of the port. Another, showing the Intercolonial Railway Station, circa 1908 [20] permits mention of the new rail line, construction of which began prior to World War I, not, as Soucoup claims, as a result of the 1917 Explosion but owing to the need to service a new deep water terminal in the city's south end. An artist's concept of the Ocean Terminals, obviously done before the work began, and more elaborate than the completed work, reflects the optimism which this new capital project generated among Haligonians. [5] A view entitled: "Interior of St. Mary's Cathedral c. 1907" [35] prompts a synopsis of the development of the city's Roman Catholic community.

As Halifax celebrates its 250th birthday and prepares to greet the dawn of a new century, a book such as this also provides a means to comprehend the city's development over the past century.

David B. Flemming
Halifax, Nova Scotia


I cling to the old-fashioned notion that a book ought to have a raison d'être. But after reading Consider the Fish, Chris Gudgeon's most recent book, I am left in a quandary. Part lame humour, part half-baked philosophy, part trite social commentary and part human "interest" story, it defies conventional categorization. What to make of a book, for example, in which the author issues the explicit warning that "everything's true except the stuff that's made up?" Or a volume where the reader is told that "by the time you finish this book, you might just have a better understanding of the circumstances that have led up to the crisis in our fishery" - and then adds "maybe not?"

Or who, when writing about the past, discusses what he calls "Fhishstory?" The humour is sophomoric and the philosophy reminiscent of Robert Pirsig's Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance, a book I challenge you to read if you think the 1970s have been under-rated. I would be happier if it compared to Richard Brautigan's 1967 classic, Trout Fishing in America, which actually says a lot about national character, but Gudgeon's work does not begin to approach that level.

The premise behind this book is both simple and simple-minded: that we can learn something significant about Canada from a "fish-eye view."

If what Gudgeon means is that there is a side to this country (and its history) that is too often ignored by the continentalist perspective that permeates too much Canadian writing, he is doubtless correct. But to add much to our understanding of this country the author had to provide some serious focus. Yet in ten chapters that take us from Bonavista to Petty Harbour, Newfoundland, with intermediate stops at Campbell River and Ladner, British Columbia, Bow River, Alberta, Gimli, Manitoba, Port Dover, Ontario, Montréal, Québec, and Wedgeport, Nova Scotia, Gudgeon neglects to provide any unifying theme. Or, it must be said, much insight either into the fishery or into what it means to be Canadian.

Is there then any reason to read this book? Well, I am reasonably certain that those who enjoy gentle fish stories will find this a pleasant enough read. And those looking for light entertainment in a hammock on a hot summer day will likely find at least parts of the narrative pleasant. What I will take away from it is the recipe for "Bud's Best Brown Trout Burgers." But while they are quite delicious at a barbecue, they are not worth the price of this book.

But I would not read this book to learn anything about Canada or Canadians, because the level of Gudgeon's insight is quite appalling. "How do I know I'm Canadian," he asks rhetorically. The answer is all too typical: "When I go to a party with people from another country, no one expects me to be interesting." Be that as it may, I doubt that I will invite Chris Gudgeon to my next party.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland

This publication presents twenty papers (with abstracts in English and French) collected and edited by Patrick Villiers, professor of modern and contemporary history at the Université du Littoral and facilitator at the Centre de Recherches d’Histoire Atlantique et Littorale (CRHAEL). The papers were delivered at the colloquium organized jointly by the Université du Littoral, the Maison de la Recherche de Boulogne-sur-Mer, the Université Charles de Gaulle - Lille III, IFREMER and the Commission Française d’Histoire Maritime.

In the preface, Jean-Pierre Minet, Director of Research at IFREMER (Institut Français de Recherche pour l’Exploitation de la Mer) emphasizes the rich history of marine fisheries, as well as the diversity of coastal populations, a real challenge from the perspective of the humanities and social sciences because marine fisheries cut across many economic, social and cultural realities.

This publication reviews in some detail practices and "trades" found in coastal areas. It describes what was done with the fish from the time they left the ship to the time they got to market, as well as the activities of the diverse group of men and women who were able to adapt their know-how to the conditions of their environment and the living resources.

A regionally and professionally diverse group of authors explain the evolution of fishing methods and ship construction, and the appearance and disappearance of local or industrial fishing methods. The multi-disciplinary approach covers the various components of the history of the fisheries. Some comment on how biological and ecological constraints are often recognized too late. England and the Scandinavian countries are absent from the publication, while Scotland is represented too briefly.

Canadian readers will be especially interested in the trials and tribulations of the offshore fishery based in Le Havre, Granville and Dunkirk. In "The Zenith and Decline of Cod Fishing at Le Havre in the 17th and 18th Centuries: Reflections and Problems," Robert Richard takes a methodological approach to the subject. He states what is known, highlights the questions to be explored, reviews the archival records to be checked in order to verify when the fishery reached its zenith, and cites the work of Canadian professor Laurier Turgeon of Laval University. For those who are interested in the health conditions and the mortality rate on fishing vessels - which were similar to those on the Grand Banks - Gregory Boyer, "The Population of the Seamen in Berck in the 18th Century after the Seaboard Registration," analyzes data found in parish registers. He shows that the maritime population of Berck shared characteristics with many other maritime populations.

Several papers deal with the technical development of the construction of fishing vessels and boats. In "The Fishing Fleet in Boulogne Activity on the Eve of the Revolution," Patrick Villiers draws our attention to the reliability of certain archival documents (clearance certificates and the registration of ship arrivals), which is why ship files had to be set up. François Renault ("Evolution of the Fishing Boat in Normandy in the 19th Century") states that until the adoption of the trysail rig at the end of the nineteenth century, all types of merchant ships were outfitted for offshore or drift fishing. The sloop, already in use in the eighteenth century, ended up replacing the *bisquine* everywhere but in the bay of Mont Saint-Michel. In the harbours of Nord-Cotentin, the *bisquine* that was built mainly in Barfleur gave way to the sloop and to a smaller boat with *bourcet*, known as the *vaquelotte*. The dory replaced all other boats in small-scale coastal fishing, with the exception of the *Picoteux*. Georges Oustric explains the evolution of the "Fishing Fleet of Boulogne from 1815 to the 1880s" and the increase in productivity until prices fell, a crisis that led to more extensive use of trawlers. The use of ice to preserve fish became widespread, but there were distribution problems because of the means of transport, the prices and the fact that the trains were slow. Christian Borde, "Registering Fishing Boats as French in the 19th Century, a Source of Maritime History," draws our attention to the importance of the records kept by customs administrators concerning fishing boats registered as French, although the builders were often foreigners; he determines this by tracing the ownership of the vessels and determining the characteristics of the ships. Finally, the establishment of capital-intensive operations at
Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1920 is analysed as carefully as the unionization of fishermen in Saint-Malo and Dunkirk in the early twentieth century.

The proceedings of the colloquium reveal a rich and diverse knowledge of English Channel and North Sea fisheries. The articles are varied and thorough or, at the very least, detailed. Their authors have taken an excellent approach to the regional and local issues. Several of them highlight areas to be explored further in the years to come. Let us hope that the colloquium and the publication lead to others on these and other waters. In an age of globalization, international gatherings will no doubt contribute issues and knowledge tending to the universal.

Jean-Pierre Chrestien
Hull, Québec


In February 1983, two state-of-the-art crabbing vessels, Americus and Altair, both of Anacortes, Washington, sank near the Aleutian Islands under mysterious circumstances while fishing in the Bering Sea. That disaster, which cost the lives of fourteen American fishermen, set off a chain of events culminating in the passage of the Commercial Fishing Industry Vessel Safety Act of 1988, the first comprehensive fishing safety legislation in US history. Lost At Sea is the story of the tragedy, the worst in the modern history of the American fisheries, and its aftermath.

This compelling book traces in vivid detail the conditions that contributed directly or indirectly to the sinkings: the environmental hazards of the Alaskan enterprise, the adverse impact of rapid technological change and laissez-faire economics upon the fishery, and the character and attitudes of the men involved in the tragedy. It goes on to discuss the impact of the losses on those most directly affected - the families of the fishermen and their community - and concludes with an in-depth analysis of the public-policy ramifications of the affair, as it played out within the inner sanctums of the labyrinthine Washington bureaucracy and the halls of Congress. Along the way, the reader is introduced to a diverse and eclectic cast of characters - from fishermen, naval architects, and business entrepreneurs to college professors, Coast Guard officials, and politicians.

The book is divided into three parts. The first poignantly describes the unfolding of the disaster at sea, beginning with the departure of the doomed vessels and ending with the desperate but hopeless search for survivors. The second details the painstaking two-year investigation carried out by the US Coast Guard and the National Transportation Safety Board, replete with dramatic public hearings and a controversial conclusion pointing to capsizing as the likely cause of the calamity and human error as the source of the vessel instability that led to it. The third section takes the story through the byzantine process of enacting America’s first (if inadequate) broad-based federal law aimed at providing for a modicum of physical security in the offshore fishing fleet by mandating survival gear, safety training, and the licensing and inspection of vessels.

The author, Patrick Dillon, is a professional journalist who was raised among the fishermen of Washington State’s Puget Sound. He has also spent time aboard the vessels he chronicles. That combination of training and experience serves him well in writing Lost At Sea, which is very recent history only a step or two removed from contemporary headlines. The work is reminiscent of Sebastian Junger’s The Perfect Storm, the acclaimed best-seller that appeared a year earlier. Both are examples of a new, emerging genre in sea literature, evocative, descriptive works about the perils of life in the modern deep-sea fishing fleets of North America.

There are key differences between Junger’s and Dillon’s books, however. The former describes a natural disaster over which man had no control; the latter depicts a man-made disaster that was wholly preventable. Junger’s story takes place mostly at sea and recounts the tragedy through the eyes of the imperilled crewmen themselves; Dillon’s presents a similar tragedy from the viewpoint of the ones left behind: the search-and-rescue personnel, the friends and families, and those who tried to find meaning in the loss by influencing industry change.

In the end, Lost At Sea portrays an American Pacific deep-sea fishery of the 1980s that manifested (especially in pursuit of the Alaskan king crab) a gold-rush mentality, combining get-rich-quick greed with inexperience and machismo, as well as an overly optimistic faith in the possibilities of advanced technology. In the absence of
regulatory oversight, this combination of motivations ultimately created a lethal situation.

Finally, the book suggests that while vessels and techniques may have changed radically over the decades, wresting a living from the deep remains essentially the same in terms of dangers, risks, and economic imperatives. As Patrick Dillon persuasively shows, winter fishing in particular, whether in the Bering Sea in 1983 or on Georges Bank in 1883, in the end is still a gamble and a constant struggle for survival.

Wayne M. O’Leary
Orono, Maine


This is a wide-ranging book which aims, mainly by a series of chosen case studies, to elucidate the modern crisis in the use of the living resources of the sea. It seeks to take a fresh angle on the subject by picking out "examples of fisheries and management philosophies which are of interest or which throw interesting light on problems elsewhere." Such an aim gives a wide field, but one which denies precise definition and gives much scope for personal views. In fact the book is written more for the popular than the academic audience. The style is racy, free-ranging and even flamboyant, and consists of a marshalled series of points rather than a chain of reasoned argument. It is widely researched in the sense that the author has consulted a large number of people involved in fishing, marine biological research and administration; but although each chapter begins with a series of quotations and there is a select bibliography at the end, there is no detailed documentation of the information given and the interpretations made or quoted. Considerable effort is made to convey the attitude of fishermen and the atmosphere of work at sea, but one wonders whether there is always sufficient distinction between opinion and reasoned argument from evidence. There is a tendency to romanticise "the last of the hunter-gatherers" and (in the light of the extensive and varied literature that already covers fisheries) the accusation might be made that the book is pretentious in claiming that "the story of fishing and fisheries is crying out to be told."

The content of the book contains a number of familiar themes, including the rise and fall of the fisheries for herring, cod and whales, the parts played by a variety of fishing nations, and the dilemmas of the European Common Fisheries Policy. Iceland, Norway and Japan, and (rather oddly) the Falkland Islands are treated in some detail as examples of societies exercising sound husbandry of marine resources.

The author is prepared to take up a challenging position in regard to the controversial issues relating to whales and other sea mammals: he sees the controlled exploitation of whales as a proper use of marine resources, and gives the opinion that seals should be culled in the interest of helping to maintain fish stocks.

The last four of the twelve chapters and the brief conclusion are overtly forward-looking, although it may be questioned whether they point in a clear direction. Sport angling is recognised as of major importance in developed countries and has in some circumstances become a powerful force for conservation; here the American case is detailed, in which even in sea fishing the economic importance of this recreational activity has supplanted commercial fishing. Although the North Atlantic salmon is depleted in the wild, a hopeful sign for its future is found in the principle of paying men not to fish it to aid conservation. The growth of mariculture is seen as having a limited potential for making good shortfalls from conventional fisheries. The necessity to reduce by-catches in targeted fisheries is flagged up, but a somewhat ambivalent position is taken on the insistent technological progress in fisheries which complicates efforts at conservation. The climax of the work is reached in the chapter entitled "New Directions," which recognises that the yield of the fisheries has reached a global limit in circumstances in which the market value of fish has been driven to a new peak. In a situation recognised to suffer from a range of complexities, politicians and administrators, rather than the fishermen, are seen as the villains. The case is made that scientifically-based systems of conservation and management divorced from the "prevailing urban socio-cultural atmosphere" could save the fisheries for the future; it is also stated that "ultimately there is no excuse not to aspire to manage the sea with as much care as the land." Given that fishermen are to continue as the last of the hunters, with the opportunism which that involves, the specified remedy may be questioned.
This book may have some success in putting some of the concerns facing the industry into the public domain, and it may help to stimulate debate: but if it does, it will be more by its persuasive rhetoric than by any in-depth analysis.

J.R. Coull
Aberdeen, Scotland


This is a collection of narratives dealing with the history of seafaring and shipping originating from the south coast of Newfoundland, told either in the words of an actual participant or taken from contemporary newspaper reports. Parsons explains that he did not intend to write a book on heroism or hardship but to provide an account of everyday schooner life. To many the schooner was more than just a workplace, it was also a home. Yet there seems little here that I would equate with everyday life on a schooner; most of the "stories and memoirs" are recitations of storms or the loss of vessels and life. There is even one story of heroism - that of Elsie McDonald who in 1906 saved five shipwrecked sailors - and one dealing with rum running to the United States during Prohibition.

To assist the reader, the author provides additional details that supplement the accounts and stories. Parsons interjects this material into the text itself, which unfortunately tends to divert the reader away from the story. It might have been better to place such material at the end of the story or use it to supplement the brief introduction to each story. Parsons also provides numerous pictures of vessels and communities as well as an index and several appendices.

One chapter, "Wind of Change," is not so much a chronicle of vessels, captains and storms as it is a glimpse at the business side of the bank fishery. This raises the question, does it really belong in this book? The chapter outlines a meeting in Grand Bank in 1931 of several owners of banking vessels to discuss the state of the bank fishery. Emerging out of this meeting was the Bank Fishing Owners Association of the South West Coast. Parsons suggests that the chapter illustrates the concern owners had for the men in their employ and how they sought to improve living conditions aboard ship. Yet such a conclusion seems to be contradicted by other extracts provided elsewhere in that same chapter, as when we learn [252] that Dunford and Tibbo considered tin milk a luxury; if the men wanted milk for their tea, they had to purchase it themselves. The recommended grocery list for a two month voyage contained nothing more than the bare essentials - what my grandfather referred to as "rough grub." The association also attempted to regulate fish prices and wages. Today an association of competitors coming together for such a purpose would be guilty of collusion.

In the final analysis, this is a book about the vessels and men and some of their misfortunes that would sound familiar to anyone with connections to outport Newfoundland during the heyday of schooners. As a collection of stories, it presents an interesting read, one that many could enjoy.

Keith Hewitt
St. John's, Newfoundland


The demographic patterns that emerged through the peopling of the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador are historical and economic phenomena that have influenced the course of its history and society more profoundly than any other. It is undoubtedly true that the process leading to the creation of more than a thousand small, individually isolated communities, stretched along some ten thousand miles of rugged shore-line, engendered an array of nearly insuperable problems for governments of all stripes that sought to provide those communities the services and amenities that, in the twentieth century, particularly, have been deemed rights. But it is also true that those same demographic patterns encouraged the emergence and conservation of values of caring and sharing, of hardihood and endurance, of versatility and adaptability that, at their best, have characterized Newfoundlanders and Labradorians.
In most instances, new settlements emerged as fishers sought to position themselves in the closest possible proximity to available marine resources. In this context, headland, and offshore island locations were often preferred. North Bay is one of several exceptions to that general rule. For here the settlement was made at the head of a fjord, at the mouth of a beautiful and turbulent river whose valley, cutting through the coastal mountains, was lushly clothed in merchantable spruce, fir and birch. Moreover, near its junction with the sea, the river had left small alluvial deposits of arable soil. The Farrels and Stricklands, recognizing the possibility of this site - its easily accessible timber suited to boat building, its river, crowded in season with splendid Atlantic salmon, offering easy transport for logs; its proximity to the high plateau where caribou abounded; and its potential for kitchen gardens and animal husbandry - were prompted at the end of the nineteenth century to make it their home. They were true pioneers, carving homesteads from the wilderness, enduring loneliness and sometimes privation, and creating in due course a self-reliant community that was in many respects an extended family. They were also entrepreneurs. Utilizing the natural resources available they improved their skills as carpenters and shipwrights to transform timber from their beautiful valley into small keeled rowboats, dories, skiffs (many of which would be described as jack boats, bully boats, or western boats), and schooners, for which there was a ready market among the fishers and traders of the Southwest Coast. Demonstrating versatility and ingenuity they built a water-powered saw mill that allowed the pitsaw to be put aside, they employed oxen as beasts of burden, (interestingly, adapting the familiar horse collar to replace the yoke), and with pride in their craft and unremitting hard work, made a decent living for themselves and an enviable reputation along the coast. In the end, when timber resources had been largely exhausted, when fibreglass and steel had replaced wood as the preferred material for the construction of fishing vessels, and when rising levels of expectation could no longer be accommodated in small isolated villages, North Bay went the way of so many other small isolated villages whose raison d'etre no longer existed. True, the people of North Bay for a time adapted to the changes by transforming themselves into guides and caterers for fishing and hunting parties which came to the La Poile River for moose or caribou or to seek the incomparable thrill of fly fishing for the fabled Atlantic salmon. But eventually only a cluster of summer cottages and brief seasonal employment remains.

Walter Staples' story of this pioneer community and the families that made it is a delightful addition to Newfoundland's social and economic history. He introduces the reader to a section of the coast that has been long neglected and is still terra incognita to many of the people. He does so in a spare prose style that suits admirably the character of those of who he writes. He illustrates, whether intentionally or not, the sterling societal values that enabled so many Newfoundlanders to live for so many centuries, almost beyond the ken of governments and courts of law and such, and yet, to maintain a degree of civility and dignity that must be classified as truly remarkable.

Mr. Staples does, understandably, make some errors. His knowledge of the French Shore is clearly deficient, for that shore, after the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, extended only as far as Cape Ray and never encompassed any part of the Southwest Coast. The fleet of schooners he found at Cutthroat in 1937 almost all hailed from the Northeast Coast. The South Coast men who went to Labrador primarily fished the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the southern Labrador coast, with Battle Harbour as an important base; few ventured farther than Indian Tickle. Shanawdithit was, indeed, the last of the Beothucks, but she was not renamed Mary March, an entirely different person whose real name was Desdamuit. Although Mr. Staples refers to a mixed Irish and Scottish accent, the families of North Bay were almost certainly all of English origin, though the Taylors may have been from Jersey and there are Irish Farrells as well as English ones. But those are quibbles. In general, this is a fine book and well worth reading.

Leslie Harris
St. John's, Newfoundland


This is a first-person account of life aboard the Newfoundland longliner C. Michelle during the 1997 seal hunt. The chapters are organised as diary entries for the period 7-23 April, starting an
hour after C. Michelle left Twillingate, and ending, more or less with the discharge of its catch in St. John's. There is no introduction, only a limited conclusion, and numerous spelling mistakes. Nevertheless, Dwyer does for the modern longliner hunt what J.B. Jukes did for the nineteenth-century sailing vessel hunt; what George Allan England did for the steamer hunt of the 1920s; and what Guy David Wright did for the motor vessel hunt of the 1970s. That is, he describes something that otherwise would remain unknown. For this we should be grateful.

Since the publication of this book, Dwyer has become something of a "poster boy" for the International Fund for Animal Welfare, and it is not hard to see why. Despite repeated assurances from politicians and bureaucrats that Canada's east coast seal hunt is "humane," Dwyer offers compelling contrary evidence, describing seals that had been shot and subsequently winched or gaffed aboard the C. Michelle that would occasionally revive on deck, where they were piled prior to being butchered. The lucky ones were despatched by a blow from a hakapik, but Dwyer maintains that others went undetected and died from suffocation or blood loss. He mocks government regulations prohibiting sealers from killing whitecoats (newborn harp seals), since the same seals become fair game a couple of weeks later. He also reveals that sealers do indeed retain seal penises (and testicles) for clandestine sale to Asian markets; in fact, a penis fetches more money than any other part of the animal.

Sealing has always been hard, dirty work, but there is much in this book to suggest that conditions have deteriorated with the transition from motor vessels to the smaller and less powerful longliners. The C. Michelle spent much of the time trapped in the ice, where it took such a pounding that it seems fortunate to have survived.

As for why men would subject themselves to such conditions, Dwyer offers a simple explanation: money. During the campaign he concluded that at forty-four he was too old to endure the hardships and vowed that this was his last trip. Yet there are several passages that recount the thrill Dwyer experienced when the killing was in progress. Thus, "The smell of gunpowder stimulated me, the blasting arctic wind freshened me and the sight of blood excited me." [83] For all his complaining, I suspect he misses it.

James E. Candow
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia


In 1994, a team centred at the Institute for Social and Economic Research in St. John's began a multi-disciplinary study of the requirements for sustainability of "cold-ocean coastal communities," specifically in Bonavista and Trinity Bays. This volume is the administrative final report on that project. It will be of little interest to anyone not intimately involved in the work.

Much about this project showed great merit, including its emphasis on cross-disciplinary thinking and its use of the "Local Ecological Knowledge" of community residents. It has already initiated a re-balancing of former, badly-skewed conceptualizations of ocean- and coastal-zone management questions. Yet, this reader is left with the impression that, despite its thirty-one PhDs and two other professional members, the research team simply lacked the breadth of expertise needed to achieve its ambitious aims. While time and effort were devoted to studying the plant and insect populations of freshwater ponds in the coastal zone, for example, there was nobody capable of evaluating changes in the marine fish resources which provide the principal economic
and social foundation of the region. Perhaps more significantly, nothing in the report suggests an awareness of the fundamental changes in international salt cod markets that occurred about 1920 and which doomed the old Newfoundland outport way of life. Ommer and her colleagues have dissected the failed attempts to find an acceptable alternative, along with the present consequences of several decades of such failure. Without a recognition of the basic problem, however, one must wonder how much reliance can be placed in the resulting list of recommendations.

This is not the place to review the academic merits of the project. It generated a great number of papers, theses, data sets and conference presentations. A book which drew together the conclusions of all of those and presented them in a readable format, readily accessible to non-specialists, would be of great value - particularly since nobody can claim to be a specialist in every topic covered. This volume is not, and does not purport to be, that book. It lacks the methodological details expected in primary research papers and yet has more than enough "administrivia" to confuse the reader, thus failing both the specialist and the general reader. Its multiple authors are also given to some strange and distracting terminology. For example, one grows used to "watershed" being incorrectly employed as a substitute for "drainage basin" (when it should be the line which divides such basins) but, in the volume under review, it is used in reference to an area, parts of which drain to Trinity and parts to Placentia Bays. To local residents, the line between may be irrelevant. Once the topic becomes the dispersal of pollutants from the Come-by-Chance refinery, however, it is all important and the abuse of a term from physical geography in social-science discussions can confuse not only the reader but also, apparently, the authors.

Trevor J. Kenchington
Musquodoboit Harbour, Nova Scotia


There are two ways of looking at Mike McCarthy's The Irish in Newfoundland 1600-1900: Their Trials, Tribulations and Triumphs. On the one hand it can be viewed as a book that makes available to a popular audience a history of the Irish in Newfoundland based on available documents. From this point of view, it is obviously successful. But if the book is judged by academic standards there are some obvious difficulties with its use of those sources.

As its title suggests, the book proceeds in chronological order to lay out a series of events involving the Irish in the history of Newfoundland. These events range from rather serious ones such as the spate of prosecutions of Irish settlers in Conception Bay in 1755 to the almost slapstick comedy of an inebriated Irishman named Furlong falling through the roof of a house in Placentia in 1774, and frightening the life out of Mrs. McLoughlin and her serving maid. Other than its comedy, the latter event has little significance, and there are many such slight incidents given as much play as ones which are of much more weight. Certainly Furlong is a perfect example of the odious myth of "the stage Irishman!"

The incidents and events in the book are not used to present any shaped view of the Irish in Newfoundland other than of their being persecuted and prosecuted for their beliefs. Thus the book generally paints the history of the Irish in Newfoundland in the hues of a sectarian struggle. Granted sectarianism was a marked feature of political life in Newfoundland especially in the nineteenth century. It is also clear that there were simple anti-Irish biases and bigotry in gubernatorial personalities such as Palliser. Nevertheless, it is far too naive to view the history of the Irish presence in Newfoundland solely in this way. A case in point is the way the spate of prosecution in 1755 against several residents of Conception Bay is reported. Granted the prosecution was based on the heinous English Penal Laws against Roman Catholics - not, by the by, the Irish Penal Code which never expressly forbade attendance at Mass as the English ones did. However, in the light of the Colonial war being waged at the time between England and France and the pro-Jacobite attitude of the Irish in Europe and Newfoundland, other less sectarian considerations need be taken into account. It was after all, the year in which the Acadians were expelled for strategic reasons from their homeland in Atlantic Canada. Any expedient would suffice to get rid of potential trouble either there or in Newfoundland. Governor Dorrill may have been a bigot but the documents concerning
the Conception Bay incidents include ones citing the obviously mischievous flying of "Irish Colours" at Harbour Grace (only ten years previously the Irish Legions in the French Army had defeated the Duke of Cumberland's army at Fontenoy!). Dorrill chose to prosecute this incident most likely to bolster his case about the political unreliability of Irish Roman Catholics. In a few instances illegal settlement was also cited. The Penal Code against Catholics gave a governor like Dorrill an easy expedient to rid himself of potential trouble. Incidentally, many of those prosecuted were back in the same harbours the following year, and have numerous descendants yet living in Newfoundland.

The citing of documents in McCarthy's book presents more problems for academic readers who require somewhat more rigour than the general reader. There is scarce a book published whose footnotes can stand up to close scrutiny. However, it is quite apparent from a slight perusal of this book that the footnoting is inconsistent in its form and done rather casually. Moreover, the inexact nature of the citation creates the air of unreliability and denies to the author the kudos his research deserves. One is dismayed to see on page 161 that the caption for the monument to Fr. James Duffy on Prince Edward Island places the monument at a non-existent "Kings Cross." It should read "Kellys Cross." The publisher has to be faulted for failing to have a copy-editor and a proofreader work the text to give it the rigour it deserves.

Given the massive Irish presence in Newfoundland's five hundred years of history, the only way to do them justice would be through a multi-disciplinary approach with contributions from many authors. Such a book, one would hope, would be the best possible on the subject. But as G.K. Chesterton wrote, "the best should not be the enemy of the good." Mike McCarthy's is a good book; however, there is no good reason why it could not have been made better.

Cyril J. Byrne
Halifax, Nova Scotia


*Sailors: English Merchant Seamen 1650-1775* by Peter Earle, Emeritus Reader of Economic History at the University of London, is an interesting and comprehensive study of the merchant sailor and his world in the period when England established its maritime ascendancy. The endnotes indicate that the author has relied heavily on primary documents, and principally the records of the High Court of Admiralty. In pursuing a complaint in court, be it a sailor against the master or anything else, witnesses, both for the plaintiff and the defendant had to describe what they held to be normal in establishing their specific case of alleged injustice. Other collections used include East India Company papers and probate records in the Public Record Office. The latter provide a record of wealth, and what was thought to be valuable and therefore meriting a specific bequest. Earle has effectively mined these resources to create a comprehensive view of life and work at sea in his period. When he extrapolates from his evidence, he is careful to indicate it.

The picture that emerges may challenge some stereotypes. For example, if a merchant sailor's life was hard it was because of the nature of the work, not draconian punishment. Log book records suggest an average of two floggings a month in the Royal Navy, two per year in East Indiamen, and less than that in other vessels. The slaving captain John Newton, (whose acceptance of the Christian faith has left us the hymn "Amazing Grace") flogged six times in the period 1750-1754. Desertion was linked to trade. It was most common in the southern American colony ports, the Mediterranean, and the slave trade. Life expectancy was also related to region; in the whaling trade, Europe and the northern thirteen colonies mortality was about one percent; in the southern American colonies, the West Indies, and slave trade deaths equalled the London infant mortality rate, and in East Indiamen ten percent of the crews were lost. On the other hand, the life did have its financial attractions: "a fairly large minority accumulated [wealth] on a scale rarely equalled by people of similar origins ashore." [55] The prospects of advancement before the mast were very good, but most masters had to have access to capital to invest as a part owner in the ship. Perhaps because of this it is not surprising that over half the captains had their first command before they were twenty-five years old. (By comparison, promotion to post-captain in the Royal Navy by that age, while not uncommon, was not that prevalent.) Muster rolls suggest a high degree of stability within a trade. For offi-
The Northern Mariner

cers, responsible for safe navigation and heavily dependent on first hand knowledge, this may not be surprising. The twelve chapter topics also include "the sailor and his world," "bred to the sea," "conditions of service," and "life aboard ship." A final chapter provides a link to what for many may be more familiar ground, the sailor in wartime. Earle remains focussed on his purpose, to provide a balanced account of life at sea. He does not try to explore the organization of trade in ports or the practices of large trading companies. Most emphatically this is not a labour history that chronicles the travails of an exploited class.

Sailors is easy to read; indeed but for the extent of the research one might be tempted to call it "slight." The endnotes are extensive. This book will interest Canadians working in the period, or to readers seeking contextual background for early Canadian/New France shipping. The focus on the English merchant seaman limits conclusions about conditions in the trade between France and New France, while the Hudson's Bay Company shipping was too small and too specialized (perhaps supporting his finding of personnel stability) to be mentioned. Overall, Earle's book offers an important and balanced contribution to maritime history and life at sea under sail.

William Glover
Manotick, Ontario


These are the memoirs of a man who served at sea during the crucial period of transition from sail to steam, and who rose through the ranks to that of a master before he retired early this century. Oscar Schulz was born far from the sea. After having seen a big passenger steamer leaving port he decided to become the master of such a vessel. In 1891, at the age of sixteen, he left school against the will of his mother and signed on as a boy on the three-masted barque Lilla. This first voyage, on which he was maltreated by the crew and the officers, went to Rangoon and back to London with a cargo of rice. In a hurricane off Cape of Good Hope the cargo shifted and some had to be jettisoned while the deck was almost constantly filled with water.

Two passages to Australia and Java as an Ordinary Seaman followed in the barque Olga. In March 1894, he found a berth as AB in the full-rigged ship Susanne, built as Annie Fish in 1868 by Reed, Welt & Co. in Waldoboro. The vessel was engaged in the tobacco trade between New Orleans and Bremen, making one round trip per year. On this trip he learned the advantages of a wind-driven pump on an elderly - and leaky - wooden vessel. The next passage was from London to New York, where the full-rigged ship Roland was to load paraffin for Southeast Asia. The tension during the crossing was unbearable, and the captain was beaten by one of the ABs as the mates looked on. In New York most of the crew deserted. The author, who remained on board, managed to sign-off properly at the consulate. After a short stay in New York, he sailed in 1895 in the brigantine Herbert Fuller to Barbados and Cuba; his main aim was to learn English, and it was his last voyage in a sailing vessel. He also experienced the strict and brutal discipline on American ships of the period.

There followed two short engagements on steamers, after which he went to the navigation school in Bremen and passed his examination as mate in 1896. He wanted to apply for an officer's position at Norddeutsche Lloyd, one of Germany's biggest shipping companies, because he knew one of the members of the board, but he was told that only holders of a masters ticket were accepted. He thus found a berth as fourth mate on a steamer of the Kosmos Line After four round trips to Chile and a short passage in the Baltic for a different company, he returned to navigation school and received his master's ticket in 1898. But when he visited Norddeutsche Lloyd's office he learned that the company had changed its policies due to a manpower shortage and had been accepting mates for the past two years. Although this was a big blow, he decided to sign on as fourth mate on a company steamer. On this and other company vessels he found a strict hierarchy and discipline. At one point the tension became so great that he beat up his master. Shortly thereafter, he left, moved to Rotterdam, and made a couple of round trips as master of an ore steamer to Bilbao, before retiring from the sea.

In 1901 he married and took over his father-in-law's ship chandlery. His memoirs were written ten years later. In 1932 he presented a bound manuscript to his daughters as a Christmas present. Apart from two short passages in a newspa-
per, it remained unpublished until it was unearthed by the staff of the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, who produced this well-edited monograph.

Though many autobiographies of former captains have been published, this one stands out because the author describes the harsh life at sea in great detail. As well, he tells us a much about the differences in work on board sailing ships and steamers. Any reader interested in maritime social structures will find much information here.

Timm Weski
Munchen, Germany


Thanks to the fruitful cooperation between the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum and Ernst Kabel Verlag the experiences of a female radio officer serving at sea from 1970 to 1977 can be shared by present and future historians.

After working in a shipping agency the author decided to become a radio officer, a profession finally opened to women in Germany in 1954, much later than in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. She writes in an unpretentious yet very engaging style, using her memories fortified by countless letters written to her family while at sea. Anyone with experiences aboard merchant ships will be able to identify with her.

The author is quite open about her difficulties as the only female member of a crew. Later voyages with her husband as captain were much less complicated. Even so, she had to look after crew lists, make payments and do the bureaucratic chores necessary to running a ship in addition to her watches on the receiver and transmitter.

The author served aboard general cargo ships, ro-ro ships and bulk-carriers, at times even tramping, and visited remote ports in Newfoundland, South America and Japan. Her descriptions of the ports and the people she met give a well-defined picture of what seafarers actually saw in foreign countries. Yet the reader learns not only about the daily routine of a radio officer but also about radical changes in shipping that began to occur in those years. They resulted in Hannelore Engelken's frequent change of ships and companies. From her own experience, one learns about the effects of technological advances in shipbuilding, containerisation and automation, as well as the steady reduction of crew size, the decline of westerners, and the increasing use of flags of convenience. Having spent much time aboard European container and general cargo ships in the past fourteen years, I am well aware of what the author intimates and I fear that the time may come when western crews will disappear entirely.

Regrettably, and to the detriment of maritime historians, the author changes the names of some of her ships. Nevertheless, this is a very worthwhile book, a sad one in some ways because since the days that the author spent at sea, radio officers have ceased to exist, thanks to modern technology which does not seem to care about human beings, only about so-called efficiency.

Niels Jannasch
Tantallon, Nova Scotia


After spending most of his working life at sea, David Martin-Smith, long since retired, decided to put some of his most vivid memories on paper. From some thirty ships he selected his journey as Second Mate on SS *Beaton Park* during World War II from December 1943 to June 1944.

Martin-Smith was born in the UK but came to Canada as a youngster. He spent most of his life on Canada's west coast, starting his maritime life as a deckboy at fourteen in Victoria and moving rapidly through the ranks of trimmer, ordinary seaman and able seaman on a variety of foreign-going merchantmen. At the end of 1943, having gathered sufficient sea-time, he gained his Second Mate Foreign-going Certificate with three hours to spare before signing on the new SS *Beaton Park* in New Westminster on 8 December 1943, when he was twenty years of age.

SS *Beaton Park* belonged to Vancouver's Park Steam Ship Co. Ltd. The ship was built in
1943 by Burrard Drydock Company of North Vancouver, one of the many Victory-class vessels, her tonnage the standard 7130 GRT. With young Martin-Smith on board, the ship proceeded on her maiden journey south, departing the historic Pacific Coast Terminals in New Westminster for Capetown and Durban, South Africa via the Panama Canal, then on to Montevideo and Buenos Aires, South America before returning by way of the Straits of Magellan to Vancouver.

In his new position of Deck Officer, Martin-Smith had some difficulty adjusting to the ship's routine and to particular matters concerning duties of fellow officers as well as relations with engineering officers and ordinary ranks. He soon recognized the importance of having a sound understanding of the whims of the ship's Chief Officer, a formidable rank on any ship. At first he was not overly successful, and an unexpected change of first officers in Durban created more problems. This rather emotional period and the stories that emerged out of the author's efforts to adjust take up much of the book's space, and give the book its value. As S.C. Heal explains in the book's foreword, "This book provides a detailed look at situations aboard a Canadian ship as they have never been described before."

In particular, the author does the reader a favour by writing often and in great detail about the DEMS-team of the Royal Canadian Navy which had been placed on board to combat possible attacks by enemy ships or aircraft (DEMS refers to "Defensively Equipped Merchant Ships"). A contingent comprised twelve fully-trained naval personnel - eleven uniformed gunners under a leading gunner. The ship was equipped with TND (Torpedo Net Defence) gear and paravanes for sweeping mines. The armament consisted of a twelve-pounder forward gun and a 4.7-main gun aft, both centred and raised on circular steel platforms. There were also four Oerlikon anti-aircraft guns, one on each side of the bridge and two on the boat-deck aft. The naval team stood entirely separate from the ship's crew, but in emergencies were permitted to augment the ship's crew in performing extra duties such as securing deckloads from shifting. The resulting wages were shared with their on-duty comrades. No U-boat or air attacks were experienced.

The addition of an Epilogue with a personal touch and a Compendium of Ships on which the author served enhance the book. Yet, Martin-Smith's book can be an exhaustive "read." The many repetitions and the abundance of detail throughout show an absence of any serious proof-reading or self-editing. The book is heavy on prime "scuttlebutt," the shoptalk of a mariner. Early West coasters will take some delight in recognizing names and locations in British Columbia, but despite the many interesting stories and anecdotes, the book misses the "flow" required to keep one spellbound.

Hank Barendregt
Langley, British Columbia


Welcome to the world of maritime archaeology in northern Europe, where the "Iron Age" covers the period from 500 BC to 1200 AD and "marine outfitting" covers all material relating to ships, except the hull itself. This is Kirsten Langenbach's doctoral dissertation, completed in 1991, in which she reviews a wide array of archaeological finds relating to onboard gear, rowing, steering and rigging elements, shipboard life and coastal installations from a vast region extending from the Gotland to Ireland. True to the tradition set by Detlev El Inters' seminal 1972 work on medieval commercial seafaring, Langenbach provides a detailed inventory of the eighty-seven archaeological sites she has studied. In this and other ways, her work is a needed update of Ellmers' synthesis, extending the approach back to the early (Scandinavian) Iron Age.

In her review of object types, Langenbach determines that only a few marine elements evolved over time. For example, the first evidence of sail propulsion may be dated to the sixth or seventh centuries, and the earliest permanent quays appeared near the end of the seventh century. Both developments appear to be related to the rise of trading centres like Dorestad, London, Ralswiek, Kaupang and Wollin. Most of the finds reviewed by the author date to the period from 700 to 1200. During this time, the forms studied by Langenbach - including an oar, a bailing scoop, a rigging block or a stone anchor - did not change at all. Other commonly found elements, such as boat-house outlines and certain ceramic...
styles, do not have clear chronological variations. Here, according to Langenbach, one finds evidence of a durable maritime culture that persisted through the Viking Age with little measurable change in its material forms.

In arriving at this conclusion, Langenbach demonstrates the invariability of object types, even as she familiarizes the reader with a rich body of material rarely examined by scholars more interested in hull forms. Always well documented and well illustrated, her discussion does at times verge redundancy, especially when describing widespread object types. Nor are we spared the details of a largely fruitless search for shipboard articles among waterfront materials; these are the obvious flaws that betray the inadequate transformation of an academic work into a book. Half a dozen irregular spellings and typographic errors also mar the text. More fundamentally, the author's demonstration that marine outfitting changed little over time occasionally leaves the reader wondering where this is all leading. After all, there are ways of isolating diversity and change in archaeology. Would it not have been interesting, for example, to distinguish between materials related to commerce and fishing, especially in this region where fishing was later to become an important commercial activity? Does the emergence of sails, quays and other signs of maritime trade not contrast with the immobile, diffuse technologies of subsistence fishing? After becoming familiar with such a wealth of material, the analysis is disappointingly unprovoking.

That leaves the book to occupy the position of being a well-grounded review of archaeological finds related to ships and, as such, is the first of its kind since Sean McGrail's 1987 Ancient Boats in Northwest Europe. That in itself is a significant achievement. Moreover, Langenbach's knowledge of various Scandinavian languages lends a unique authority to her review of the archaeological debates around certain object types. In particular, the highly interpretive domain of rigging evidence has seen contributions from Harald Ákerlund, Erik Nylen, Olaf Crumlin-Pedersen and Morten Gothche which have not been translated, and are synthesized here. Last but not least, the bibliography of nearly six hundred titles helps to make this a work of thorough documentation and a most useful reference.

Brad Loewen
Québec, Québec


This is an excellent guide to notarial acts at Québec, Montréal and Louisbourg concerning vessels of all kinds in New France. Its usefulness will be appreciated by anyone who has waded through the vast seas of notarial records. Essentially a printed database, it offers seven columns: vessel name, tonnage, transaction (purchase, refit etc.), owner/investor, purchaser/builder, name of notary and date of transaction. This is done for each of six types of vessel: barque, bateau, brigantin, chaloupe, charrois and goélette. But using the sort command, the author has repeated her tables several times in order to offer each of the main columns in alphabetical order. Then, to round out the book she has compiled four additional tables: lists of engagements (hiring of crew in this case) and identifications of people cited for Québec/Montréal and the same for Louisbourg.

Using this book, historians in the field may be delighted to save themselves long and expensive research by finding, for instance, that the 200-ton Amitié, owned by the Crown, was freighted to Charles Monseignat, according to a marché d'affrètement dated 18 August 1713, and that Monseignat was a Contrôleur général de la Marine stationed at Québec.

Scattered throughout to lighten the weighty pages are pictures of ports, fish, ships and maritime life. At the end are a glossary of technical terms, a bibliography and a folding map of the St. Lawrence and its estuary as far as Acadia. This is all splendid stuff and let us hope others will compile similar guides to notarial minutes concerning property, families, power of attorney, etc.

Certain reservations are in order. Only the notaries of New France are inventoried herein, but at least half of the maritime life of the colony is recorded in notarial minutes kept at Bayonne, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Paris, Rochefort, Rouen and other French cities. As the author must know, her book is only a partial guide even to the colony. Nowhere in her lists of people, totalling over 1200 names, does Ms. Bourget mention such big shipping merchants as David Lomeron, Pierre
Gaigneur, Pierre Garbusat, Etienne Dharriette or the Veyssiere brothers. Second, the "residence" for each mariner or merchant is misleading because many were only temporary addresses for legal purposes. Third, this guide cannot offer any sense of the social and political bases of maritime trade, and the reader must discover for himself that the great division between Catholics and Huguenots was fundamental, as partnerships in shipping or marriage seldom crossed it and business firms were usually family firms. Such facts tended to be stifled by the oppressive, authoritarian regime in France and New France.

These remarks are not intended to impugn the great value of this book but only to caution the unwary reader. For this will be a handsome addition to the reference shelf of every scholar in the field. Too bad the publisher glued it together - my copy is already falling apart - instead of stitching it in signatures, as it deserved!

J.F. Bosher
Ottawa, Ontario


The authors of this splendid book take as their emblem the launch of the great schooner Wyoming - the "largest sailing vessel in the world" as contemporary handbills had it - on 15 December 1909, at Percy & Small's shipyard on the Kennebec River at Bath, Maine. After a decade in which the burgeoning American economy drove Percy & Small to extend the limits of wooden ship design and construction, the firm delivered its Leviathan: a vessel 350 feet length overall, 450 feet from spanker boom to jibboom, seventeen stories from keel to maintruck. Built to carry 6000-ton loads of coal from the mid-Atlantic states to the hearths, factories, and power-houses of New England, Wyoming was both the apotheosis of the millennia-long development of wooden-hulled sailing ship construction and handmaiden to the emerging fossil-fuel-based technologies that would soon render her kind outmoded and irrelevant to the North Atlantic economy.

Published under the auspices of the Maine Maritime Museum, this book is the latest prodigy to emerge from the banks of the Kennebec: its nearly 400 double-column pages contain over 150 halftone photographic reproductions, twelve pages of colour plate ship portraits, six plates of Captain Douglas Lee's meticulous measured drawings, another thirty of which are interspersed throughout the text. The appendixes are likewise superlative, including a complete annotated list of every vessel built at Percy & Small, an intensive discussion of the peculiarities of the building process at the yard, and a full roster of the firm's employees, subcontractors, and subcontractors' employees. Ralph Snow's account of the firm's history has a commensurately prodigious interpretive range: building on the fundamental work of William Avery Baker and Captain W.J.L. Parker, the author sets the story of Percy & Small's emergence as a builder and manager of large, specialized sail-powered wooden bulk carriers into a wide-ranging discussion of the American coastwise trade, of the economics and politics of Gilded Age America, and of the persistence of traditional technologies and social arrangements in a period of rapid change. His sophisticated analyses examine the firm's response to the ongoing decline of the American merchant marine, their strategies for operating wooden sailing vessels profitably in an age of steel-and-steam ascendancy, their approach to workplace safety and to trade unionism, and their understanding of contemporary race relations. Snow's text is the result of over twenty years' research into the American coastwise trade and the fullest index of his mastery of the subject is found in the book's endnotes and bibliography: these demonstrate a thorough engagement with the most recent scholarship in the field, with contemporary newspaper accounts, with oral history sources, and with business papers in the possession of the Maine Maritime Museum and of private collectors. Percy & Small employed traditional design methods using half-hull models, leaving few details of the ships themselves for the use of future scholars; as a result, each of Lee's drawings is likewise a remarkable feat of research, based on contemporary invoices, scraps of sail plans, photographic evidence, and measurements of extant hulks.

In addition to all of this, the book is a very effective piece of Museum interpretation. The Maine Maritime Museum is the current occupant of the Percy & Small site, and by sponsoring this
volume it has created a powerful link between the firm's mercantile past and the museum's educational present. Detailed examinations of Bath shipbuilding and the American coastwise trade are supported by ample introductions to the history of sailing ship design, to the process of design from half-hull models, and to the stages of plank-on-frame construction. Throughout, intensive analysis is leavened with fascinating stories of the ships themselves: of the handsome Edward B. Winslow, allegedly sabotaged by German spies off the coast of France in 1917; or of William H. Clifford, ordered shelled and sunk by the gentlemanly officers of UB-50. This balancing of analytical and educational emphases ensures that this volume will appeal alike to the critical faculty of the scholar and to the curiosity of the amateur.

Roger Marsters
Halifax, Nova Scotia


This very well produced book tells the life story of the elegant official steamship Schaarhom. Built in Hamburg in 1907, ostensibly as a survey vessel to assist in deepening the River Elbe, a task necessitated by the growth in sizes of vessels using the port, especially the great liners on the Atlantic, she was named after one of the Elbe sandbanks. But there were elements in the local body politic that were intent on another use for the vessel. This was the appropriate transport around the harbour of Kaiser Wilhelm II, who showed much interest in maritime developments and was a regular visitor. What was launched, therefore, was a remarkably luxurious and well-equipped survey ship, the building of which was not without controversy on the City Council.

She was to have a most interesting life, one that continues to the present day. In the beginning there was publicly voiced displeasure at the money which had been spent on her, as well as pressure from the great liner companies for the improvement of the Elbe navigation. Based on Cuxhaven she therefore did serve as a survey vessel for many years and it appears uncertain whether the Kaiser ever actually sailed her. This work was interrupted by the two World Wars, in the second of which she played a part in the mass panic evacuation of German citizens from East Prussia as the Red Army approached the Baltic.

By 1972, still with much of her original equipment, the Schaarhom was obsolete as a survey vessel. She was sold to an antiquarian enthusiast in Scotland who planned to refit and convert the veteran steamer as a charter vessel in Scots waters. Things went wrong and she was laid up in various ports including Buckie on the Moray Firth, where she was vandalized and robbed by souvenir hunters. The book has a sad photograph of her during this period. She was, however, saved in 1987 by the principal author of this book and after a five-year refit and steaming again, she has become a favourite seagoing attraction in Hamburg and Cuxhaven.

The book is beautifully produced, comprehensively illustrated with photographs of every stage in her career and the vessel's history has been thoroughly researched. This is a volume in a series published by the Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum and in its way is worthy of this august sponsorship. There are chapters and sections by no fewer than thirteen specialists on the vessel's machinery, aspects of her survey work, how she was saved and brought home to the Elbe (there is a charming photograph of her riding piggyback on the deck of a sea-going self-propelled floating dock) and on the prolonged restoration. There is a bibliography and a glossary.

Although the vessel is of particular interest as a fine example of her specialist type and of regional interest for her work in the navigation of the Elbe, this story of the rescue and restoration of an elderly steamer has wider relevance. Those without fluent German should be warned, however, that it is not an easy read.

Basil Greenhill
Saltash, Cornwall


H.A. Dalkmann and A.J. Schoonderbeek's 125 Years of the Holland America Line is a remarkably detailed history of one of the world's most
famous steamship lines. The volume has a brief introduction followed by detailed biographies of the ships which provide the principal content.

The book contains a general history of Holland America from its founding through the line's operations under Carnival Cruise ownership since 1989. This is followed by "The Deep Sea Fleet" which provides 210 pages of individual ship descriptions and biographies arranged in chronological order. "The History of Holland America's Subsidiaries and their Fleets" covers such interesting operations as the Europa Canada Lineie GmBH, Big Lift Shipping NV, Alaska Cruise Line (West Line), Monarch Cruises NV, and Windstar Cruises. Historical information on these concerns sometimes can be difficult to obtain and they are all included here. The book also deals with the joint operations of Holland America with other concerns, such as Orange Line NV, Sun Line Inc., and Westminster Gravels Ltd.

Unusual information contained within the work includes a section on "Government Ships," "Tenders and Dayboats" and another section on "The HAL River Fleet" as well as a number of associated firms. The authors have taken the time to deal with "The History of Holland America's Subsidiaries and Their Fleets" in a detailed and authoritative manner. Much of the information would be difficult to gather except from a detailed search through a variety of sources. If some of the ship biographies are excessively brief, the basic information provided will permit any interested historian to pursue the subject. An annoying point which is minor, but which breaks the flow of the narrative, is that each ship biography begins with a standardized phrase involving hull composition and number of decks. This becomes repetitive to the point of being meaningless. On the other hand the "Total Fleet Register" is very helpful for quick reference and the three-page bibliography is solid in its sources. If some of the ship biographies are excessively brief, the basic information provided will permit any interested historian to pursue the subject. An annoying point which is minor, but which breaks the flow of the narrative, is that each ship biography begins with a standardized phrase involving hull composition and number of decks. This becomes repetitive to the point of being meaningless. On the other hand the "Total Fleet Register" is very helpful for quick reference and the three-page bibliography is solid in its sources. In the section "Special Notes and Remarks" some quite remarkable information on investments, ships colour schemes, background information on ship's names and the HAL Holding NV. A comprehensive index concludes the work and is noteworthy because this minimal courtesy and refinement has been absent from some other recent books.

The illustrations in the work include many rare photographs which greatly enhance the product. Some of the earliest Holland America ships are represented by the only known illustration such as Edam (1883). A rare newspaper photo of the ill-fated Justicia in full dazzle paint going down by the stem after being torpedoed (19 July 1918) is very dramatic. The illustrations and photos lend a great deal to the value of the work. An interior photograph of the Smoking Room on the Nieuw Amsterdam (I) provides a classic example of Edwardian splendour. The only regret is that there are not more full-page treatments but publication costs do have their limits.

Dalkmann and Schoonderbeek have written a fine history of Holland America Line covering the past 125 years (1873-1998). The reviewer has placed the volume on the shelf next to his computer for easy access. There is no higher compliment. The volume will be a valued addition to the library of anyone interested in maritime history. It is highly recommended without reservation.

William Henry Flayhart III
Dover, Delaware.
liners and cruise ships that played significant roles. Complementing the very readable narrative are a number of graphs. One shows empirically the rise and decline of passengers by ship compared to those transported by air. Another utilizes a luxury-index which demonstrates that the Normandie was the most luxurious pre-World War II liner ever built; surprisingly Canada's own Empress of Britain II came in second.

Monarch of the Seas is well-suited for readers who seek an introduction to the topic and who relish a glossy, easily read book that will both enlighten and entertain on the history of ocean liners and cruise ships. Those seeking an accurate, well-researched, authoritative treatise on the subject are more likely to be disappointed, for the book contains a number of inaccuracies that will irritate the informed reader. For instance, Ulrich includes a series of interior photos purporting to be of Hamburg America's Imperator, [72-73] yet three of the interiors are most definitely not from the Imperator - one is easily identified as the smoking room on the earlier Deutschland. Elsewhere, in describing the arrival on the scene of the French Line's Ile de France, the author comments on how "the appearance of the two-funnel craft with its undisturbed deck lines and low super-structures created a thoroughly elegant effect." [80] While the Ile de France may have sported two funnels during her post-war career, before the war she had three. And it would have been exceedingly difficult for actresses Marilyn Monroe and Jane Russell, in the 1950s film "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes," to disembark "at Cherbourg from a real ocean liner, the Conte De Savoia with her red/white/green funnels," [82] because that liner never survived being bombed at her Italian berth in World War II. Finally, Ulrich has entrepreneur Stanley McDonald chartering "the Princess Patrica, a late-1940s vintage steamer, in Seattle to run cruises to Alaska and along the Mexican Riviera to Acapulco." [200] The Princess Pat sailed out of Vancouver not Seattle, and its owners the Canadian Pacific Railway employed her and many predecessors to maintain a service to Alaska that dated back to almost the turn of the century. Stanley McDonald did indeed charter her, but it was strictly for the Mexican Riviera. And Princess Patrica was a turbo-electric vessel, not a steamer. There are also an assortment of typographical errors ranging from the inaccurate spelling of Mauretania as Mauritania, and the length of Normandie being given as one hundred feet. The author also uses the incorrect term cruise liner instead of cruise ship and, curiously, favours the word "chimney" instead of the more customary "funnel."

On more of a personal complaint, Monarch of the Seas is guilty of a mistake made by most general histories - giving the impression that the only ocean liner run that existed was across the North Atlantic into the port of New York. From a layout point of view, the special featured articles interspersed in the narrative tend to break the reader's concentration as they speed over a full two pages. After reading through each one, the reader has to return to a previous page in order to pick up where they left the narrative.

This is not to deny that Monarch of the Seas: The Great Ocean Liners is a fine book and a welcome addition to anyone's library. But like many coffee table books, it is fraught with error. Readers will be pleased with it so long as they are not sticklers for one hundred percent accuracy.

John Davies
New Westminster, British Columbia


"Young madame Godeffroy is in her eighth month of pregnancy when news hits the Hamburg stock exchange that the Danish allies are going over to the side of the approaching French: in a few hours Napoleon's soldiers will occupy Hamburg for the second time." Thus begins (in German) a detailed account of the hundred-year rise and fall of a patrician dynasty. Narrated in the present tense after the fashion of a colourful fireside chat, the well-researched and lightly contextualized account traces the entrepreneurial ambitions, successes and failures of one of Hamburg's leading shipping magnates. The Godeffroy fleet of sailing ships established trade routes around the globe, spreading the family name into such then exotic regions as the South Pacific, and building almost unprecedented wealth. As the author rightly explains, the firm of Godeffroy has been the subject of two previous books. Where Richard Hertz's Das Hamburger Seehandelshaus

Book Reviews
The Northern Mariner

J. C. Godefroy (1922) overemphasized the size of the firm's Pacific plantations in order to lament their unwarranted loss through war, Kurt Schmack'sy. C. Godefroy & Sohn (1938) joined the trend of those wanting to regain Germany's colonial and territorial ambitions, therefore skirting (or distorting) important issues. Discovering the family archives, Hoffmann saw a means to redress the imbalance. The archives had long been deemed lost and had in any event not been consulted by historians for sixty years. In establishing a new chronology of events, she uncovered links which authors in such diverse disciplines as shipping, economics and social history had missed. Radiating outward from the shipping family in Hamburg, were conduits to powerful industrial bases. These included Osnabrick Steel Works (of which Cesar Godefroy owned seventy percent of the shares and his friends another twenty), Gelsenkirchen Mines, and the Central Union of German Industrialists.

Hoffman's exploration of the concept of the Hanseatic merchant is especially revealing, for the profession evolved in illuminating ways over the family's four generations: from scorned middleman outside the Hansa cities in the eighteenth century, to merchant banker and ship-owner in the nineteenth; from admired capitalist - Bismarck allegedly wanted Gustav Godefroy as Prussian minister of finance - to entrepreneur of a large capital company exemplified by Adolph Godefroy, director of Hapag. Central to these issues is the rise of the German middle class. Hoffman considers any analytical discussion of this topic "thematical too broad for the laity", and refers readers instead to Lothar Gall's introduction in Bürgerum in Deutschland (1989). Hoffmann's achievement lies in marshalling her journalistic skills to portray complex issues in concrete, graphic terms. Her fetching narrative is an altogether pleasant read. Readers familiar with the Hamburg "Waterkant," with the grand avenues of Palmaille and Elbchaussee, and with the maritime haunts of Blankenese will enjoy the nostalgic atmosphere conjured up.

Hoffman's volume is beautifully made. It has been published without concern for cost. This seems all the more striking when one considers the utterly inadequate index. One does find the typical "index of names" and an "index of firms." Given the focus on ships and shipping (and the volume's sponsorship by the German Maritime Museum) one could logically have expected an index of vessels. Again - typical in German publications - anyone interested in using the wealth of information must hunt page by page. Fortunately, this particular book is entertaining. For scholarly purposes, as suggested elsewhere in this journal, dear German publishers and authors, books without adequate indices are next to useless: ein Buch ohne ausführliches, thematisch organisiertes Stichwortverzeichnis ist so gut wie unbrauchbar. And now for a "Linie," that North German old salt's nostrum for whatever ails.

Michael L. Hadley
Victoria, British Columbia


The Institute of Marine Studies at the University of Plymouth has taken a welcome initiative in this series of books dealing with contemporary issues in the maritime world. So far they mostly concern eastern Europe - the first dealt with Turkey. Of the two books reviewed here, the first focuses on the development of strategy within port authorities. It begins with a description of strategic management, occupying nearly a quarter of the text. This may be justified since, as the authors remark, strategy in the professional sense seems to suffer from hydrophobia. The subject seems hardly to be mentioned in the relevant trade press, yet the choices currently facing port managers are more profound than at any time this century; and this is doubly true in eastern Europe. The authors review the history and geography of Gdansk and Gdynia before examining the strategic options facing them. One might complain about the work's title, since it covers only those two - Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia all have ports in east Europe, but none are mentioned.
Nevertheless, one may hope that this book will be read in all of those countries, since their backgrounds and some of their problems are similar.

Gdynia, the larger of the two, was built after 1919 when the authorities controlling Gdansk (then Danzig and German controlled) would not let the Poles use the port as much as they wanted. It is currently constrained by a built-up area and needs to expand elsewhere. Together with Gdansk, it is still state controlled but in the course of privatization. The structure is that of a holding company effectively controlling subsidiaries operating various facilities within the port (ferries, coal-loading, container berths etc) and having shares in a number of related enterprises, including those concerned with a duty-free zone, fruit imports and block trains. There is active competition with other ports, including Rostock and Hamburg as well as other ports in Poland. But a profitable base cannot be secured in any of the Polish ports without extending the markets, presumably into Belarus and the Ukraine. Indeed, Gdynia’s better site and modern facilities present great problems for Gdansk.

The research reported here consists largely of interviews of port officials, some of whom were reluctant or not available. Postal questionnaires were then used. While the results were interesting, it is not surprising that, with few exceptions, strategic thinking was not well-developed. Most senior managers were under pressure from “fire-fighting” activities; they and their staff had been brought up in monopolistic, hierarchical organisations under central control, where new ideas might be characterized as “counter-revolutionary” and marketing was unknown. Their prolonged isolation from the West led many to have modest opinions of their own strategic capabilities and, in particular, the formal treatment of strategy employed (with numerous buzz-words) here.

The second work is a collection of essays by different authors. Surprisingly, most of it also refers to the southern Baltic. The papers cover computer analyses for ports, marketing and management systems in Poland, and various aspects of privatization in Poland and the former East Germany. Some are rather pedestrian, but that by Dobrowolski and Szwankowski is notable for giving an account of conflicting political ideas in port constitutions and the way in which they have been resolved in Poland. They even cover ports not known to Fairplay’s Port Guide and explore strategic and organizational matters not referred to in the first three volumes. The editor provides a succinct and well-informed account of transport development in Poland, while Prof. Breitzmann provides an excellent one on port privatisation in Eastern Germany.

As in the first volume, these essays proceed from clear factual and principled openings to descriptions of some of the most important changes these institutions have seen for fifty years. The translation, editing and production are excellent, with hardly a typo to be found. But why did the publishers not insist on an index? Historians of the future will be able to read and appreciate these books: they will not be able to use them readily for reference.

R.O. Goss
Cardiff, Wales


Mette Gulberg is concerned with the production of, and trade in, black pots in West Jutland between 1650 and 1850. In particular, she raises the question whether this tells the story of a backward, rural area, or of a region characterised by entrepreneurs and commercial orientation towards foreign markets. To answer this question, she takes a broad approach, adopting tools from different academic disciplines. Yet the book is first and foremost a contribution to Danish regional and maritime history.

The predominant feature of the economy of West Jutland was agriculture, with various supplementary sources of income, among others the production of black pots. Gulberg pays special attention to this activity in the context of the international debate on proto-industrialisation in general, and the possibilities for proto-industry in rural Denmark in particular. The black pots were handicraft products made out of earthenware, without using a potter’s wheel or glaze. The pots were used for preparing food on open fires and for storing food. They were thus cheap, everyday commodities, sold to domestic markets as well as
to neighbouring countries. As the pots had a limited life span, these sales were renewable. Exports of black pots were of minor importance in Denmark's overall trade, but played a major role in the family economy.

The cheapest and safest way to transport the pots was by sea. Guldberg views the shipping services from the perspective of the skippers, and argues that the market fell into three categories. The first consisted of local skippers shipping their own goods to nearby markets in small boats, and returning with ballast. These skippers combined agriculture, fishing and trade - all of which were seasonal but complementary activities. The two remaining categories of skippers, from the mainland of West Jutland, had much weaker links with agriculture. Skippers of medium-sized vessels operated on behalf of merchants and brought some pottery as supplementary goods in order to raise extra income for themselves. Skippers of the largest vessels also operated on behalf of merchants, but only occasionally carried black pots. The book thus offers a traditional angle of maritime history from a micro-perspective. It contains aspects of business history, focussing on the organisation of shipping services, and the numbers and tonnage of incoming and outgoing vessels. Due to a lack of data, neither of the series is coherent on an annual basis.

Some of the questions Guldberg raises, especially those about proto-industrialisation, cannot be properly answered from an empirical study of a minor industry, based on only one village for production and one harbour for shipping. Moreover, there is nothing about actual profit in terms of freight rates. This lacuna might lead to a common pitfall, where shipping services are regarded as being automatically provided. Moreover, Guldberg claims that the expansion of shipping per se was caused by exports of other goods than pottery.

This does not, however, undermine the fact that the book offers new knowledge and insights into regional trade and shipping services in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Denmark. After all, Guldberg clearly states that she is investigating the link between production, trade and the transport of black pots. The work is well argued and makes thorough use of available sources. The book also contains an English summary.

Camilla Brautaset
Bergen-Sandviken, Norway


It is a heartening that a major player in today's industrial world is prepared to publish a series of quality essays on a variety of heritage and environmental topics relating to its specialty of quarrying and gravel extraction.

It would be almost impossible for any one person to have the knowledge to review expertly all the material in this publication. Overall the volume is an excellent production. The print is clear and accurate, the standard of the illustrations is very high and the detail of the source notes is impressive. Any criticisms that follow do not in any way detract from this assessment.

The level at which this publication is pitched is a scholarly one. The contents are grouped into categories, archaeology, history and geology, law and archives, shorter notices and book reviews. The grouping is a little odd. Two of the articles in the archaeology section are only two pages long, while most of the "shorter notices" were three pages long! Furthermore, all but one of the "shorter notices" relate to natural history, so that a ready-made, more informative category title could have been used. Though a layman in this field, I found these articles equally as fascinating as the historical. Of the archaeological articles, particularly fascinating was the one dealing with prehistoric tool marks.

The two studies of the quarries operated by the Liverpool Dock Trust and its successor, the Mersey Docks & Harbour Board, the one a limestone quarry in Wales, at Dinorben, Anglesey, the other, a granite quarry at Kirkmabreck, southwest Scotland, in the former county of Kirkcudbright-shire are, from the point of view of a reader of The Northern Mariner, the most important. The Welsh venture operated between 1907 and 1911, and is the subject of a trenchant article which gets to the heart of the matter, the interplay of power, personalities and the terrible truth that experts are often most expensively wrong. The Scottish enterprise earns a wide-ranging article covering its history from the mid-eighteenth century to its purchase by Tarmac in 1987. The series of tacks (or leases) to the Liverpool Dock Trustees and its
successor body continued from 1831 to 1913. The granite formed the "cyclopean" river wall which still stands impressively today. The Dock Board contributed to the local schoolmaster's salary and to a benefit fund, even though it seems to have only been distributed when death was imminent. The Board's report on the quarry in 1904 sheds a telling light on the story of the Port of Liverpool Building, one of the "Big Three" on Liverpool's Pierhead. Its cladding of Kirkmabreck granite contributed largely to the reduction of unsaleable stock of granite blocks!

More recently, Kirkmabreck has supplied crushed granite for aggregates, as in the precast sections of the new London Bridge in 1968-69. The rock was also ideal as "armour stone" for sea defences at Heme Bay, Kent. The sound barrier at Heathrow Airport and, in Ireland, the Terminal Building at Rosslare, are other examples.

The reviewer cannot help noticing that in the article on Britain's first motorway, Sir James Drake, who held the equivalent post for Lancashire County Council that Jesse Hartley held for the Liverpool Dock Trust, is represented as being as brusque as Jesse Hartley! Nonetheless, to omit a photograph of Sir James seems regrettable. Finally, of the somewhat dismissively described "shorter notices," the prize in the reviewer's judgement goes to Tommy Donnelly's "Kirkmabreck, A Naturalist's Viewpoint." A colour photograph of the beautiful flocks of goldfinches on the teasels should have been given a place of honour, even if the otters living in the deserted quay may have refused to pose!

Gordon Read
Southport, UK


History has Rear Admiral Hall, the Hydrographer of the Royal Navy from 1971 to 1975, sandwiched between the very popular Steve Ritchie, who instigated the conversion to metric chartering, and Sir David Haslam, a well-recognized international figure who moved on to be a Director of the International Hydrographic Bureau. Nevertheless, he also made his mark in hydrographic history, as this book outlines.

Geoffrey Hall joined the Royal Navy in 1934 as a "Special Entry cadet" from a Public School rather than the usual route through Dartmouth. We see the advancement of his career through his eyes up to his retirement as a Rear Admiral and Hydrographer of the Navy forty-one years later. Hall's account of his career seems to break into four sections: the pre-war era, his wartime exploits, his post-war commands up to and including Hydrographer, and his justifications for his unauthorized actions just prior to retirement.

His description of the advancement process in the interwar era is about the best I have read. There was an unhurried approach to the broad spectrum of specializations: finding gunnery complicated, he studied hard and managed to earn a first-class standing. This should have earmarked him for "Guns," since he only earned a Second in navigation, the prerequisite for a career in hydrography, even though this had whet his interest. His cadet and midshipman years were laden with "showing the flag" throughout the Mediterranean and along the eastern coasts of the Americas. He was even given the an opportunity to crew a 131-foot schooner across the Atlantic.

He gained his Lieutenancy just before the war; served briefly as First Lieutenant on a fleet minesweeper before being flown home from Singapore to join HMS *Challenger* on surveys in Scapa Flow, the Orkneys and Iceland before an intense survey in Gambia. By 1942, he was released from Hydrography to General Service and became the navigator for a minesweeping flotilla. A year later, he went to Combined Operations and performed surveys of proposed landing beaches under the cover of darkness and under the very eyes of the enemy. During his war-time experiences, luck played a part in saving his life on at least three separate occasions: a fall of 900 metres down a mountain-side; luck-of-the-draw on the return air trip from Singapore; and a near drowning off a hostile beach! Just as the war ended, he received his first command - a brand new frigate. He fulfilled a tour of duty in the Asian theatre before returning to peacetime service in the Hydrographic Department.

Postwar service took him on secondment to New Zealand, followed by his first hydrographic command - HMS *Franklin* - in the Thames Estuary. Advancement to Commander and higher levels seemed always at the last possible instance as he moved to a succession of ships *Franklin, Scott, Owen and Hecla* or shore appointments at Cricklewood, Taunton and Whitehall. He pro-
gressed [his verb] surveys in most oceans and saw most continents.

The real purpose of the book, in my view, appears to be as a platform for his accounting of his last few days in office as Hydrographer of the Navy, where he slyly promoted the need for more survey ships, first by having a straw-man (a former Hydrographer) send letters to The Times, followed by one under his own signature on his last day in office. He knew that he could be, and indeed was, reprimanded - "Expression of their Lordships' Displeasure" - for such an unauthorized action. It would seem that given the emphasis placed on this section of his life, he wrote the book to justify his action.

For other readers, the book provides a good description of the progress of a naval officer's career; some hair-raising wartime instances; and the interconnection of world requirements to hydrography (Polaris submarines, offshore petroleum). All this is brought together by the events of his life, written in an easy reading style.

David Gray
Ottawa, Ontario


This substantial volume of essays edited by Gerald McGrath and Louis Sebert contains nineteen essays on many different aspects of the mapping of Canada. Its 668 pages include material on just about every topic related to mapping, including GIS (geographic information systems), topographic mapping, aeronautical charts, remote sensing, and engineering and mining surveys. Perhaps of most interest to readers of this journal is the chapter by David Gray on hydrography surveying and charting. There are also several appendices which include a short biography on each author, a very useful glossary and a list of common acronyms and abbreviations.

The time span of the book is quite recent (1947-1994) and many of the contributors have been personally involved with the development of the various topics they are discussing. Rapid advances in equipment and the advent of the computer meant that this has been a dynamic period in Canadian mapping. Given the problem of trying to develop a country with so much land and water, Canada has been at the forefront of several types of mapping techniques. For example, GIS is a Canadian innovation and Roger Tomlinson who initiated the concepts behind GIS is the co-author of the chapter on GIS and LIS (land information systems). It is a fascinating chapter which guides the reader through the successes and failures that were involved in bringing the ideas of digital mapping to fruition. Today the applications of GIS are seen around the world as well as in Canada, where it is used in the resource sector for which it was initially envisioned as well as to countless other applications.

Yet Canada's leadership role was not always so apparent. In the chapter on Federal Topographic Mapping, O'Brien and Sebert point out that earlier this century, Canada was one of the few industrialized countries without a topographic survey. Of course Canada had maps before this but they were often superficial maps showing little in the way of landscape features and evidently none showed any indication of relief! This began to change slowly after 1903, when British mapping authority, Major E. H. Mills was invited to come to Canada to report on this country's mapping situation. Evidently he was not impressed with what he saw but he did generate sufficient interest to begin a small scale mapping programme. This chapter also deals with the rapidly changing technology that influenced the government's ability to create topographic maps of different scales for more and more of Canada.

The chapter on hydrography surveying and charting is handled well by David Gray. He has been with the Canadian Hydrographic Service (CHS) since 1971 and includes a wide variety of information about the evolution of their mapping programme since World War II. At the end of the war Canada's hydrographic service was in poor shape - one vessel had run aground in a dangerous channel near Vancouver but was subsequently repaired, a second ship was thirty-four years old and the third vessel in such bad shape that it was scrapped. Gray organizes the chapter around the events that transpired with each chief hydrographer. It chronicles changes in hydrographic ships, techniques in mapping and new geographic areas that were charted. Much of the drive for new charts seems to have come from economic forces - a new iron ore mine in Labrador led to the charting of a sea port at Sept Isles, the Kitimat
aluminum smelter in British Columbia required charts of Douglas Channel and Caamaño Sound. New advances such as plastic scribing were quickly picked up by the CHS and Chart 4368 of St Ann’s Harbour in Nova Scotia was the first in the world to be produced in this manner. By 1956 Canada had built its first vessel purposely designed for hydrographic work. Prior to that, the CHS had used converted mine sweepers and unemployed sealing ships from Newfoundland! The Baffin was built in 1956 and could survey northern waters. The 1960s saw the addition of several more ships built for specific hydrographic purposes. The previous decade had also seen considerable emphasis on mapping the north and in 1954 the naval vessel HMCS Labrador was the first large ship to navigate the northwest passage. Much of this northern emphasis was related to the DEW Line sites which were being built during this period. Also during this time, soundings were made in the winter by drilling through the ice and dropping a lead line to the bottom. It is hard to believe that so time-consuming an approach was still being used this recently. Gray goes on to highlight a series of advances in positioning, soundings and the charting process which the CHS has progressively adopted. But as with many Canadian mapping programmes, Gray points out that hydrography “is the never-ending battle of too few resources against too many tasks.”

Other chapters in Mapping a Northern Land deal with cadastral surveys, aeronautical charts, Canadian atlases, education and research, engineering and mining surveys, thematic mapping and even the marketing of spatial information. If there is flaw it is that for a book on mapping it shows very few examples of maps. But it is an essential reference work for anyone with an interest in recent Canadian mapping.

Keith Nicol
Corner Brook, Newfoundland


William Goetzmann's and Glyndwr Williams' trend-setting Atlas of North American Explora-
tion, first issued in hardcover in 1992, was originally intended as a celebration of the Columbian Quincentenary. Unfortunately, as the celebration became a controversy and, ultimately, a condemnation of Columbus in specific and explorers in general, many of the really fine works generated by scholars of the early 1990s tended to be ignored at best, vilified at worst. While vilification was not levied upon the Atlas, neither did it receive the approbation it deserved, being lost in the shuffle of controversy.

What made The Atlas of North American Exploration noteworthy in 1992 makes it noteworthy today. The dean of scholars of exploration, David Beers Quinn, supplied a masterful introductory essay. G. Malcolm Lewis, the preeminent scholar of native American maps and map-making, served as a consultant to the authors and insured representation throughout the work for cartographers of a non-European tradition. Indeed, the authors intentionally stress the importance of Indians as shapers of North American exploration; by pulling the course of exploration one way or pushing it another, by providing crucial spatial data to explorers Cabot to Peary, native peoples were a fundamental part of the process of discovery. Certainly, the success of the volume rests partly with the scholarship of its authors. Although it is nowhere made explicit, the reader familiar with the literature assumes that Williams authored most of the material on explorations east of the Mississippi and before the nineteenth century while Goetzmann assumed responsibility for the trans-Mississippi area, mostly in the nineteenth century. If such a division of labours did exist, however, it was seamless and the narrative flows easily from one explorer and cycle of exploration to the next.

But neither Quinn's introduction, nor Lewis' direction, nor even Goetzmann's and Williams' essays on explorers make The Atlas of North American Exploration such a notable contribution to the literature. It is, after all, an atlas: its success is in the dramatic and effective treatment of the maps themselves. Each of the sections of the atlas follows the same pattern: the author's analysis of an exploration; a modern coloured map effectively locating the route or routes of explorers; a brief extract from a relevant exploratory account to give the reader a flavour of the period literature; and several historical maps and illustrations. It is in this latter area where the authors have done a very wise thing indeed in compiling their work.
Illustrations are presented without change and period woodcuts, engravings, watercolours, oil paintings, or other art forms appear unchanged from the original. But the historical maps have been, almost without exception, redrawn from the original. Reproducing the works of sixteenth-to-nineteenth-century cartographers, while historically accurate, is seldom advisable if the intention is to make the information they contain accessible to the reader. The text is too small to be legible and important geographic features may become almost invisible at the reproduction scale. But in this atlas, important cartographic works have been selectively redrawn to show the state of geographical information at a point in time. Text is legible, being reproduced in English and set in modern typeface; coastlines, and mountains, and rivers, while generalized from the originals, convey the same information as the period cartography but in a visible form. Not since Charles Paullin's Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States (1932) has such a technique been used extensively in an atlas. Scholars should not allow more than a half century to pass before it is used again.

The Atlas of North American Exploration is not without faults. Scholars of specific explorations may find room to quarrel with the authors' interpretation of explorers' routes. Explorers and explorations considered central by some may be given shorter shrift by Goetzmann and Williams. No serious scholar of North American exploration will go through a work of this magnitude without finding points of disagreement. But that is as it should be. This atlas deserves recognition as one of the more important contributions to exploration literature in the last century.

John L. Allen
Storrs, Connecticut


The annotated Vinland Bibliography is an amazing tour de force. The compiler is Robert Bergersen who, according to his own testimony, has "a kind of sentimental interest in the field" of the Norse westward migrations. [iii] During years of searching for information on Vinland, he perceived the need for such a bibliography. Bergersen's stated purpose is to cover all written information on the Norse in Greenland and North America, and in this he has been very successful. The topic is popular, especially in North America. The literature on it is therefore extensive, both in popular and scientific genres. Some of it is found only in esoteric, privately printed publications or in technical journals with small circulation.

Vinland Bibliography fills a real need. The only attempt at something similar is the 1990 "Pre-Columbian Contact with the Americas across the Ocean, An Annotated Bibliography" by J.L. Sorenson and M.H. Raish, the focus of which is less on the Norse than the field of Pre-Columbian contacts as a whole, and contains only six hundred references to the Norse as opposed to the more than 6000 entries found in the Vinland Bibliography. Bergersen estimates that he has retrieved as much as eighty percent of all scientific and perhaps fifty percent of popular texts (not including newspapers and weekly magazines). Even the most obscure articles seem to have been included. Second- and third-hand works are also included, as are relevant saga texts and cartographical works. The bibliography covers other pre-Columbian voyages as well, real or not, and also the fifteenth-century voyages by Columbus, Cabot, and the Basques where relevant. The references are from works in twelve languages. Those in Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, German, and English have been obtained via a systematic search. Those in modern Icelandic, Greenlandic, Russian, Finnish, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French have been retrieved on a more accidental basis. The compilation is most complete for the period up to 1993, but some more recent examples up to the 1997 publication date of the book are also included.

The entries are arranged alphabetically according to author or editor. There is no index, but among the entries are almost three hundred subjects also listed together for convenience in the Introduction. These subjects form part of the alphabetical entries. Thus all the major works on "Adam of Bremen" are listed under his name. There are eighty-nine works under "Runes in America," plus cross references to individual runic inscriptions alleged to be Norse.

The author's principles for capitalization, use of abbreviations and signs and the alphabetization of accented Scandinavian words are concisely explained in the Introduction. The book is easy to
use. Entry words are in bold, which makes them stand out. Its modest size makes it easy to have on hand. In spite of its massive content, it measures only 17 by 24 cm. and contains 411 pages. This is accomplished by the use of a type that is small but not too tiny. The paper binding is sturdy and appears durable. All in all, this is an extremely useful work. I predict that for years to come, it will be a must-have for every layman and scholar with an interest in the westward migration of the Norse. It has already become a permanent fixture on my desk, in spite of the fact that I have a sizeable Vinland bibliography of my own scattered over card files and computer disks. To have them all gathered in one slim volume is infinitely more valuable. Hats off to Robert Bergersen who has accomplished a magnificent piece of work, one that is a treasure for any scholar or general reader interested in Vinland.

Birgitta Wallace
Halifax, Nova Scotia


Anyone interested in the history of exploration and colonisation of Eastern North America has at one time or another come across articles and books dealing with Cabot's enterprises. A large number were published a little over a century ago, as the four hundredth anniversary of Giovanni Caboto's explorations had come to the forefront of historical research, only to recede into the background during most of this century. Earlier this decade the renewed interest in Columbian history and research fuelled the Canadian public's interest in the voyages of Giovanni Caboto. This interest culminated with the five hundredth anniversary celebrations' held in Newfoundland.

In June 1997 the Newfoundland Historical Society, along with other organisations, held a symposium on "Cabot and his World." Its purpose was to give the highly publicised events some historical context and to include presentations from diverse group of people. It also aimed to be informative and entertaining.

Now, two years later, the Society has published twenty-two essays from nineteen different authors on a broad spectrum of subjects. Included are the perennial "landfall debates," a presentation on naval architecture, a wide study of pre-Cabotian exploration and myths, sociological studies steming from cultural contact between native peoples and Europeans, the economics behind the European presence, political and nationalist mythology, alternative landfall theories and modern native perspectives. The cross-disciplinary approach is quite successful in giving the reader a much wider view of events that are still fuelling subjective interpretations to this day.

Native history and perspectives are represented in two subsections of the book. Innu leader Daniel Ashini and Shayne McDonald of the Miawpukek Band of Conne River contribute views that raise our consciousness on issues related to the history of Newfoundland, Labrador and Northern Quebec before Cabot, and the cultural consequences of following contacts. While improving our knowledge of the history of the Beothuk, Gerald Penny and Ingeborg Marshall shed some light on their tragic extinction.

Most readers will find it hard to resist indulging themselves in a bit of partisan spectatorship as they turn to the landfall debates not so dissimilar to those of past Cabotian duels. Reviewing these articles without showing any bias is too difficult a task! Articles dealing with the social, political and economic context, rather than with the actual explorations of Caboto make up the largest part of the collective work. Articles by Todd Gray, Evan Jones, Olaf Janzen, and Darlene Abreu-Ferreira provide excellent contextual, and even to some degree, iconoclastic material on the fishery in Newfoundland. Three articles by Shane O'Dea, Peter Pope and Roberto Perin address the issue of nationalism that has surrounded Cabotian history and give readers a much-needed perspective. Cabotian mythology is deconstructed through the careful study of published works and the history of their respective authors. Local theories are examined by James K. Hiller and Lara Maynard in the "Alternative Landfall" chapter; both articles make for delightful reading. The volume ends with an article by David Artiss on the genealogical links between the Sturges from Bristol and those in present-day Bonavista. Although interesting, it seems a little out of place in this volume, although genealogical workshops were an integral part of the symposium.
**The Northern Mariner**

_Cabot and His World_ is successful in airing a wide cross-section of scholarly and popular views on the context of 1497, and it is a worthy addition to any collection of exploration-era materials. This volume also includes informative notes on the contributors, a clear table of contents and relevant illustrations.

Marc Cormier
Toronto, Ontario


Among the many shadowy figures of the age of Columbus few are more elusive than John Cabot. His origins are as obscure as the mode of his death. He made one of the great voyages of that remarkable era, sailing in 1497 from Bristol for Cathay. He arrived at some uncertain landfall on the North American coast and disappeared without trace on a subsequent venture. His career is known only from a handful of archival references and a few mentions in contemporary correspondence and literature. To make matters worse his own son, Sebastian, further obscured the picture by claiming his father's achievements as his own.

In _Juan Caboto_ most of what is known about this enigmatic person is assembled by the veteran scholar Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, who published his first contribution on the subject in 1943. The volume's history is as chequered as Cabot's own career. It was prepared for publication in Italy in 1988, but following the project's collapse was re-translated into Spanish to appear in time for the quincentenary of the first Cabot voyage. It consists of three parts, each comprising a number of brief studies. The first section reviews the sources, such as they are, for reconstructing Cabot's life. The second is concerned with "critical problems," such as Cabot's place of birth and the proper spelling of his surname. The third is in effect a short biography, setting Cabot in the context of his age. The book is rounded off with a bibliography and a number of appendices reproducing a selection of sources, offering critical notes on the cartography relating to the voyages and printing extracts from modern authorities on Cabot. Such a plan entails much needless repetition. There is, moreover, little in _Juan Caboto_ that cannot be found in John Williamson's _The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII_ (Cambridge, 1962), which drew on the earlier work of Gaibrois in the Spanish archives. The bibliography is showing its age, ignoring, for example, Samuel Morison's _The European Discovery of America: the Northern Voyages, AD 500-1600_ (Oxford, 1971) and Kenneth Andrews' _Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630_ (Cambridge, 1984). Professor Gaibrois spends much time pedantically insisting that the subject's surname must be Caboto. He has no doubts that the civil engineer or architect, Johan Caboto Montecalunya, whom he discovered in the archives of Valencia and Aragon, was one and the same as the explorer - as he probably was. He urges that the celebrated letter of John Day to the Admiral of Spain, in which the Cabot and Bristol discoveries are described, was not, as most now accept, directed to Columbus (Admiral of the Ocean Sea) but to the Admiral of Castile, and that consequently Columbus had no knowledge of Cabot's landfall. But as Morison pointed out, there is no indication that the Admiral of Castile had the slightest interest in exploration. And if Columbus was unaware of the Cabot voyage it is difficult to understand why, in 1498, he divided his fleet in the Canaries and took part of it southward instead of to the unrewarding north. Nor are any of the author's other sallies more persuasive. He argues that the Day letter describes both the Cabot voyages. He is adamant that Bristol seamen had discovered nothing before Cabot, though this leaves it uncertain why he would have based himself there. And he insists, as few would accept, that Cabot survived the second voyage and returned to London. In short, this is an idiosyncratic and far from definitive study of an enigmatic figure. Useful but to be used with caution.

Geoffrey Scammell
Cambridge, England


John Parson's _On the Way to Cipango_ (Marco Polo's name for Japan) is a sequel to his _Away Beyond the Virgin Rocks: A Tribute to John
Cabot, published in 1997, the quincentenary of Cabot's voyage in the Matthew. In A way Beyond the Virgin Rocks, Parsons located Cabot's much-debated landfall in Maine. For his version of the 1498 voyage, he has one or more vessels of the ill-fated expedition reaching North America and then following the coastline down into the Caribbean where their crews were killed by Spaniards. What information the Spaniards gained from their English captives found form in the most enigmatic map of European discovery of America, La Cosa's and dated around 1500.

When asked to write this review, my first question was do we need another book on Cabot so soon after the quincentenary and my second was who is John Parsons? Although the author of a Cabot book and a participant in the Great Cabot Landfall Debate held in St. John's and Bonavista, I never heard any mention of Parsons or his book. The reason I suspect lay in Parsons' iconoclastic view of Cabot's landfall. The Maine coast was not what Newfoundlanders and the tourism industry wanted to hear from a native son and former teacher who had contributed numerous articles to the Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador. In reaching such a treasonable conclusion Parsons was much influenced by James A. Williamson's The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discoveries under King Henry VII (1962), with its publication of all known original sources on the subject.

For Cabot's 1498 voyage, Williamson also became Parson's chief source, though he makes numerous references to Ian Wilson's The Columbus Myth and his John Cabot and The Matthew. Parson has no new evidence or insight to offer, but does cogently lay out the arguments for a Caribbean end to the voyage. Although there is no direct evidence supporting it, there remain grounds for believing that the Spaniard Alonso de Hojeda, during his 1499 Caribbean voyage, encountered Englishmen, who could only have been from Cabot's ill-fated 1498 voyage. Moreover, Juan de la Cosa, the presumed creator of the map named after him, accompanied Hojeda.

Parsons is at his iconoclastic best in demonstrating the fallacy held dearly by some that during the 1498 voyage Cabot was shipwrecked and ended his days at Grates Cove, Trinity Bay on the northern part of the Avalon Peninsula. Locals can point to "Cabot Rock" with marking on it relating to Cabot's demise.

Although Parsons provides no new insights into Cabot, his two books have considerable value as the best bibliographic references in print for the two voyages. Parsons has done extensive research on published Cabot material. In On the Way to Cipango, he reproduces ten contemporary documents and twenty appendices of selected excerpts from published material related to Cabot's 1498 voyage. As well, he provides a list of sixty Cabot scholars, for twenty of whom he gives biographical sketches. Out of one hundred and eighty-seven pages, Parsons needs only thirty-nine to discuss the actual voyage, such is the paucity of documentation directly relating to it. The remainder is taken up with forward, preface, introduction, epilogue and such as the appendices noted above.

Readers might be interested in the work of Francesc Albardaner, a Catalan historical researcher in Barcelona, who contacted the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society. He has found documents relating to a Johan Caboto Montecalunya (wrongly transcribed in his opinion as Montecatalunya in the Cabot literature). He believes that Montecatalunya is a toponymie name of a village near Venice and not Catalan in origin.

Brian Cuthbertson
Halifax, Nova Scotia


This is an excellent book for what it sets out to do. Lane's underlying argument is that the great weight of piracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was directed at Spanish shipping in the Americas. This went through several stages, and while the main antagonists changed, the main target remained the same: Spain.

The book is organised chronologically. Chapter 1 deals with the raiding of Spanish shipping in the first half of the sixteenth century, mainly by the French. Chapter 2 deals with the second half of the century and the focus shifts to English raiders, such as Drake and other captains from the southwest of England. The third chapter is concerned with the early seventeenth century and a new raiding force: Dutch freebooters. Chapter 4 shifts to the second half of the century down to the 1680s and English pirates in the
Caribbean. In the last two decades of the century English raiders shifted across into the Pacific, and this is the subject of Chapter 5. The final chapter deals with the great age of piracy in the seventeenth-century Caribbean and the largely English perpetrators.

That is to describe the book rather too baldly - Lane is well aware that his time frames overlap and that a predominant national origin for raiders did not preclude the involvement of others. Lane is good at integrating the story of English raiders in the late seventeenth-century Caribbean with that of French pirates. Pirate history in English has tended to be heavily British in its emphasis, probably because of a fascination with Captain Johnson and a tendency to ignore the behaviour of other nationalities, even though Exquemelin makes it abundantly clear that there were plenty of Frenchmen and Dutchmen involved.

The great advantage of Lane's chronological approach is that it allows him to describe change and to explain how raiding was a response to particular and variable circumstances. He places raiding within a framework of slaving and illicit commerce (smuggling and redwood cutting) and so demonstrates its economic, as well as its political shape. Raiding is shown to have been a rational commercial activity by the perpetrators.

So far I have carefully used the term "raiding" because Lane is a sceptic about the difference between raiding and piracy. He applies the term "pirate" quite deliberately to Drake, Hawkins and others. There is nothing particularly new about that - Harry Kelsey's recent Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate (New Haven, 1998) makes the same point. But Lane follows through the logic of this argument. If Drake was indeed a pirate, what happens to the romantic notion of pirate crews as bands of brothers, of a collective anarchy in which rewards and risks were shared? Drake was an autocrat and kept the lion's share for himself. As a former slaver with Hawkins, he was no freedom-loving egalitarian.

But if this was true of Drake and other near contemporaries (Cavendish, for example), might it also be true of later pirates as well? Lane is unhappy with the Johnson-inspired romantic view of pirates as egalitarian brotherhoods. He emphasises the violence of pirates, criminals in a violent part of the world in a violent century. He describes English pirates in the late seventeenth-century Pacific terrorising and raping their way up the South American coast. Lane agrees that pirate structures in the early eighteenth century were more "democratic" than those of the Royal Navy (hardly a surprising thing, really) but their ideological purity was rather outweighed by the undisguised avarice and sadism of many of the crews. That does not deny the less hierarchical nature of the pirates in the eighteenth century when compared with those of the late sixteenth, but the merits of Lane's chronological approach is that this change is thrown into clear relief.

There is a problem with his focus, however. The pirates' arena was bigger than the waters off Spanish South America. Lane knows this, but tends to minimise it. He has chosen to talk simply of the attack on Spanish shipping, and that in American waters. There is a brief description of North African corsairs' attacks on Spanish shipping in Mediterranean in the first chapter, but Algerian attacks on Spain were also directed to the fleets trading with South America, and were part of the general European war between the Hapsburgs and their many enemies. The pirates of one theatre moved to other oceans - Algerians to attack the gold fleets, but also Ireland and Iceland - and English criminals like John Ward took up residence in Tunis and raided Venetian shipping. Later in the century, there was a similar expansion into the Indian Ocean. Lane suggests that Madagascar was almost an outpost of the Caribbean and North America - for that is where the pirates originated. But from Madagascar the victims were no longer Spanish, but Indian and Portuguese. The wide-ranging and unfocussed nature of pirate activity is downplayed in this account.

Despite this caveat this is a good book, well written and well organised. I shall certainly recommend it to my own students, but it deserves a wider and more general readership beyond the purely academic.

Richard Pennell


Thrilling tales of captains and crews embarking on dangerous voyages to seize richly laden Span-
ish treasure ships have captivated the reading public since the seventeenth century. Kenneth Poolman hopes to tap into this market with *The Speedwell Voyage: A Tale of Piracy and Mutiny in the Eighteenth Century*, a narrative account of Captain George Shelvocke's three-and-a-half-year privateering voyage (1719-1722) against the Spanish. This book marks a new departure for Poolman, who has previously written numerous works concerning air-sea conflict during World War II. Poolman's new voyage is successful for readers of popular history who want to learn of the many hazards of transoceanic commerce-raiding in the early eighteenth century. The rewards for academic historians, however, are more meagre.

*The Speedwell Voyage* is based almost entirely on Shelvocke's account of his exploits, *A Voyage Round the World by Way of the Great South Sea*, which was published in London in 1726. Poolman supplements this source with references to the account written by William Betagh, Shelvocke's disloyal Irish captain of marines. Betagh led a mutiny and made off with one of *Speedwell*'s prizes off the Pacific coast of Spanish South America. He eventually returned to London and published his own version of his actions to salvage his reputation. These two sources account for virtually all of Poolman's citations. Although he is obviously familiar with accounts by William Dampier, Woodes Rogers, and other buccaneering captains, there are no footnotes to other eighteenth-century materials and no references to or discussion of relevant secondary sources. Poolman is clearly uninterested in historiographical issues concerning privateering and the expansion of the First British Empire, and this is a major reason why academic historians will be less enthusiastic with *The Speedwell Voyage* than readers of popular history.

Poolman does an excellent job relating the many vicissitudes that Shelvocke and the surviving members of his crew faced during their long ordeal. The voyage began badly as the *Speedwell* became separated from its consort, the *Success*, commanded by the erratic John Clipperton. After a difficult and hazardous voyage around Cape Horn, Shelvocke and his crew hunted for valuable Spanish vessels. The *Speedwell* captured numerous prizes and raided Spanish ports. Poolman believes Shelvocke may have eventually reaped as much as £7000 (a virtual fortune for the 1720s) as his share of the voyage's profits. Balanced against this handsome sum were numerous deaths from combat and disease. Some men were taken prisoner in unsuccessful raids; members of prize crews were captured when their Spanish prisoners rose up and recaptured their vessels. Things looked bleak indeed when the *Speedwell* struck the rocks and sank off Juan Fernandez Island. While supervising the construction of a barque so they could get off the desolate island, Shelvocke faced a mutiny, which was one of several plots against his command. As if these were not difficulties enough, Clipperton's behaviour threatened the voyage from the start, as he refused to sail with Shelvocke, denied the *Speedwell*'s captain and crew support at critical stages of the voyage, and abandoned Shelvocke in the Pacific.

Clearly, the voyage of Shelvocke and his crew makes exciting reading for those who enjoy high seas adventures in the age of sail. For more serious historians the absence of an analytical discussion of the significance of privateering and imperial expansion is a major shortcoming. Still, Poolman has made the events of *Speedwell*'s voyage much more accessible than the accounts by Shelvocke and Betagh, whose narratives are not included in the holdings of many libraries (including my university's library).

Carl E. Swanson
Greenville, North Carolina


There has been a Dutch presence in the Atlantic since about 1580. It was not until 1975 that Surinam gained independence, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, consisting of the Dutch Antilles and Aruba, is still in existence today. Piet Emmer is quite correct when he says in his introduction: "the Atlantic economy is not a popular area of study among historians of the Low Countries." [1] Although an attempt is made with this book to fill that gap, the end product holds few surprises and there is little or no new insight given into the Dutch presence in the Atlantic.

This book is a collection of eleven revised articles dating back to the 1970s. The first four deal with the period 1580-1795, the years during
which the Dutch West India Company (WIC), established in 1621, was active. The remaining seven deal with Surinam and slavery in the nineteenth century. In a lucid introduction the author draws a comparison between Dutch developments in the Atlantic and the (supposed) vital importance of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Asia for the Dutch economy. The introduction sets the tone for the rest of the book. Dutch interests in the West were of little importance. So why make this comparison? Is research into the Dutch presence in the Atlantic area not valuable in its own right?

One of the first topics is the "second Atlantic system" to be created by the Dutch. This succeeded the Spanish and Portuguese systems, which drew together Africa, America and Europe. As well as being the owners of a modest number of plantation colonies, the Dutch also functioned as intermediaries between the Spanish, Portuguese, English and French Atlantic possessions and Europe. They supplied the goods necessary for working and living overseas in exchange for sugar, tobacco, coffee, and so on. The Dutch were also the ones who brought the expertise for producing sugar from Brazil to the Caribbean.

Regardless of the emphasis the author puts on the WIC, the company only played a modest role in the Dutch Atlantic system. The second WIC (the first went bust in 1672) certainly ensured that there was an infrastructure for private merchants, shippers and investors to operate. After about 1650 the Dutch Atlantic system was primarily a privately run business. It is a pity that so little research has been done into this.

The second important topic is labour in nineteenth-century Surinam. This runs from slavery to new forms of labour, such as indentured servitude. The author is very much at home in this area. "Plantation Slavery in Surinam in the Last Decade before Emancipation," written in collaboration with E. van den Boogaart, and "The Period of Apprenticeship in Surinam, 1863-1873" are particularly well done.

The second collection of previously published work displays several obvious weaknesses. Despite revising the text and supplementing the notes, the starting point remains unchanged and is therefore outdated. In addition, an understandable but irritating repetition of arguments and reference to documentation arises, especially in those articles where the subjects are closely related.

Perhaps its most important contributions are the questions raised. The author comments on several occasions on the lack of information about specific subjects, but the Dutch archives remain untouched. The contributions in English by A. van Stipriaan, H. den Heijer, J. Postma and W. Klooster, mostly based on archival research, paint for the early modern period a better picture. Nonetheless, Piet Emmer remains an authority on nineteenth-century colonial labour.

Victor Enthoven
Leiden, The Netherlands


The Asian and European discovery and exploration of the elusive continent of Terra Australis Incognita was an epic that endured from the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries. Actual sightings of islands, headlands, and parts of the Australian continent sometimes confused rather than clarified geographic knowledge about the imagined wealth and extent of an unknown land. Gradually the fantasies of cartographers and some explorers gave way to a more accurate understanding of the islands and the Australian continental littoral. In the present study, Miriam Estensen introduces readers to the technical challenges that confronted navigators in the Indian and South Pacific oceans. She traces the intriguing possibilities and limited evidence of visits to Australia by Chinese, Indonesian, and Arab traders. For a very long time, Portuguese, Dutch, French and British explorations of the west coast of Australia were often accidental byproducts of commercial voyages on the sea routes to Asia connected with the spice trade. With the discovery of sources of cloves, nutmeg, and mace in the Moluccas, Portugal established a monopoly in the sixteenth century that was the envy of all competitors. Official state secrecy shrouded the results of possible Portuguese explorations and most certainly of later Spanish voyages by Luis Baéz de Torres and other sailors from the Philippines and across the Pacific who approached the north and east coasts of Australia. Although some artifacts and unidentified wreckage have turned up, Torres' voyage was the only documented Spanish visit to Australian shores.
Estensen devotes several chapters to the Dutch, who from the beginning of the seventeenth century employed the aggressive United East India Company to replace the Portuguese and to fend off domestic and foreign competitors. Based at Batavia on Java's north coast, they dominated trade and sometimes explored the Torres Strait and the Australian coast. Adopting a sea route across the Indian Ocean in higher latitudes, many commercial expeditions sighted different points along the barren western coastline of Australia. Without the ability to calculate longitude, some navigators lost their way and failed to turn north at Sunda Strait. Shipwrecked survivors marooned on the barren coast either sailed small boats to Batavia or perished, leaving few clues about their tragedies. Even before the official explorations of Abel Janzoon Tasman, Dutch mariners had discovered the southern shore of Australia. In 1642, Tasman sailed east from Mauritius at latitudes between forty and fifty degrees until he reached the western coast of Tasmania and New Zealand's South Island. While he left many questions unanswered, Tasman circumnavigated Australia and made significant contributions to debates over the size and extent of a southern continent.

Despite their advantages, the Dutch neither completed the map of Australia nor attempted to settle, tasks that fell to the English and French beginning with the 1688 expedition of William Dampier, who observed the Aborigines and in 1697 published an account that became a best seller in London. His descriptions and drawings fired imaginations and stimulated official expeditions of discovery culminating with the expedition of James Cook with the bark *Endeavour*, that in 1770 visited the east coast of Australia.

In her research, Estensen drew upon recent underwater archaeological surveys of early shipwrecks and Aboriginal recollections concerning European visits. Although she ends with the arrival of Cook, the explorations of *Endeavour* on the east coast and of Cook's brush with shipwreck on Great Barrier Reef are omitted. The book ends abruptly without an adequate conclusion. Nevertheless, despite a few minor quibbles, Estensen's broad survey makes some useful contributions and provides readers with a good overview of three centuries of maritime exploration that determined the outline of the Australian continent.


Lost in the battle smoke of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, the interest of the French in the Pacific took on an added political motivation as Napoleon rose to supreme authority in France. He brought with him imperial ambitions that were intent on taking Egypt as a prelude to taking British India. - a dream crushed by Nelson at the Battle of the Nile - and French ambition included the shoulder­ing aside of the British on even farther-flung shores, such as New Holland (Australia), where the British had planted a penal colony in 1788. In 1800 the French government sent out two vessels of the "corvette" size - frigates of twenty guns or less - *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*, under the command of Nicolas Baudin. The expedition was to explore the coastl of the Australian land mass and conduct scientific studies. The less evident purpose of the expedition, as Napoleon put it on 9 June 1810, was "to take the English colony of [Port] Jackson, where one will find considerable resources," and in the words of his Minister of Marine, Forfait, "to plant the standard of Bonaparte on the first convenient point." Baudin therefore sailed with the dual task of scientific inquiry and territorial annexation. For the former, Baudin was well qualified, being both a sea officer and botanist of some repute and a member of the Institute. As for supplanting British authority, he and his expedition were less well prepared.

Baudin was charged to collect as broad a range of biological specimens as possible from the Australian coast, and took with him twenty-four scientists and their assistants who were to achieve that goal. Armed with letters from the first Consul indicating the ships were on a peaceful scientific mission, the expedition sailed from La Havre on 19 October 1800, reaching Australia at the end of March 1801 only to learn that the British navigator, Matthew Flinders, had preceded it along the hitherto unexamined shores. It was clear to Baudin then that claiming those shores for
France was impossible. The expedition busied itself with biological and other scientific examination, and studied in strategic detail the extent of the British presence before setting off home in 1803. The expedition had suffered throughout from disease in both ships, and was plagued with dissension and mutual suspicion between the seamen and the scientists that far exceeded anything that took place between Cook's men and Joseph Banks or John Reinhold Forster. Struggling homeward, Baudin himself died at Mauritius on 16 September 1803, and his pioneering voyage of scientific inquiry was largely ignored in the renewed fighting that had convulsed in Europe. But the expedition had bequeathed to France an astounding collection of specimens and observations that rivalled those of Cook's voyages.

Roger Martin has edited the journal and report of François Péron, who served on the voyage as an assistant naturalist, and whose observations on Australia are joined by intelligent assessments of the British presence in the Pacific- and France's chances of ousting them. As a civilized and literate examination of the extraordinary environment of Australia, and a synopsis of the state of the British colonies there at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Péron's document is a fascinating and informative addition to the literature, as well as a glimpse of European scientific and political thought in a turbulent era.

Victor Suthren
Ottawa, Ontario


"No one has given us a better idea of what California looked like 170 years ago," conclude editors Frugé and Harlow of Auguste Duhaut-Cilly's 1826-9 voyage, [xxv] and they speak with some authority, Frugé as a former director of the University of California Press and Harlow as the author of several important works on California history. French sea-captain Duhaut-Cilly was not the most adept of merchant-traders: it took him two years to dispose of what seems to have been a poorly selected cargo (the captain provides few details) on the California and western Mexican coasts. But Duhaut-Cilly's bad luck, as the editors note, is good fortune for students of early nineteenth-century California, the very point at which the missions were at the very height of their power before being secularized and broken up. The captain was a minor aristocrat, a military veteran, a Catholic, and fluent in Spanish - all attributes which gave him entrée to California society unavailable to even the most well-intentioned Protestant-Anglophone "Boston Men."

The original two-volume account of the voyage of the trading ship Héros was published in Paris in 1834-1835; the only English translation appeared in the California Historical Society Quarterly in 1929, edited by Charles Franklin Carter. Carter's version, however, omits some important sections on Baja California, as well as those on Hawaii and Canton, and suffers from an over-literal adherence to the original French. This new and very reasonable edition is thus an important addition to the list of California visitor accounts, joining Vancouver (1790s) and Beechy (1820s) among others, none of whom had the same sort of experience or left a detailed description of the local society. The editors have done an excellent job of unobtrusive but thorough culling of unnecessary passages such as sailing directions, but explain in their notes a number of obscure points, always with the objective of focussing on the history of California rather than on a voyage narrative. Though some thirty pages deal with Hawaii, and another ten with China, this work will be of interest mainly to those concerned with California and Mexico.

Like many other traders in California before and after his 1827-1828 visit, Duhaut-Cilly suffered from the local conditions, including lack of ready cash, limited items of trade for export (mostly hides and tallow), and onerous and impractical customs regulations. By his own account, he seems seldom to have been discouraged, viewing California as a sort of Arcadia which Rousseau would have admired, with an open and contented people living in a land of plenty, lacking only "a few fine chateaux to make a magnificent picture." [76] Yet he was not blind to the brutalities he witnessed, such as in the punishment of recalcitrant Indians, adding that republics have always needed helots, "wretches, who can be reduced to a brutish condition and killed for sport." [93]
of the work lies in its demonstration of the extent to which California in that era was dependent upon the sea for communication. On several occasions Duhaut-Cilly found himself conveying dignitaries or prisoners or messages hither and yon, even to Mazatlan in Mexico. Local shipping was minimal at best, and captains like Duhaut-Cilly were constantly prevailed upon to run such errands for their customers. It is this relationship, together with its description of the various missions and their padres and the settlements of San Francisco, Monterey, San Jose, San Diego, and even Los Angeles (seldom visited by seamen, for it was well inland and not easily accessible), that makes this work so interesting. Duhaut-Cilly was present in 1828 when a decree was read out banning Spaniards from Mexican lands (California had become a territory of Mexico in 1824). Most of the padres would soon be gone, along with the California which Duhaut-Cilly described in such delightful detail. We are indeed fortunate to have his account available in this new format.

Briton C. Busch
Hamilton, New York


Franklin's classic narratives are the first titles in the "Arctic Discovery" series currently being published by CD-Academia Book Company. Back (1836 & 1838) and Lyon (1825) are now available; Ross (1835) is forthcoming. The publishers have a useful web site (www.cd-books.com) from which titles can be ordered. Given that a copy of the 1971 Hurtig reprint of *Second Expedition* was recently offered at US $125, CD-Academia's prices are reasonable.

To read these CD-ROMs you must have Adobe Acrobat Reader. If you have Windows 95 (as I do), this takes only about a minute to install after you have loaded the CD-ROM for the first time. It appears somewhat more complicated if you use another operating system. My computer is a laptop (Toshiba Satellite 4030CDS) with a Celeron chip; the other technological device employed was a pair of reading glasses for middle distance. On every occasion I have started to read one of these CD-ROMs I have been greeted with that dire "illegal operation" warning. Ignoring this, with the devil-may-care attitude that Franklin so admired in English seamen, I had no problems. There is the occasional sound of protest which suggests that my computer finds itself overtaxed.

If you wish to read one of these books as Franklin intended, by starting at the beginning, you simply go to the table of contents and click on chapter 1. This takes you to page one in its entirety; pages are "turned" with the Enter key. At the end of the chapter, you must return to contents and click on chapter 2. As a physical experience it is much more comfortable than reading a lengthy text on microfilm or on the web. The default text is a tweaked version of the original, which is easy on the eyes and yet retains the beauty of the original typography. The text can be enlarged if you wish. You can also view the scanned version of the original simply by clicking on the image button which appears on every page.

There are two ways to find specific references in the text. You can use the table of contents with all those sub-headings and click on the one you want, a welcome improvement on leafing through a lengthy chapter for the reference that the table of contents has indicated is somewhere in there. There is also a search engine. Since the more accustomed you become to a search engine the better the results, it may not be altogether fair of me to say that I found it excellent for finding specific words and phrases but otherwise not as helpful as a good index. There are key words but Inuit, for example, does not seem to be one of them: to locate Franklin's references to Inuit it is best to use the words he used, such as "Esquimaux." There is a "sounds like" option; a search for "Eskimo" drew a blank but "Eskimos" was successful.

The illustrations and maps are available in colour or black and white, depending on the original, both as low-resolution images, for quick consulting, and high-resolution images, for more detail and for printing. This ability to print images
and, of course, the text, means that reproductions of good quality, for use in handouts, papers, theses, and so on are available cheaply and easily. There is no need to go to the trouble and expense of photography or to importune a stony-hearted librarian for photocopies. Access to the maps is particularly good, as they can be viewed and printed at increasing levels of detail and magnification. The CD-Academia web site has a handy guide to viewing maps, which is worth consulting.

Before viewing these CD-ROMs I thought of them only as an alternative to reprints for readers who lack access to the originals or who want a version to read at a convenient time and place. For librarians who have original editions in their care and wish to spare them from active use, the CD-ROMs serve the same purpose as reprints.

Now, however, it is obvious that these CD-ROMs provide more than a reprint and more than an original edition. It is not just a question of the ease with which maps can be viewed and printed, for example. While reading a Franklin first edition is a special and privileged experience, it can remove us from Franklin's own time even as it seems to draw us closer. His first readers, after all, were not buying an old book, which needed to be treated as gently as an invalid. They were buying a new book, which represented the pinnacle of modern book-production technology. They were anticipating the pleasure of reading about recent thrilling events written by one of the participants. They did not have all the baggage that encumbers us in any encounter with Franklin. To sit at one's computer, that gateway to today's world, and read "Sunday, the 23rd of May, the whole of our party embarked at Gravesend on board the ship Prince of Wales," is to experience Franklin once more as a contemporary voice.

Anne Morton
Winnipeg, Manitoba


This eclectic collection contains much of interest. The absence of a theme and the range of the pieces ensure that the prime market will be libraries, but specialists will find much of value in particular essays. James Pritchard's opening piece - on the Franco-Dutch conflict in the West Indies in 1672-8 - is a thoughtful study leading to the conclusion that colonies of settlement were a precondition to continuing the struggle in America. Pritchard judges the French harshly, arguing that they lacked a clear-cut naval strategy. This reviewer feels that Pritchard is overly critical, but his willingness to add evaluation to analysis is welcome. David Skaggs assesses Franco-Spanish planning in the background to Yorktown, offering a worthwhile study of coalition planning. In a slight piece, Gregory Ripple considers the response in the English press to John Paul Jones' raid on Whitehaven in 1778. More valuably, Timothy Jenks looks at how the representation of Howe's 1794 victory on the London stage was exploited for propaganda reasons. The navy was seen as a focus of national identity. Gene Smith considers Thomas ap Catesby Jones and the US Navy's first ordinance survey, in 1833-1834. The process and complexity of reform are clearly discussed. Harold Langley provides an interesting discussion of the controversy over prize money after the American naval victories of 1898. The Supreme Court settled the matter, and prize and bounty provisions were repealed.

Dirk Bönker offers an interesting account of naval professionalism and politics in turn-of-the-century Germany and America. Based on wide-ranging scholarship, this is one of the most important pieces in the book, especially valuable for the debate over German militarism. David Thompson discusses Norwegian naval policy, 1905-1940: organisational flaws and a lack of peacetime support left the navy vulnerable when the Germans attacked. Reynolds Salerno looks at British, French and Italian naval strategy in the Mediterranean 1938-1940 and suggests that Anglo-French divisions led to a confused response. Salerno favours earlier Allied action against Italy.

The end of the Cold War makes informed analysis of Soviet policy easier. Gunnar Åselius discusses the Baltic in Soviet strategy in 1920-1940: a failure to give due weight to the problems of joint operations and to ensure a "better balance" between particular types of ships is held to have affected performance during World War II. Lennart Samuelson uncovers the naval dimension of Soviet five-year plans in 1925-1941, and
Douglas Peifer turns attention to staffing and training in the East German navy in its early years: the "Socialist Unity Party and its youth auxiliary penetrated and shaped the East German navy at every level from the start, ensuring that ideology and political activism were never displaced by 'narrow' technicism." [248] Eric Rust, in contrast, looks at West German reactivation of former Kriegsmarine officers, and Philippe Vial at the reconstruction of the French navy: American assistance declined from the mid-1950s.

William Leary considers Waldo Lyon and Arctic submarines, specifically Lyon's criticism of the American failure to emphasise Arctic defence, while Todd Forney looks at the United States Naval Academy in the 1960s. The book closes with Robert O'Connell's symposium address - "A Useful Navy for 2017: What Can Naval History Tell Us?" - a wide-ranging account that links global developments to naval strategy and presents a picture of an unstable world. This closes a useful and always interesting volume.

Jeremy Black
Exeter, England


This book, a revised edition of the 1991 edition, provides the first comprehensive examination of raiding, piracy and warfare in northern European seas and rivers, and the western Mediterranean, from the early first century to the late ninth century A.D. The book draws primarily on the somewhat fragmentary literary sources from this period, and the interpretation and analysis of these sources by a wide range of scholars. The range of primary literary sources used is extensive, and includes both authors from the Classical and Byzantine worlds, and an impressive range of early Christian writers from the West.

The book is divided chronologically into five chapters. The first two cover the Roman period up to the end of the fourth century, the third deals with the Anglo-Saxon expansion and migrations, and the last two with Frankish activities from the fifth to ninth centuries. At the end of each chapter is a short section discussing the size and types of vessels used by the various groups. These sections use the very limited information from maritime archaeology, the finding and careful excavation of ancient vessels, and the equally limited evidence from a small corpus of iconographic sources in the form of graffiti, coins and illustrations in early Christian manuscripts. The principal difference between the first and second editions of this book is that these sections on the types of vessel have been expanded somewhat, and a number of errors in the interpretation of archaeological material have been corrected. The layout of the second edition has been altered so that the notes in each chapter appear as footnotes on the relevant page, rather than endnotes at the back of the book. This has made it somewhat easier to read.

The author has provided a detailed and extensively researched account of the maritime and associated military activities of the ethnic and political groups from southern Jutland and the north German area, Angles, Saxons, Franks and Danes, as they pressed westward, first against the Roman empire in northwest Europe, and later against compatriots who had established a settled way of life in Britain, in the Roman provinces along the Rhine, in Gaul and in Spain. The period covered by the book ends with the disintegration of the Carolingian empire as the Viking raids and conquests were developing their full force.

From the maritime historian's point of view, one of the principal attractions of this book is the cogent arguments that the author develops for a high degree of sophistication and technical skill in the construction and operation of seaworthy vessels by the Germanic groups inhabiting the area between Jutland and the Rhine. The archaeological evidence for the maritime aspects of the Dark Ages is rather slight, as very few ship remains which can be firmly attributed to this period and area have come to light. A number of vessels from both earlier and later periods are known, and boats from these centuries have been found in Scandinavia. From north Germany, southern Jutland and Britain only four vessels of this period have been discovered. The ship's hulls which can be placed in the Dark Ages are the oak and pine Nydam boats, dated to c. AD 400, and the Gredstedbro vessel dated to c. AD 600, all from southern Denmark, and the Sutton Hoo ship from Suffolk, England, also dated to c. AD 600. One problem is that these boats may not be typical of the seagoing vessels used in the Anglo-
The opening sentence of Peter Padfield's latest book indicates that he, too, aims to contribute to this ongoing and sometimes stimulation debate. "Maritime supremacy," he writes, "is the key which unlocks most if not all, large questions of modern history, certainly the puzzle of how and why we - the Western democracies - are as we are." As stimulating as such an argument might be in the current effort to construct a general theory of history, the author does not devote much space to develop and illustrate it. He is perhaps the leading naval historian of his age - the author of twenty-one books, of which two-thirds are on naval and maritime history. In this newest work he combines two themes, decisive sea battles on the one hand, and descriptions of the effects of maritime trade and naval supremacy on governments and societies on the other. For, as he quite rightly claims, political attitudes, values and beliefs are the results as much as the determinants of power. Here is a reversal of Mahan; the character of a people and its type of government are moulded by the acquisition of sea power rather than the other way about.

Unfortunately, the argument which is laid out in the introduction is insufficiently developed thereafter to be convincing. Much recent research on the decentralized, incoherent nature of land-based kingdoms and empires is ignored and governments of the latter are characterized as rigid hierarchies and centralized bureaucracies. The text is also unbalanced. Ten of the fourteen subsequent chapters are devoted to detailed, tactical accounts of ten decisive sea battles between the English and their Spanish, Dutch and French enemies: The Spanish Armada, the Downs, Sole Bay, Beachy Head, Barfleur, Malaga, Finisterre, Quiberon Bay, Chesapeake Bay and the Saintes. The questions whether these are the ten decisive sea battles of the three centuries under discussion, and, if naval engagements are ever decisive are never really dealt with, though the author acknowledges that naval victories such as Beachy Head were "transient" [139] and "decisive results were the exception." [160]

The accounts of the sea battles are excellent. They are balanced, told in clear, forthright prose marked by great appreciation for ships, weapons,
commanders, tactics and unreliable winds. Padfield has a wonderful eye for a detail that encapsulates much more than fact. It is all the more surprising, then, that he has not incorporated much new work on the Royal Navy, especially the work of those who deal with relations between maritime trade and naval power like Sari Hornstein (1991) and more recently Richard Buel Jr. (1998), but also David Syrett (1989) and Daniel Baugh on the British navy, Carla Rahn Phillips (1986) and David Goodman on the Spanish navy, Jaap Bruijn on the Dutch navy (1996), and Daniel Dessert on the French navy (1996). This, then, is a very well written book whose chief argument is underdeveloped and unconvincing. The author has relied too heavily on his earlier two volume history Tide of Empires: Decisive Naval Campaigns in the Rise of the West 1481-1763 (1979-1982).

James Pritchard
Kingston, Ontario


One of the prize exhibits at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History is the Continental Army gunboat Philadelphia, raised from the waters of Lake Champlain in 1935. In 1989 the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum began a reconstruction of the vessel as a living museum; it was launched in 1991. This lavishly-illustrated booklet contains a revision of Lundeberg's 1966 Smithsonian study of the same vessel plus an afterward by Arthur B. Conn of the Lake Champlain Museum, which discusses the building of the Philadelphia II. Scholars will find the annotated bibliography particularly useful.

Lundeberg's brief history of the 1776 Lake Champlain campaign and the Battle of Valcour Island are well known to students of the American Revolution. His brief discussion of the Philadelphia's crew only partially answers our curiosity about who rebelled against the King in 1776. The vessel's captain, Benjamin Rue, spent much of the war as an artilleryman and captain of a gunboat in the Pennsylvania State Navy. He ended life as proprietor of an Ohio village tavern that continues to operate to this day. The first mate, on the other hand, changed sides and became a spy for the British, ending his life in a hangman's noose in Albany. We can only hope that more will emerge about the enlisted men and their socioeconomic status before and after the rebellion.

Cohn's description of the construction of the Philadelphia II is most intriguing and illustrates the growing importance of maritime replicas and the general public's interest in such projects. This effort utilized both Howard P. Hoffman's detailed plans and model of the vessel, plus plans of a similar gundalow gunboat built in Canada in 1775 by the invading Americans. Conn writes touchingly of school children climbing on board, listening "spellbound" to stories of the Battle of Valcour Island, and coming "alive with questions" about the ship and the American Revolution. Similar efforts by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's rebuilt US Brig Niagara of battle of Lake Erie fame demonstrate the significance of providing such working vessels of the age of fighting sail.

David Curtis Skaggs
Bowling Green, Ohio


Sir Charles Middleton, later Lord Barham, has long awaited biographical treatment. He is referred to in numerous naval histories, sometimes as "a prig and a bore of the first water," sometimes as a naval administrator "second, if at all, to Pepys," and according to Pitt the Younger, as "the best man of Business I ever saw." His administrative career included the Comptrollership of the Navy Board from 1778-1790, during the American War of Independence and the post-war rebuilding and repair phase; stints at the Admiralty, including the post of First Lord in the Trafalgar Campaign; and as official and unofficial advisor on naval affairs to government. He has been the subject of an Oxford thesis, but this is the first published account.
Regrettably, as Talbott points out, we shall never know intimate details of Middleton's life: his accumulated correspondence and papers, now at the National Maritime Museum, deal almost exclusively with naval business. Hopes, fears, attitudes to friends and spouse, hobbies, nothing of personal significance appears in over forty years of papers, surely a remarkable feat in its own right, and probably one which justifies all the descriptions given above.

He belonged to a moderately successful Dundee family ("that damned Scotch packhorse" is another description thrown at him by St. Vincent), and entered the navy in the War of Jenkin's Ear. He had a satisfactory if unremarkable career, rising to command small ships in 1757, when he made a small fortune in prize money. His marriage to Margaret Gambier (another naval family) was very close, and her friend Elizabeth Bouverie shared their lives, the three of them moving between the Middleton London townhouse and the Bouverie estate at Teston in Kent. As staunch Evangelicals (Middleton apparently tried to ban swearing on his ships) they lived exemplary lives dedicated to duty and good works. Lady Middleton was an early mover, with Wilberforce, of the anti-slavery crusade. Hannah Moore, the Tory moralist, was also a close friend.

He never went to sea after 1763, but upon the outbreak of hostilities in America, the First Lord, Sandwich, offered him the Comptrollership of the Navy. This was an administrative post at the head of the Navy Board, which ran all the civil affairs of the Navy: the dockyards, building and repairing, inventory, and contracting with suppliers. In short, Middleton was to become the CEO of the largest industrial enterprise in the world. The task was daunting, especially at the start of a war which soon involved France and Spain. As Talbott makes clear, the fact that the Royal Navy did as well as it did is largely due to the infrastructure Middleton oversaw. Merchant yards were mobilized to produce warships, the Navy Board took over the duties of the Transport Office, organized convoys, and performed miracles of administration in what became a huge world war. A chapter on "Coppering" the fleet is especially well done. Coppering the hulls of ships to increase their speed, and the times they could remain at sea without cleaning, is often cited as Middleton's greatest achievement. It was certainly a technological breakthrough of monumental proportions, though it is stated here that Middleton's haste to move ahead caused serious problems when the copper eroded the iron bolts, a problem only overcome by the use of copper bolts (a 400 percent cost increase over iron!).

The peace decade of 1783-1793 was marked by extensive building and repair of ships, reflecting a unique commitment to peacetime spending by Pitt's government, the final solving of the coppering problems, Middleton's very strained relations with the new First Lord, Lord Howe, and his thwarted attempts to get government support for his reform of the naval administration. This latter issue, which Talbott rightly links to the "economical reform" movement of the interwar years, was Middleton's way of modernizing the administration, especially the Navy Board, which still groaned along under antiquated practices. He resigned in 1790 when government refused to promote his ideas.

The French Revolutionary period saw him briefly with a seat at the Admiralty, and then as an unofficial advisor to Pitt's government on naval issues. In 1805 he emerged as a compromise candidate for the post of First Lord, raised to the peerage as Lord Barham. This was a dangerous time for Britain, as Napoleon was making the opening moves in the invasion of Britain. It fell to the now elderly Middleton to make the fleet dispositions which thwarted those plans, and ended in Trafalgar. Nelson won the tactical victory, but the strategic victory was Middleton's.

This book, then, is a welcome addition to the literature on the Royal Navy in the years of its greatest challenges. None did more for its well being than Charles Middleton. His character was prickly, he was pushy, judgmental, and probably insufferable on many issues, but he did accomplish Herculean tasks with a support staff of minuscule proportions. After the numerous books on Nelson and other great commanders, it is refreshing to see a scholarly treatment of this administrator, without whose work the others would have been less impressive. The book is based on solid documentary research, the prose is clear, and the illustrations are pertinent. There are two areas where the book could be stronger: one is in a fuller perusal of the secondary sources. In the Acknowledgements, Talbot thanks Roger Morris, Roger Knight, and this reviewer, among others, for encouragement and mutual exchange of ideas over the years, yet Morris' crucial book on dockyards, Knight's work on dockyard patronage, and my several articles on building and
repairing, all dealing with Middleton's work in this period, are not in the bibliography. The other area which needs a bit more attention is Middleton's work in naval reform after Trafalgar. He remained very active, chairing a Commission on reform until 1812, and the National Maritime Museum collected papers contain much material on this task. Many of the recommendations eventually bore fruit in reforms which characterized the nineteenth-century navy. In summary, this book is most welcome and recommended, as it fills in some huge gaps in Royal Navy history, but there remains a bit of room for more to be said on Sir Charles Middleton, Lord Barham.

Paul Webb
London, Ontario


Southey's Life of Nelson is undoubtedly a great work of English literature. His polished Regency prose still has the power to move: whether in the great descriptive passages, such as his rivetting evocation of the inferno of the Battle of the Nile; or in his more reflective moments, such as the famous threnody on the death of Nelson. As Alan Palmer rightly says in his introduction to this latest reprint, "We dip into Southey's pages confident of drawing out a jewel."

Whether it is also a great life of Nelson is more open to debate. Southey wrote very close to the event: so his prejudices are well to the fore and he too often assumes that his readers will readily understand his brief allusions to contemporary events and personalities. Moreover, he relied on very slender research sources, all of them secondary, and, as a result, made some important factual mistakes and false judgements. For example, in his attempt to portray Nelson as a pure hero, without "the slightest alloy of selfishness or cupidity" he was very unfair to the women in Nelson's life: Emma Hamilton being made responsible for his brutal behaviour in Naples and Lady Nelson for the break-up of their marriage. Finally, Southey was by his own admission no seaman - "I am such a sad lubber" - and, although his naval terminology is usually accurate, his analyses of naval tactics and strategy are often wide of the mark. Southey's Nelson appears to win his battles by sudden flashes of genius and uncomplicated aggressiveness, rather than by the careful preparation, patient study and infinite capacity for taking pains which were the building blocks of his success.

Therefore, if the book is to be of any use in understanding Nelson, it needs to be read with the help of an informed introduction and copious footnotes. Sadly, this latest version possesses neither. It is a reprint of the Constable edition, originally published in 1916 with an introduction by Sir Henry Newbolt and with a splendid set of colour illustrations by Arthur McCormick. The text is a faithful facsimile of the 1916 book - so faithful, indeed, that it accurately reproduces all the original misprints! But the colour illustrations have been omitted and Newbolt's introduction replaced with a new one by Alan Palmer (although, confusingly, footnotes in the body of the book still refer to Newbolt's text!).

Palmer's introduction is excellent in its treatment of Southey and the book's place in his work but, when it turns to Nelson and the Navy it falters. For example, we find the hoary old myths repeated about "foul conditions, scanty food and iron discipline" [17] even though Palmer cites the very books that have exploded these myths in his "Note on Further Reading." And Palmer does not do nearly enough to highlight Southey's more glaring mistakes - a problem compounded by the fact that the text of the 1916 original was taken from one of the early editions and so did not incorporate the extensive revisions and "second-thoughts" which Southey himself included in the 1830 edition.

The best edition of Southey available is edited by Geoffrey Callender and published by Dent in 1922. Based on the 1830 edition, with copious notes and corrections by Callender, it combines the narrative power of Southey's prose with the accuracy of more modern research (although even Callender must now be treated with caution). If the reader really wishes to possess a copy of the Constable edition, copies (complete with McCormick's illustrations) still crop up regularly in second hand booklists. And they seldom cost more than £25 - which makes this illustration-less and note-less reprint look rather expensive at £16.99.

Colin White
Portsmouth, England

The appearance of this small publication well illustrates the adage that what you do not have, you do not miss, as it points to the fact that there has been no new information presented on this important ship for many years.

The subject of this book is a seventy-four gun ship that was built in France and launched as Duguay-Trouin at the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars in 1800. She was captured by the British two weeks after the battle of Trafalgar and, after being refitted and renamed Implacable, she served in the Royal Navy in various capacities, including much active service, until 1855 when she became a training ship. In 1904 the Navy decommissioned Implacable and offered her for sale. In order to keep her from the ship-breakers, non-naval concerns became involved and she was established as a privately funded training ship and later a "holiday home to the sea-conscious youth of the nation who are not well-off." Both boys and girls were included in her programmes. She eventually succumbed to old age after many futile attempts to restore and save her and was sunk with full honours by the Navy in 1949. The extremely high and never ending costs of maintenance simply could not be met. It was her role as a training ship that guaranteed Implacable’s longevity, but it was her demise that prompted the motto of the World Ship Trust in 1979: "Implacable. Never again."

Prior to her destruction Implacable’s figurehead and stern decoration were removed and put into storage at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Recently the stern ornament was conserved, reassembled and put on display along with the figurehead in the Neptune Court at Greenwich. Presumably this display spawned the publication under review, and Hempel’s Marine Paints A/S of Denmark (a commercial concern) and the Museum are to be commended for their involvement in both the display and the book.

During her long career Implacable was the subject of much debate and even controversy but she was also the subject of many marine artists and photographers. The book is therefore well illustrated with photographs and paintings both contemporary and modern, but an early draft of the ship is reproduced in part only and I would have liked to have seen the whole of it. Further, the vessel's dimensions are presented in a manner that a novice might find difficult to understand. In format this book is reminiscent of the concise information publications that one expects to find at important historical sites. It, therefore, really is unfortunate that Implacable is gone and that this modest yet worthy book cannot be presented aboard her.

John McKay
Langley, British Columbia


This book is the fifth and final volume in the "Chatham Pictorial Histories" series treating great events in maritime history during the period 1775-1815. The goal of the series is to illustrate and discuss events of the pre-photographic era, using paintings, prints, drawings, ship plans, charts, and maps, principally from the extensive, and according to editor Robert Gardiner, little-used collection of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. Many of the approximately three hundred illustrations in this volume are here published for the first time, a major goal. Gardiner also sought to show how the era has been presented by contemporary artists.

In addition to being overall editor, Gardiner wrote much of two of the three principal parts of the book. Andrew Lambert wrote the introduction, Robert Malcomson is responsible for Part II that treats the fighting on the Great Lakes. Roger Morrise, Stephen Chumbley, and Julian Manning all contributed sections.

The lavishly illustrated volume is arranged chronologically. Interspersed throughout, however, are thematic spreads of subjects such as principal ship types, ship construction, weapons, and prisoners of war.

Lambert places the war in its international
context, tracing its course, and emphasising that without Napoleon there would have been no War of 1812. Britain, involved in a life-or-death struggle with Napoleon, simply pushed the Americans too far. Curiously, in discussing the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair of 1807, Lambert links it to British efforts to control trade. Gardiner gets the cause of this event right in his Part I.

Patently the chief causes of the war were maritime in nature. Lambert writes that Madison had not sought war and had hoped to bluff Britain. But, after declaring war, Congress inexcusably adjourned without making provision to expand the minuscule American Navy. Surprisingly to the Americans, its army did poorly and its small navy covered itself with glory in the individual ship actions. But it was not on the high seas that the US Navy played its most important role; indeed, after 1813, the overwhelming strength of the Royal Navy kept the blue-water ships bottled up in port most of the rest of the war. Two small victories - Oliver Perry's success on Lake Erie and Thomas Macdonough's on Lake Champlain - saved the US from invasion by British regulars from Canada. Malcomson shows how the naval war on inland waters was won by shipbuilders.

It is disconcerting for US readers, however, to see Lambert attribute US ship victories of 1812 solely to disparity of size and armament. British over-confidence and US Navy training and will to win had a lot to do with this. And Lambert implies an equality of crew in the engagement between the USS Chesapeake and HMS Shannon. Captain Philip Broke of the Shannon had commanded his frigate for seven years and his men were probably the best drilled at gunnery of any ship in the Royal Navy. Captain James Lawrence took command of the Chesapeake less than two weeks before the battle, and his crew certainly was not "well trained." The men were new to the Chesapeake, and many were untrained. The new crew had not even conducted practice firing. Lawrence was foolish to have undertaken battle.

Still, naval historians and those interested in the period will want to have this splendid book in their libraries. It is enhanced by Mannering's discussion of the artists and the complete identification of sources for illustrations, including the National Maritime Museum numbers.

Spencer C. Tucker  
Lexington, Virginia  


Few military units have established as high a profile as the United States Marine Corps. It has a particular mystique, built through 224 years of service in combat all over the world. While well-earned, this fine reputation has also been helped by the American public's continual admiration for, and fascination with, the USMC - in books, movies, and television. Modern war and changing public attitudes towards the military in recent years do not always do justice to America's most high-profile fighting men. Now, though, through the issue of this third edition of *The United States Marines: A History* by Brigadier E. Simmons, its entire history is succinctly recorded. Himself a fighting Marine with combat decorations won in three wars, Simmons is now Director Emeritus of Marine Corps History and Museums.

His first-hand experience as a career officer and academic brings good insight to his subject. The author takes a sequential approach, starting with the USMC's formation in 1775, as part of the new US Navy. Interestingly, the Corps' first assignment was to have been as a landing force in the planned American occupation of Nova Scotia. This was changed, however, to a ship-borne raid on Nassau, Bahamas. Simmons tells how this was the start of almost continual combat service by American Marines ever since.

His book's chapters are arranged by dates, significant periods in the USMC's history. There's a swashbuckling feel to things when they land to fight in tropical areas - China, the Philippines, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti. Then as politics change, so does the nature of the Corps' duties. It fought far from the sea in the last few months of World War I and became a huge military force in World War II, particularly in the fierce Pacific island-hopping warfare. By the time Korea and Vietnam erupted, the USMC had taken on a new personality; elite shock-troops who fought in snowy mountains and steaming jungles.

Military buffs will appreciate the meticulous mention of each new Commandant, changes in uniform styles, innovations in weaponry, and statistics about manpower strengths and casual-
ties. If there is one disappointment, it is the book's scant coverage of ships involved. Odd, considering that Marines were, first and foremost, ship-borne infantry, and a component of the US Navy. (May the Saints preserve this reviewer from Leathernecks' outrage for even mentioning such a thing.) Descriptions of shipboard duties and accommodation could have added an interesting dimension to the story.

The maps are regrettably crude, stylized with drawings of period uniforms, in a sort of "pirates' treasure chart" format that detracts from understanding fully the many theatres of war described. A good selection of photographs of US Marines on duty over the past century greatly add to the detailed written information. Simmons provides a useful, compact, overall record of a powerful and accomplished military force that continues to draw strength from its amphibious deployment.

Sidney Allinson.
Victoria, British Columbia


Portsmouth, New Hampshire is one of the oldest ports and shipbuilding centres in the United States. English settlers first appeared there in the early 1600s. In 1914 Portsmouth entered the submarine age; over the decades it would build dozens of submarines for the United States Navy. This handsomely produced volume by Richard Winslow III, author of three other works on Portsmouth marine history, is a valuable and highly readable contribution to the regional history of the American Civil War.

Far from being a backwater during that conflict, northern New England was intimately involved with the struggle. The historic Portsmouth Navy Yard was one of eight facilities that helped the Union maintain overwhelming naval superiority over the Confederacy. The conflict transformed Portsmouth from a "sleepy, and second-class" yard into a first-class establishment. Aging facilities were repaired, improved and expanded. A barracks was built for the US Marines and, in recognition of new naval technology, a plating shop was added. Many of these buildings remain in use in the late twentieth century. The Federal government, to reassure New England, also poured money into harbour defences, which were reinforced with heavy guns.

Portsmouth shipwrights had a long tradition of constructing civilian vessels, including clippers during the 1850s. Prior to 1861, the navy yard had built just over one dozen ships for Washington. During the Civil War, the yard produced more than two dozen warships. The keel of the iron-clad, Agamenticus, was laid in 1862. The 350-foot monitor, with large guns mounted in twin turrets, was not completed until 1865. The yard also built the sloop USS Kearsarge, which won fame in its successful duel off France in 1864 with CSS Alabama. The author devotes parts of a chapter to this oft-told tale and also recounts instances where ships and individuals associated with Portsmouth were involved in major events of the war, such as the battle of Mobile Bay and the attacks on Fort Fisher, North Carolina. Equally, if not more important than "constructing munitions of war" was their repair. The yard repaired a number of frigates and gunboats, helping to maintain the successful blockade of Confederate ports.

Situated on the Piscataqua River dividing Maine and New Hampshire, Portsmouth was home to a merchant marine that was affected by the vicissitudes of war and the international shipping business. Local owners, shippers and crews participated in all aspects of the North Atlantic trade. New Hampshire and Maine vessel owners were involved in the "flight by the flag", the sale and transfer of American-owned shipping to foreign (largely British) registry in order to escape Confederate commerce raiders such as CSS Alabama. The war's shipping restrictions, climbing insurance rates, and general decline of the American merchant marine adversely affected prominent Portsmouth shipping magnate Congressman Daniel Marcy, a Copperhead (pro-Southern) Democrat.

On the manpower side, Portsmouth was a naval "rendezvous" or recruiting centre for northern New England. Recruits included regular Yankees and "galvanized Yankees" - Confederate prisoners who swore the oath of allegiance to the Union. The author notes that black "contraband" sailors of the Minnesota who visited in 1862 were well received by the community.

The workforce of the navy yard shot up from just over two hundred civilians in 1860 to 2,500
in the spring of 1865. The thirty-seven different occupations included carpenters, machinists, borers, joiners, and riggers. After the war the Navy Department cut staff and pay levels and ships were decommissioned, sold or laid up.

On the political side, the 1863 anti-draft riot in Portsmouth reminds us of the contested nature of Lincoln's policies on the home front. Three days of violent protest against Republican conscription and emancipation policies, "a virtual civil war," was put down by police, the provost marshal, volunteer troops and Marines.

The author benefited from a wealth of primary material. His bibliography is extensive and the documentation of each chapter impressive. The narrative is aided by many illustrations and maps. Winslow wisely chose not to make his account dry or institutional. He is also recording local history. Yet at times the anecdotes, designed to capture the attention of the general reader, are somewhat removed from what should be the heart of the narrative, the contribution of the Portsmouth Navy Yard to the Union war effort.

Greg Marquis
Quispamsis, New Brunswick


On the night of 6-7 September 1870, but four months after being commissioned, HMS Captain, the first sea-going turret warship built to provide all-round fire power, capsized in a gale off Cape Finisterre. She sank immediately, with a death toll of British seamen greater than the Battle of Trafalgar. The vessel was capable of fifteen knots, and at 4,272 tons she was a sizeable vessel. She was the brain child of Captain Cowper Phipps Coles, R N, the designer of Captain and inventor of the turntable turret gun for warships. Coles held the view that the ship was a stable gun platform whether under sail or steam. This view was not agreed to by the Admiralty Constructor, Edward Reed, who regarded the design as potentially dangerous. The author explores the different lines of reasoning on the issue, and he explains how both Coles and Reed had their supporters and detractors. The Admiralty decision to approve a modified design proved fatal.

The British did not come easily to the development of such a vessel, and it appears that innovations and successful operations by French and US ironclads and monitors drove the political necessity for the introduction of a ship such as the Captain. The design question of specific importance was how far over could the vessel heel and so much time as the vessel would turn turtle." A heeling of fourteen degrees would bring this low-freeboard vessel's gunwales to the waterline. The court martial heard evidence that such heeling, as witnessed at trials, had led to no difficulty. The issue was not whether the vessel would right herself from such a state, or situation, but what sail ought to be carried in a gale. "Can you give the court an opinion as to whether the Captain would have been safe during that squall if her square sails had been furled and she had been placed under steam instead?" asked the President. The reply, a safe one, which did not take the enquiry much further, was "She would probably have been more safe under steam." [110] That answer was given by Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, who commanded the fleet during the Captain's last voyage. All evidence seemed to support the view that the vessel carried more sail than she should have. But, as the author explains, sailors must sail - and that was a prevailing view of her late captain Hugh Burgoyne, VC, and of Captain John Commerell, VC, who testified as follows: "I do not consider that the weather was such as to warrant the Captain working out of line. She had weathered storm in safety, and therefore I consider Captain Burgoyne would not have been justified in breaking out of line." This led naturally to the next inquiry: "Why do you consider placing the ship under steam necessarily involved hauling out of line?" This brought a sailor's answer from Commerell: "I do not think he could have furled his topsails with the wind abeam. If his topsails had been aback the ship would have gathered sternway. It happened to me twice on that night - and that only caused by my maintopsail being aback to save the sail." [119] Then the inquiry shifted to the centre of gravity of the vessel, its ballasting, and other features of stability. Nathaniel Barnaby, President of the Council of Construction, and the senior authority on these matters, admitted that in fact there was little depth (actually 2.9 feet) between the water-
line and the centre of gravity of the ship. That was the problem, and that, says the author, rightly was the source of the tragedy. The vessel had been sent to sea before all calculations had been made from which adjustments and modifications could have been made. It was a hard lesson learned.

The author does not overstate the foolishness of the constructors and designers, and this is to his credit, for they were all learning on the job. Experience was informing design and engineering. It was a Victorian tragedy nonetheless, and the aspects of it will never be forgotten. The prevailing wisdom was that the Captain was carrying too much sail; the reality was that the design was flawed.

The author tells a good yarn, and he has made a long career of studying details of this momentous episode in naval history. He has a journalist's instinct, and he is good at exposing failures and frailties. It is to be regretted that this good narrative is not matched by an academic apparatus which would give students, especially future researchers, the sources and documentation upon which his narrative and analysis rests.

Lacking footnotes or endnotes, and having a very brief bibliography, this book does not join the collection of great naval histories.

Barry Gough
Waterloo, Ontario


This book is a sweeping and all-inclusive history of the submarine from 1580, when William Bourne made the first verifiable proposal for the construction of "a submarine boat," to the launching of the USS *Seawolf* in 1955. *The Navy Times Book of Submarines* is not for scholars however. Rather, it is a well-written and at times gripping history of the development of the submarine for the nonspecialists.

Overall the book is crammed full with all kinds of interesting facts about submarines and their history. In the first thirteen chapters of the book, Harris, a popular writer on naval and military affairs, carries the story of the submarine from its first conception until the development of operational submarines in the years before World War I. With considerable skill, he explores and explains all the schemes, inventions, and devices produced by men such as David Bushnell, Robert Fulton, James McClintock, John P. Holland and others which ultimately led to the creation of the modern submarine. One of the most interesting features that emerges from the survey, especially if one includes the US Navy's Hyman Rickover, is the key role played by Americans in the development of the submarine.

The last nineteen chapters of Harris' book are concerned with submarines in the twentieth century and deal particularly with history's three great underwater conflicts - World Wars I and II and the Cold War. Thus, the two German U-boat wars of the first half of the twentieth century are chronicled, as is the role of the submarine in the Pacific during World War II. The book ends with several chapters on the development of nuclear powered submarine during the Cold War.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of this book, owing probably to a lack of space, is a failure to go into greater detail when discussing nuclear powered submarines during the Cold War. Nevertheless, Brayton Harris has written one of the best single-volume histories of the submarine for a popular audience. In sum, the *Navy Times Book Submarines* constitutes a cracking good read.

David Syrett
Flushing, New York


As May 1915 dawned on the southern coast of Ireland, the Great War still seemed quite remote from its inhabitants. That changed on a sunny, carefree afternoon when, in a sweep of dramatic horror, the German submarine *U-20* sank the Cunard passenger liner RMS *Lusitania* only twelve miles off the Old Head of Kinsale. *Lusitania*, then regarded as a floating palace and speed queen of the Atlantic, sank in eighteen minutes. It seemed a diabolical barbarity that 1198 innocent civilians, including ninety-four children - some of them babes-in-arms - and 140
neutral American citizens should be attacked without warning, and that the nearly 2000 passengers and crew had not even a minute's grace to take to boats. People wrongly believed at the time that a second torpedo struck Lusitania, thereby reducing innocent passengers' chances of escape.

When Lusitania departed New York on 30 April en route to Liverpool, the German Embassy issued a notice in the American press warning passengers that vessels flying the British flag risked attack. This lent credence to the belief that the crime was premeditated and the murderer expected to be acquitted of his foul deed for having warned his victim in advance. Within hours the commander of U-20, Walter Schwieger, became the most hated man on earth as indignation swept around the world. Yet he returned home to a tumultuous welcome. Many Germans regarded the Lusitania as a fully armed reserve cruiser shipping ammunition to the enemy. After all, the Royal Navy classed the Lusitania as a Royal Navy Reserve Merchant Cruiser. For this reason the German government placed the ship firmly on its submarines' target list. Schwieger's chance encounter with the liner sealed its fate.

Author Patrick O'Sullivan, a native of Cork, Ireland, grew up hearing old fishermen's tales of German U-boats stalking Ireland's coasts in World War I. During his career as a commercial diver he spent his leisure time exploring wrecks, including that of RMS Lusitania. He portrays the great liner against its wartime background, and regards it as a ship with hostile intent that regularly smuggled munitions from the US to England using innocent passengers as human shields. He charges that Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, failed to take steps to safeguard the oncoming liner, known by the Admiralty to be converging on a course with U-20

O'Sullivan contends that while there is no cast-iron proof of a conspiracy, there is abundant circumstantial evidence that the British government thought that a submarine encounter with the Lusitania might persuade the US to enter the war on the Allies' side. However, contradictions abound against such theory. Britain's army in France faced a shell shortage. A study of Bethlehem Steel's munitions invoices has revealed for the first time the exact nature of the ship's munitions cargo. The liner carried over five thousand 3.3 inch shrapnel shells on her final voyage. Also shipped on board were 4.2 million Remington cartridges consigned to army order, 3200 percussion fuses, forty-six tons of highly explosive aluminum fine powder consigned to the explosives manufacturing division of the Woolwich arsenal, plus nearly two hundred nonexplosive items destined for the army or navy. It seemed highly illogical for authorities to cram the ship's hatches full of urgently needed contraband if they planned to sink it a few days later. Aside from these contradictions O'Sullivan contends that intelligence blunders at Whitehall may have contributed to the sinking.

O'Sullivan's evidence suggests the Admiralty deliberately withheld from the Mersey enquiry of June 1915, and later at the 1918 London and New York hearings, five vital intelligence signals transmitted directly to Lusitania from Whitehall. Botched evidence and attempts to cover up at the 1918 American Lusitania tribunal are also revealed. He also suggests that Churchill rigged the evidence to salvage his own tattered political career. To deflect public attention from the Admiralty's ineptitude, Churchill and his colleagues made a scapegoat of the ship's Captain, William Turner. O'Sullivan explains how the Admiralty stacked evidence against the captain for a sham tribunal. He reveals the sinister role played by British Intelligence in the Lusitania affair and the subsequent cover-up as well.

In one sense all history is a kind of interim report. O'Sullivan's "report" appears almost complete. Yet, as he observes, one tantalizing piece of evidence is still missing. The cloak of secrecy that has lain over the Lusitania for the past eighty-four years will some day be lifted by the discovery of the five vital signals sent specifically to the ship from the Admiralty during the last two days of its final voyage. New revelations may finally exonerate Captain Turner and bring the Lusitania story to a dignified conclusion.

David Pierce Beatty
Sackville, New Brunswick


Twice in this century German submarines have wreaked havoc among the world's merchant
shipping. The majority of these lost ships are forgotten now, but a few have achieved a certain notoriety - one such is the Royal Mail Ship *Leinster*, sunk by *UB-123* off the coast of Ireland in October 1918.

The basic story is straightforward: *Leinster* was a mail boat belonging to The City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, with a regularly scheduled run between Holyhead and Kingstown, across the Irish Sea. On 10 October 1918, while on her return trip to Ireland, she crossed paths with *UB-123*, who struck her with two torpedoes. Her remains now lie some five miles east of the Kish Lighthouse in thirty-three metres of water; 501 souls were lost - the greatest loss of life of Irish "citizens" to date.

Looked at superficially, Stokes has written an attractive little book, well laid-out and with lots of well-chosen illustrations. The narrative is fast-paced, and the author sets the scene in the first chapter with a precis of the blockades instituted by the two combatant navies. There is some useful background information on the packet connections between Ireland and Britain, as well as the origins and eventual demise of the company that owned the vessel. There is a certain editorial deficiency (messed-up italics for ships' names and misplaced hyphenation are common) and it is a pity that he did not include a better description of her wreck and some underwater photographs, like the one on the dust jacket.

It is in the interpretation and analysis of the sinking that this reviewer is left dissatisfied. Perhaps too much is made of the tensions between Irish and "English" and the turmoil surrounding Irish conscription Certainly the modern tone of Ireland and its people being completely separate and distinct from the United Kingdom is not an accurate reflection of the period (and the Sinn Féin leaflet reproduced on page 115 was not an accurate account of the encounter). Stokes' discussion of the morality of the sinking tries to be even-handed (yes, the *Leinster* was carrying military personnel and stores, and yes, innocent civilians were killed, and yes, the legality of some of the measures taken in the British blockade of Germany can be argued from either side) but in so doing he skirts the basic truth that the German campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare was illegal. Like the *Lusitania*, the *Leinster* was an unescorted passenger vessel, albeit armed with a single twelve-pounder mounted aft.

The author is also lamentably weak when it comes to the naval details. He does not understand that the small (circa 1000 tons) destroyers of the era would not have been able to maintain high speed in heavy weather [120] or that the amount of funnel smoke produced was directly proportional to the speed being attempted - nor had such things as "smokeless fuels" or "special methods of burning" been introduced. [74]

The worst flaw, however, is that he includes no footnotes, making it difficult to substantiate many of the "facts." Several pages are spent summarising one of the inquests, but he mentions that the records are missing from the National Archives. [117] Did he use the press as his source? He certainly seems to place credence in newspaper reports, though their accuracy and lack of bias was as questionable then as today, perhaps even worse. Meanwhile, he is sceptical of official figures which show some 771 people on board when she was lost, a close match to her official certification of 770. [117]

If *Death in the Irish Sea* gets a passing grade, it is only by a very slim margin. This ultimately is disappointing, because the story it contains is a promising one, and a striking parallel with the 1942 sinking of the Newfoundland-Nova Scotia ferry *Caribou*.

William Schleiahuaf
Pierrefonds, Québec


By any measure Jean Gow is a remarkable woman, and not least because in her ninety-sixth year she published a wonderful memoir of her close association with the Canadian navy during its formative period. Indeed, she may well be the last living soul who can recall with clarity the day when the first ship of the newly established Royal Canadian Navy, the little cruiser HMCS *Rainbow*, steamed into Esquimalt harbour in November 1910. Thus began a forty-year association with the navy which is the subject of this unique and delightful book.

As Gow explains in the prologue, this is a "family" portrait of the Old Navy: an insider's
peak at the people, places and events of a tiny professional service. What follows is a series of vignettes and anecdotes in roughly chronological order, beginning with her earliest visits to Rainbow as a child, through her marriage into the RCN officer corps, the locust years of the interwar period, and the hectic days of World War II.

As the daughter of a Scottish physician who was well connected with British colonial and military society, Gow was able to move comfortably in social circles that otherwise would have excluded her and the young naval officer she married in 1929. She met the great and powerful, and knew many - if not most - of the first generation of Canadian naval officers personally: from Walter Hose, to L.W. Murray, Percy Nelles and just about everyone in between. The fact that Gow seems to have known virtually the whole RCN officer corps by their first names says a great deal about the tiny size of the pre-1950 RCN. It is this "gossipy" side of the book which was most appealing to this reviewer - and often for what she did not say. For example, Gow clearly had little time for a senior RCN commander in Halifax in 1941-42, who seems to have been unimaginitive and rather petty. She never names him: it was G.C. Jones, and her sentiment echoes that of many from the period.

So there is much which those familiar with the Navy's history will find fascinating and useful here. In particular, Gow provides us with probably the best glimpse of life in the interwar years for young officers on meagre pay, a life caught between the glamour and pretence of the Empire and the Royal Navy and the comparative squalor of the dilapidated, rat-infested housing which was all that a junior officer's pay would provide. Small wonder it was often said that the only way for a young man to make it as a naval officer during this period was to marry into money.

Lt. Francis "Peter" Gow, RCN, quite evidently did not, despite his new wife's sound social connections. As a result, the heart of the story here is their all-too-brief marriage, which ended with Peter's tragic death in 1942. It is in the recounting of that relationship that we glimpse some of the inner workings of the service in the pre-war era: the jockeying for promotion, the efforts to keep the infirm (Peter) in the service in part because the navy had no pension, and Peter's own efforts to do his job in the face of indifference or lack of imagination in Ottawa. Gow explains how Peter, as Staff Officer (Intelligence) at Esquimalt in the 1930s, was perhaps the first to prepare a study on arctic defence against a potential Russian air-based threat. She also recounts how his fears about Japanese military activity on the west coast went unheeded, and how prescient were his pre-war predictions about Japanese balloon attacks on North America - and how little interest they engendered in Ottawa. Indeed, the only one of Peter Gow's schemes that seemed to have succeeded wonderfully was his development of a code for North Atlantic convoy operations during the war.

Unfortunately, Jean Gow's formal links with the navy ended in 1950, and so, too, does her story. But we are much the wiser for her recollections and insights on the Old Navy, and the book is a delight to read, and is highly recommended.

Marc Milner
Fredericton, New Brunswick


According to George Luscombe, the author of this curious book, the words "Total Germany" were the official signal that launched the Royal Navy into the most devastating seawar in human history, hence, the book's title. On that fateful day, Luscombe was a young telegraphist in the cruiser, HMS Manchester, then lying at anchor in the sweltering 100-degree heat of Aden Harbour. Soon his ship would assume station on a patrol south of Ceylon, followed by a refit at Bombay, before returning to the United Kingdom.

The book then continues, in the next three chapters, with the author's personal account of his experiences on patrols between Scapa Flow, Iceland and Greenland, the need to prevent German heavy units from breaking out into the North Atlantic, the Norwegian campaign, Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain. In Chapter 5, we learn about Operation Collar - the urgent requirement for weapons, supplies and support for the beleaguered Island of Malta and the hostility toward Allied shipping in the Mediterranean. Manchester then returned for a second northern patrol during a period that witnessed the shocking loss of HMS Hood, the sinking of Germany's pride, Bismarck, followed by Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of Russia. It was after Manchester was again as-
signed to the Mediterranean that the ship voyaged to Philadelphia, where she would undergo updating and replacement of radio equipment. It was then that Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor. During the author's last voyage, the ship was on patrol work in Arctic waters, providing distant cover for the infamous convoy PQ-17. Some months after his disembarkation, Manchester was sunk in the Mediterranean.

Overall, Total Germany presents a well-written and organized narrative which presents us with the author's personal life in a wartime naval vessel. Yet, sadly, one must conclude that this book does not make a significant contribution to the literature. Many sailors served in the searing heat of Bombay and the icy winter storms south of Cape Farewell, yet have not found reason for relating their experiences in print. Luscombe's ostensible justification for setting his memories into print was to unravel the mysteries of wireless telegraphy as viewed from the perspective of the Royal Navy. Yet readers will find scarcely any information on this mode of marine radio communications, apart from some scant coverage in the Prologue. In the nine short chapters that make up the main body of the text, readers will find a mixture of brief technical references to the Admiralty Handbook of Wireless Telegraphy (1951), Personnel Grading of Telegraphist Staff, Signalling Equipment, Ship to Shore Communications (wartime), W/T Traffic Lists, Secrecy and Discipline, Censorship, Official Telegrams and Shipboard Antennae. Yet the most vivid impressions have nothing to do with wireless telegraphy. Thus, we learn that one of the most magnificent sights the author was privileged to see came in 1934, while he was still a trainee telegraphist in the aircraft carrier HMS Courageous. This was the pomp and ceremony of the prewar departure of the Mediterranean Grand Fleet on a seasonal cruise from Grand Harbour, Malta. Luscombe describes the sparkling livery, the gleaming polished brass, the ship's company lined up facing outboard, the flag signals at yardarms, the ensigns dipped, the Royal Marine band and the repetition of this procedure in each following ship. What insight does this provide into the development and application of wireless telegraphy in the Royal Navy? Far less that we might have expected.

In this reviewer's opinion, therefore, the book fails to attain its stated purpose. Having perused several books produced by the same publisher, this reviewer is left with the impression that Pentland Press is primarily a self-fulfilment publisher involved in releasing the memoirs of individual people who believe their lives to be of exceptional interest.

R.F. Latimer
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia


This authoritative reference book tabulates information about every successful attack by an Axis submarine during World War II. Each entry provides a wealth of detail: the attacking boat's commanding officer and the weapons used, the name, type and both assessed and actual tonnages of the target plus its convoy designation where applicable, and the geographic position of the attack (for those by German submarines the reporting grid position is also given). In addition, extensive footnotes provide further useful details (e.g. whether the target had sustained damage in an earlier attack). For those interested, sufficient detail is provided for analyses, for example of percentages of sinkings by torpedo versus by gunfire (or by combinations of the two), the balance between night and day attacks, etc.

Axis Submarine Successes is based on five decades of painstaking research. Indeed Doctor Rohwer has been amassing data reflected in this book ever since the end of the war. His background is unique. Wartime service (1942-45) in the Kriegsmarine and extensive contacts over the years with U-boat veterans have been coupled with protracted research in several countries. Then there is the synergy created by authoring several books and studies on the Battle of the Atlantic. Finally, Dr. Rohwer established an international reputation in his field over the years and developed a network of knowledgeable colleagues including Robert Coppock, formerly of the Naval Historical Branch in London. Input from this team of colleagues has helped make this study as accurate and complete as possible.

The four indices make it possible to look up attacks by the name of the target, the attacking submarine, submarine commander, or convoy.
Inclusion of Finnish, Vichy French and Romanian submarines are a reminder of little-known aspects of the war. The German geographic position grid is also reproduced. The author's preface explains his methodology and why German wartime attack reports tended to exaggerate actual results. A previous English language edition of *Axis Submarine Successes* was published in 1983 but has long been out of print. Should researchers and libraries who hold the 1983 edition buy the new one? Definitely. This new version has been extensively revised. Information about attacks on Russian ships for example is now more reliable due to new access to Soviet records. Perhaps more importantly many entries concerning attacks in the Atlantic have also been updated and corrected. A welcome feature new to this edition are attacks by German midget submarines during the final six months of the war, which were responsible for almost twelve percent of the 322,000 tons sunk around the British Isles and Iceland during the Inshore Campaign.

The new edition has been produced in a more easily read typeface, but the oblong format of the book and the green cover are the same. Unfortunately, the new edition has the same feeble binding as its predecessor and will doubtless similarly separate itself into several sections with heavy use. Information about the registry of ships attacked is more readily accessible, as the abbreviations used are now easily recognised as referring directly to nationality instead of being a contraction of the port of registry. *Axis Submarine Successes* is recommended as the standard reference on sinkings by submarine of Allied ships during World War II.

Jan Drent
Victoria British Columbia


This is the fourth book by Showell on the German Navy, his second to focus on U-boats. The primary objective of this volume, to show U-boats in a wide variety of training and domestic situations, is well achieved. Some of these photographs have been published before, but most have not. The collection provides a clear insight into design features and routine U-boat operations. The captions are frequently lengthy and generally provide perceptive descriptions of the activities in view. For a quick review in pictures of how U-boats prepared for battle and everyday life aboard these subs mersibles, this book is unsurpassed.

The book starts with brief reviews of the commissioning, trials and training of *U-1230* - a Type IXC - and *U-421* - a Type VIIC. These reviews provide interesting discussions of the challenges involved in preparing a World War II submersible for war. *U-421* detonated a mine while training in the Baltic, and the impact of this on the boat, and the four-month delay for repairs that ensued, is a dramatic example of the challenges U-boats faced in the mid-war period. There is almost no discussion of their operational activities, however, so those interested in combat aspects of U-boat activities should not expect much. The text does not even suggest that *U-1230* undertook operations, saying only "The boat was in Norway during the autumn of 1944 and at Heligoland when the war ended." [xi] This omission is unfortunate, for *U-1230* undertook a very interesting patrol in the fall and winter of 1944-1945, landing spies on the coast of Maine and sinking a Canadian merchantman off the Bay of Fundy.

U-boat photographs, showing the submarines from every possible angle, fill most of the book. Diving, surfacing, mooring, and construction are just some of the themes. Rare photographs of torpedoes being loaded at sea - a particularly challenging evolution - as well as a picture of the crawl spaces between the pressure hull and the wooden upper deck are among the most interesting pictures. The different guns found in various periods of the war are another theme, as are operations in icy conditions. Those interested in understanding how U-boats were sailed will learn much from these, as will modelers concerned with every fitting. This last group of readers is the subject of a number of the comments in captions, suggesting that this is one of the primary intended audiences.

The human aspect of U-boats is extensively covered, although again not including anything that might be considered combat related. The captions are again generally informative, although a little strident regarding the essential humanity of U-boat sailors.
The quality of the photographs, which are all black and white, is generally excellent. The high quality paper and 8 Vr by-11 -inch format result in a very good presentation of the photographs. The editing is not quite of the same high quality, with several typos marring the text. The most irksome was the repeated reference to "tampons" to protect gun muzzles, rather than the correct term of tampions.

Those interested in the building, training and domestic aspects of U-boats will find the pictures in this book quite helpful in developing their insight into the German U-boat service in World War II. This book is not a comprehensive photographic record of all aspects of U-boat operations, but so long as readers are aware that very little illustration of combat activities will be found in between the covers of Showell's book, they should not be disappointed.

D.M. McLean
Orleans, Ontario


This is the second and final volume of the late Clay Blair's massive history of the German U-boat campaign in World War II, covering the last three years of the war. Blair served in submarines with the US Navy and has written several books, including Silent Victory, an account of the US submarine war against Japan in the Pacific Ocean.

Like its predecessor (reviewed in The Northern Mariner, vol. 8, no. 1), this volume aims at both a scholarly and a popular audience and, as a result, shares many of its virtues and faults. It is based on an extraordinary amount of research and contains a thorough bibliography of primary and secondary sources but does not have footnotes. As with the first volume, the level of detail is overwhelming - virtually every U-boat patrol is described in depth. The narrative frequently deteriorates into a repetitive recounting of seemingly indistinguishable actions between German U-boats and Allied escorts and merchant ships. When Blair pauses to provide analysis or context, he is generally insightful, especially on the German side of the campaign.

His underlying thesis is that German U-boats never came close to severing the vital Atlantic lifeline between North America and Great Britain. In his view, the tonnage war against Allied merchant ships was a colossal failure and naval historians have inflated the threat posed by the U-boat fleet. Blair marshals an impressive array of statistics to show that most of the merchant ships in convoy reached their destinations safely even in the worst months of the Atlantic war and that Allied shipbuilding made good the losses. But historians have never doubted the numbers. It is difficult ultimately to accept Blair's claim that the loss of 596 merchant ships of 3.5 million tons to enemy action between September 1942 and March 1943 was not a crisis simply because most ships in convoy arrived safely and Allied shipbuilding replaced those lost. In order to win the tonnage war, the Allies had to divert an extraordinary amount of resources away from the production of tanks, landing craft, aircraft and other armaments necessary for the invasion of Europe toward the production of merchant ships and escorts. Indeed, the argument that the tonnage war was a misguided strategy from the outset presupposes both the entry of the United States into the war and the presence of a viable alternative to it for Germany.

Blair debunks some other myths, arguing convincingly that special intelligence from Enigma decrypts did not play a major role in the destruction of the German U-tanker fleet in the summer of 1943 as is often claimed. In addition, he illustrates the seldom-described difficulties that British code breakers experienced after initially cracking the four-rotor Enigma in late 1942, and how the US Navy had to take over this responsibility from late 1943 on. He is less convincing when he argues that the Tenth Fleet - created by the US Navy in May 1943 to co-ordinate its anti-submarine forces - could not have been created earlier because the United States lacked the tools to do the job. His US Navy bias - so prevalent in the first volume - is on display here but generally is much more restrained in this book. Still, he is at pains to paint all German defeats or setbacks as "humiliating" failures with little regard for the difficulties faced by U-boat Command or the imbalance of resources between the combatants.

Blair devotes considerable attention to the oft-neglected period that followed the decisive defeat of the wolf packs in the spring and summer of 1943. He argues that historians again have overstated the threat posed by the snorkel-
equipped U-boats in the last year of the war, emphasizing that German submariners hated the new device, used it for only a few hours a day to charge the batteries, and that it was vulnerable to the latest Allied radar. From his account of the actions between U-boats and Allied air and surface escorts during this period, however, it is clear that snorkels provided a large degree of protection from air attack and radar was not very effective at detecting them. Some U-boats began to achieve modest successes for the first time in many months. Considering these factors, his contention that the snorkel was an "abject failure" seems excessive.

A brief review such as this cannot do full justice to the subtleties of Blair's challenge to existing interpretations of the Battle of the Atlantic. Despite its shortcomings, *Hitler's U-boat War* is a thoroughly researched and at times provocative account of the U-boat campaign that is sure to stimulate debate. Specialists will ignore it at their peril. Its length, price, and excessive detail, however, make it unsuitable for the more casual reader.

Robert Fisher
Nepean, Ontario


With the publication of F.W. Winterbotham's *The Ultra Secret* in 1974, cryptography ceased to be a rather dull subject of interest mainly to rumpled-suited mathematicians and entered instead into folklore as a war-winning weapon. Since then, historians have faced the challenge not of attempting to find an audience for discussions of Enigma, Ultra, or Dolphin, but of putting the legends surrounding such activities into proper context. David Syrett's *The Battle of the Atlantic and Signals Intelligence* takes an important step towards doing just that.

It does so in two ways. First, in an introductory chapter of some twenty-five pages, Syrett provides a brief history of the subject, including the Allied intercept system, how intelligence materials were processed and distributed, examples of an intercept and the German system of coded map references, and the process by which *U-boat Situations and U-boat Trends* was produced. Second, the author/editor reproduces a large sampling of the latter, dated from late 1941 to mid-1945 (though without noting exactly what percentage of the whole the published documents represent).

Though brief, Syrett's introduction is nevertheless very informative. For example, even some experts in the field might need reminding that high-frequency direction-finding fulfilled two main tasks, obtaining accurate coded text as well as a bearing, [xiv] Some whose focus is on operational intelligence might disagree with the statement that "Of much greater importance than shore-based D/F as a source of intelligence to the Allies in the Battle of the Atlantic was decryption of German coded radio signals," [xv] but its comparison with human intelligence ("spies" to most of us) is well-drawn and convincing. [xv] The author's insistence on the need for decrypts to be timely in order to be operationally useful will find little argument. In short, the introduction stands as an autonomous analysis which some readers may find useful in and of itself.

As for the reproduced documents they can, of course, be used as a source for researchers studying the Battle of the Atlantic, but they also tell their own stories. Checking the reports for January and February 1942, not only does one see the increase in U-boat strength off the US east coast, but one can also note that rising enemy activity caused analysts to divide the area into smaller sections as it became a full-fledged theatre of operations. Similarly, the German reaction to Operation Torch is documented here, as are the enemy's moves following other combined operations. Those interested in the 1942 campaign in the St. Lawrence should be warned, however, that many entries in the index for that area actually refer to St. Lucia, though this is not a serious problem. For Canadian involvement in signals intelligence, the reader should note that Syrett's bibliography lists some of the most recent works in the area, articles and books alike, by such historians as Alec Douglas, Roger Sarty, and Wesley Wark.

Though produced as a result of dry analysis, some of it mathematical, there is still room for drama in the *U-boat Situations and U-boat Trends* as convoys played cat-and-mouse with subma-
rines, a vicious game in which victory could be declared simply by reaching one's destination alive. Quotations from decrypts, such as the admonishment that Convoy SC 129 "must be found again. Do your best. Success must come tonight," [182] add a further layer of understanding to the analysis. Of interest is the fact that Dönitz's decision of 24 May 1943 to break off wolfpack attacks in the North Atlantic does not appear in the U-boat Trends, even though there is a report covering the period 17 to 24 May. On a different note, purely technical issues come to the fore in substantial detail, such as the trials and tribulations of one of the first true submarines, the Type XXI, as the Germans desperately attempted to get it into service in the forlorn hope that it would turn the tide of war in their favour. (See especially pp. 556, 565, and 566.) In short, this is a book that is useful at many levels.

William Rawling
Ottawa, Ontario

Roger Sarty. *Canada and the Battle of the Atlantic* [also available in French as *Le Canada et la Bataille de l'Atlantique*]. Montréal: Art Global, 1998. 174 pp., photographs (b+w), art reproductions (colour), colour maps, notes, bibliography. $39.95, cloth; ISBN 2-920718-65-7 (English); $49.95, cloth; ISBN 2-920718-64-9 (French).

The Minister of National Defence has described this book as something of a family album. Those Canadians who were participants in the Battle of the Atlantic likely will agree. The exciting text is illuminated with suburb photographs. Many of the actions of ships and aircraft against submarines are described in details understood by most who served in ships of the Canadian Atlantic forces at the time. Problems of responsibility encountered by RN, USN and RCN units are related in a straightforward fashion without acrimony. There is no attempt to portray ambitions of one navy to destroy more submarines than fellow navies. As the battle went on, it was accepted that Canadian forces were most suited for close escort duties while the other two navies, with faster ships and even aircraft carriers, were best suited to employment mainly in a Hunter/ Killer capacity. Failure to provide immediately the most up-to-date fighting equipment and training methods by the Canadians is easily explained. The demand for close escorts was so great that they could only briefly be spared for training. This was a sacrifice which reduced escort force numbers.

The end papers are from a painting by the late Leonard Brooks and provide an impression of the North Atlantic, a convoy and an escort as seen from the flag deck of an escort destroyer. It sums up the day-by-day experience of convoys and escorts in a way that cannot be portrayed more accurately.

The subject of the book is confined to the Battle of the Atlantic alone which is proper. There is only passing reference to the Normandy Invasion, Russian convoys, Dieppe and other operations in which Canadians excelled. It is hoped that these omissions will be recorded in matching style in a future publication.

The story begins with a brief mention of the War of 1812 when a Canadian naval tradition was established. The true founding of the RCN was in 1914, with the beginning of sea patrols. However, in 1917 the British introduced convoys, with Halifax and Sydney becoming the main ports for assembly and despatch of ships to Britain. As well, more patrol craft were built.

When the Great War ended, the RCN was re-established as a modest seagoing small ship force, its officers and most senior men trained in the U.K. The RCN and the RN America and West Indies squadrons began working together and RN shipping intelligence offices were established in Ottawa in the 1930s. War was declared in September 1939 and Convoy HX1 sailed from Halifax on 18 September. Surface raiders were our chief fear at the time. Halifax Dockyard was quite rundown. St. John's, Newfoundland offered few facilities and was almost defenceless. Within a short time, Shearwater Air Base near Dartmouth became operational and at the direction of Mackenzie King, our Prime Minister, Canadian shipyards began building corvettes and minesweepers.

After the fall of France in 1940, the RCN suffered a series of disasters. HMCS Fraser was rammed and sunk. Wolfpack attacks by U-boats operating on the surface as torpedo boats inflicted heavy losses and the German naval code, "Enigma," could not be broken. HMCS Margaree was rammed by a U-boat, but survived. The tide began to show glimmerings of turning when fifty ex-USN destroyers were turned over to the RN in 1940 and Canada was given nine of these. As well, ten Canadian-built corvettes were accepted into the RCN. In 1941 St. John's, Newfoundland
became another base and German naval codes were broken. These developments came not a moment too soon, for that fall the main mid-ocean battles occurred with terrible convoy losses. The Canadian command of the North West Atlantic was turned over to the USN.

The study of the Battle goes on to discuss in a very fair manner the difficulties facing Canadian corvettes. It then looks at the impact of Japan's entry into the war, the incredible successes of German U-boats in the Caribbean and the establishment of the Triangle Run: St. John's, Halifax and Boston. Of major interest to Canadians was the Battle of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in which twenty-one ships were sunk, forcing the decision to close the Gulf to shipping. The introduction of the 271-type radar and excellent direction-finding apparatus, plus Hunter/Killer Groups by the RN and USN, really did change the course of the Battle of the Atlantic for the Allies. On 24 May 1943, U-Boats were ordered off the North Atlantic routes, although their threat was far from over.

This book makes a true and unbiased contribution to Canada's naval history. Despite all our faults and difficulties, as well as our total inexperience, the Royal Canadian Navy made a major contribution to the victory of World War II.

Latham B. Jenson
Queensland, Nova Scotia


The title of this book not only describes its contents but also indicates the opinion held by the author. David O'Brien expresses his dissatisfaction with both the inadequate defence provided North Atlantic convoys in 1940 and the tactics employed by Royal Navy leaders. His interest is more than academic, it is also personal. His father was a crew member on one of the eleven ships sunk, albeit a survivor, out of the forty-two ships that comprised HX 72. As a focal point, the book traces the course of Frederick S Fales, a Hong Kong-registered tanker, from its loading port of Curaçao, to the convoy assembly port of Halifax and its eventual torpedoing, with the loss the twenty men, approximately 250 miles off the Irish coast. It was a voyage plagued with many troubles. The Chinese crew members refused to sail any further than Halifax and had to be replaced with a group of hastily recruited local seamen. The master, deck officers and engineers, who were non-Chinese, remained with the vessel. Of this number, the author's father was the Fifth Engineer.

HX 72 sailed from Halifax on September 9 and was joined by sections from Sydney and Bermuda. Included in the convoy were several ships that were unable to maintain the ordered speed of nine knots and straggled. In addition, the convoy commodore had to contend with steering problems, poor signalling, black-out infractions and radio oscillations. His escort for the mid-ocean crossing was, as might be expected in 1940, woefully inadequate. It was planned for HX 72 to rendezvous with a Western Approaches escort for the final leg of the crossing. Unfortunately, a German wolfpack was waiting to intercept. Fresh from mauling another convoy, the submarine force wreaked such havoc with HX 72 that the ships that escaped being torpedoed were compelled to scatter. The sinkings and rescue efforts are graphically described in detail by the author with the assistance of his father and other survivors. The author, who has an academic background in history and museology, devotes a considerable portion of his book debating the merits of the tactics of both combatants and argues that those employed by the Royal Navy were seriously flawed. Having enjoyed a degree of success with convoys in World War I, Royal Navy officers were lulled into a sense of false security in the years between the two wars and relied upon the newly developed asdic without taking into account its limitations. Added to this, he claims, was the prevailing philosophy which favoured a "big ship" navy at the expense of vessels especially designed and built for anti-submarine warfare. Destruction of enemy ships was viewed as the prime objective only to realise later that the safe arrival of merchant ships was paramount to winning the war. On the other hand, the German navy, under the direction of the astute Kommodore Karl Dönitz recognized the potential of submarines deployed in groups - wolfpacks. While uncritical of the Royal Navy commanders on the spot, O'Brien contends that they were placed in an impossible situation by being "ill-prepared, ill-equipped and ill-trained." He does acknowledge though that a major factor favouring the German navy was the occupation of French
ports which in effect greatly extended the range of the U-boats.

The author argues convincingly and his argument is well-supported by extensive research. Nevertheless, it will be for military historians and wardroom experts to judge the validity of his contentions.

This is a well-written short volume which will provide a useful addition to the existing ocean of ink already expended on the Battle of the Atlantic. The photographs complement the text, as do useful tables in the appendix. If there is a minor shortcoming it is, in this reviewer's opinion, the lack of a map of the North Atlantic showing the all-important convoy meeting places.

Gregory S. Pritchard
Blue Rocks, Nova Scotia


In this first-hand account of Allied convoy commodore experience in World War II, Alan Burn has provided striking insights on a wide range of human, operational and administrative aspects of the storied Battle of the Atlantic. In passing, the author proves notably forthright in addressing the commercial callousness and bureaucratic folly that regrettably compounded the arduous experience of Britain's merchant seamen.

An Atlantic veteran who served as gunnery officer in HMS *Starling*, flagship of Friedrich John Walker's renown Second Escort Group, Burn enlarges sharp personal perspective with insights from Admiralty and German official records, survivors' accounts and postwar interviews with living commodores and members of their signals staff. The author graphically evokes the unremitting danger and hardship endured by merchant mariners in the storm-wracked North Atlantic and Arctic, as well as examining numerous sources of seamen discontent, which occasionally bordered on mutiny. Prime aggressions here included an initial lack of defensive armament for Allied merchantmen and the routine practice of shipowners in terminating the pay of distressed British seamen immediately after the loss of their ships.

Allied convoy commodores, drawn largely from the ranks of retired Royal Navy flag officers, brought decades of sea cunning to their task, but encountered formidable difficulties at the onset of the war in securing the cooperation of oft independently minded merchant skippers. Although frequently consigned to spartan quarters on board their understaffed flagships, these aging sea dogs found admirable support in their signals staff, long overlooked, who literally provided "the commodores' eyes and ears."[23] Proceeding from an overview of the organization of trade convoys and an emphasis on the respective responsibilities of convoy commodores and senior escort officers, Burn focuses on the commodores' harrowing experience with coastal convoys, which provided a vital link in the United Kingdom's trade distribution system, vulnerable to intense German mine, air and surface attack from the war's outset. The management, navigation and protection of Britain's coastal convoys, routed through narrow sea lanes and routinely foul weather, proved, in Burn's perspective, a critical training area for those officers subsequently reassigned to the Atlantic as Ocean Commodores.

In surveying the ocean convoy experience, Burn accords appropriate coverage to the deadly logic of Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz's tonnage warfare strategy, the grim realities of wolfpack tactics and their ultimate frustration, the increasingly critical roles of Signals Intelligence and massive American Liberty ship production, and the troubled wartime expansion of the Royal Canadian Navy. Notable convoy massacres, which illuminated the harrowing challenges faced by convoy commodores well into 1943, inescapably dominate the author's attention, providing the most compelling passages of this eyewitness account. In dealing with the nightmarish North Russia run, Burn laconically observes, "in most cases, each commodore's share of this white hell was limited to one trip out and one trip back."[208] A gallant exception was Captain J.C.K. Dowding, RNR, who ventured as commodore on four Arctic convoys, surviving the loss of his flagship off Novaya Zemla on the tragic passage of PQ-17 and perishing with his ship shortly thereafter in return convoy QP-14.

Alan Burn, who had successfully authored a biography of the legendary "Johnny" Walker, was suddenly incapacitated by a stroke shortly after completing a first draft of *The Convoy Commo-
dores. Happily it has been made available to students of the Atlantic struggle. Some of his incisive footnotes might usefully have been edited into the text. As a battlefield perspective, this moving account lacks the broader statistical view afforded in detailed, recently declassified Admiralty monographs on the effectiveness of the Allied convoy system in World War II, as well as recent studies on the operational employment of special (ULTRA) Intelligence and the heroic experience of the shorthanded Royal Canadian Navy. Nonetheless, it remains an invaluable survivor's contribution to the history of the Atlantic struggle.

Philip Karl Lundeberg
Alexandria, Virginia


This valuable and fascinating little booklet, the fifth authored or co-authored by Hague, tells fairly well the complete stories, albeit in a very abbreviated, mostly tabular form, of these valiant thirty ships. By June 1940 354 British merchantmen had been sunk by enemy attack, air, mine and U-boat. This was an unacceptable loss of skilled Masters, mates, engineers and seamen, and if left uncoped with would create a serious morale problem. While in every convoy a ship or two near the rear of columns could be appointed as rescue ships, they were usually not suited for the task - ill-equipped, often too slow to catch up, and their masters untrained.

In June the ship *Beachy* was assigned to the new Liverpool-based Rescue Service, simply equipped with extra stores and accommodation. Others were added as the war continued, later fitted with special rescue lines, extra rafts and accommodations, augmented AA armament, even HF/DF. Some were purpose-modified during construction such as the *Empire* ships, on *Castle* Class corvette lines. In all they picked up some 4,141 survivors, plus a few more not accounted for when the rescue ships were themselves sunk - *Walmer Castle* lasted only a week before being bombed and sunk.

Hague gives a succinct six-page description of what was involved in establishing and running the Rescue Service. Then he relates the brief details of every single rescue by all thirty ships, as well as each ship's description, usually a photograph, and eventual fate - seven were lost. It is one of the most harrowing yet valiant series of tales to come out of the war. And since all of these ships carried cargoes as well, they were doubly valuable in the Atlantic struggle. Hague includes a table of voyage records listing every trip made as a rescue ship, a table of statistics of rescues, honours and awards given, and finally "Orders to Masters of Rescue Ships" under which they sailed.

This is a gripping story that would make a useful addition to any reference library.

Fraser McKee
Markdale, Ontario


Dive bombing is an aeronautical concept most associated with combat actions in World War II: JU-87 Stukas of the German Luftwaffe attacking Polish or French surface units in 1939-1940; Japanese "Vais" of the Imperial Japanese Naval Air Force attacking battleships at Pearl Harbor on December 7,1941; and US Navy SBD Dauntlesses sinking four Japanese aircraft carriers in the Battle of Midway on June 4-5, 1942. It is usually forgotten that dive bombing was an American concept, developed in the 1920s by US Naval Aviation squadrons and one that subsequently spread to other nations. It is also frequently forgotten that the US Navy was in the forefront of carrier development in that same decade. American isolationism and the Great Depression of the 1930s caused American military budgets to shrink and allowed the Imperial Japanese Navy to "leapfrog" the US Navy in carrier tactics. In his book, *Destined for Glory: Dive Bombing, Midway, and the Evolution of Carrier Airpower*, Thomas Wildenberg sets out to correct the record by explaining how American Naval aviators invented dive bombing.

As with much of aviation, the inception of
dive bombing can be pinpointed with great accuracy. On October 22, 1926, a flight of US Navy fighter aircraft swooped down on warships in a practice attack at San Pedro, California. The manoeuvres were conducted in an almost vertical plane and enabled the pilots to make their attack in almost complete surprise. From this auspicious start came the beginnings of dive bombing.

From this point, Wildenberg goes on to describe a variety of issues: the personalities of the pilots and unit commanders (one of whom, Ernest J. King, became Chief of Naval Operations for the US Navy in World War II); the structure of the US Navy and its "political" problems (a 1921 law required all Naval Aviation units to be commanded by naval aviators. At that time, few naval aviators had the necessary seniority to command Naval Aviation units); the early American aircraft carriers; and the aircraft themselves. While Wildenberg writes well for a broad readership, the level of impressive detail may at times overwhelm those who are new to this subject. The overall sweep of the book leads the reader easily to the finest moment of US Navy dive bombers: the sinking of three Japanese aircraft carriers in minutes in the Midway battle on June 4, 1942. Wildenberg's description of this battle is expertly presented and well researched. It is a more-than adequate substitute for more substantial accounts of Midway such as Walter Lord's *Incredible Victory* or Gordon Prange's *Miracle at Midway*.

This is well researched history at its best, and Wildenberg must have scoured naval archives to seek answers to the questions presented, such as why a particular person was chosen to command a unit? Unfortunately, not all of the papers and records have survived, so that the answer to a few questions must be forever left to conjecture.

By 1945 the dive bomber was obsolete and the dive bombing attack no longer of use. Technological improvements during World War II, together with close fighter aircraft protection of surface ship units, made the dive bomber a sitting duck. The last combat uses of the dive bomber were by Greek units during the Greek Civil War late in the 1940s and by French naval and aircraft units in Indochina and Algeria in the 1940s and 1950s. The advent of radar and today's "smart" weaponry have supplanted dive bombing as a combat tactic. Others unfamiliar with the subject may find this book at times a bit too detailed, but it can still be read for profit by them. It is recommended.

Robert L. Shoop
Colorado Springs, Colorado


The World War II struggle between the United States and Japan witnessed a series of pivotal battles at sea, on Guadalcanal and its surrounding islands. Nearly sixty years later, the events of August-November 1942 remain the source of reflection, occasional controversy, and undiminished public interest. This has extended, most recently, to the deep-sea underwater discovery of the battle-scarred, sunken hulks of a number of the ships lost in the ferocious sea fights off Guadalcanal.

The naval battle of Guadalcanal, on the evening of 13 November 1942, was one of the most ferocious. At times manoeuvring at near point-blank range, US cruisers and Japanese battleships, joined by destroyers, pounded each other with tremendous loss of life, including the US commanders, Admirals Daniel Judson Callaghan and Norman Scott. In all, over 2,100 lives were lost, and nearly forty-five hundred tons of steel sent to the bottom of "Ironbottom Sound."

Appropriately, Grace marks the naval battles of November 1942 as the turning point for the struggle for the Solomons. It was also, he aptly notes, "the most confusing fight in American naval history" during the night action on 13 November. "A look at the historical record shows that it did not have to be," [xv] as Grace then analyses how a supposed US ambush of an unsuspecting Japanese naval force, aided by the advantage of radar, was thwarted when the moment of surprise was lost, the senior American commanders were killed at the outset, and the battle degenerated into "A confused melee." [xiv]

Grace discusses advance intelligence, provides a strategic overview, and examines the planning on both sides, as well as the key personalities. He defines the contributions and limita-
tions imposed by intelligence, weather, and the air forces, as well as the available technology. Grace compellingly shows that the advantage of radar, in particular, was not fully pursued, and discusses the limitations of both radar and the infamously defective American torpedoes.

It is in the heart of the work, however, that Grace makes a significant new addition. With a clear, unvarnished narrative, Grace examines the action from various perspectives - notably including the view both below the decks and above, and from both the Japanese and US perspectives. The immediacy of the battle, the confusion of that night, the terror as searchlights snap on and guns start blazing fire, pain and death are conveyed through the memories of the survivors. Thus, when the destroyer USS Barton and most of her 250-man crew are lost when two Japanese torpedoes slammed into her, Grace puts the reader on the deck with Lt. (jg) Wilbur E. Quint. A "torpedo exploded in her forward fire room, and in the next instant, a second torpedo hit her forward engine room. Lieutenant Quint saw a sheet of flame... as that part of the ship disappeared. He turned to free a life raft, but the ship was already sinking beneath him. It took just ten seconds for the ship to disappear." [65]

Grace's careful research, which stretches back nearly twenty years, included interviews with men like Lieutenant Quint - in all his bibliography lists 129 veterans, both US and Japanese. Extending his search to more than memory alone, Grace examined after action reports, battle diaries, US and Japanese naval analyses, logs, Bureau of Ships damage reports, written reminiscences, and Robert Ballard's modern underwater observations of the ships sunk in the battle.

That careful research is how Grace brings back into focus six decades later what it was like in the battle. Grace argues correctly that it was a throwback to an earlier age, exemplifying Nelson's adage that "No captain can do very wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy." [xiii] Facing battleships that outgunned them, and at considerable cost, the captains of the US cruisers and destroyers forced the Japanese to withdraw. In his hold-no-bars narrative, illuminated by the memories of those who were there, James Grace shows that this is why "the Americans won a fight that, by all odds, they should have lost."

James P. Delgado
Vancouver, British Columbia


As we finally approach the end of the twentieth century, more than fifty years after the end of the world's bloodiest conflagration, the collection of personal memoirs from veterans of World War II continues to expand even as those veterans inexorably diminish in number. Some of these first-person accounts are very good; Charles Fury's Going Back: A Navy Airman in the Pacific War, which I had the great privilege of reviewing in 1998 for this publication, is an excellent and touching memoir of one man's short and horrific experience of war. But too many other books have not lived up to Fury's high standard, and unfortunately, Sauer's monograph, despite some interesting parts, falls into this category.

A native Californian, Sauer joined the US Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps in 1936 while still in college at University of California-Berkeley, before joining the navy proper in 1942 upon his graduation. For the duration of World War II, Sauer served aboard the battleship USS Maryland, first as a secondary battery officer and then as a main battery plotting room officer. While serving on the Maryland, Sauer witnessed the bloody Marine Corps victories at Tarawa and Peleliu, survived the torpedoing of his ship at Saipan, and lived through a kamikaze strike at Okinawa. Not surprisingly, given this varied service record, the book is chock full of interesting anecdotes and stories, including a short account of how in 1937, Sauer, aboard USS Colorado, participated in the unsuccessful search for missing aviator Amelia Earhart. Indeed, the best parts of the monograph include the many small descriptions of the unique nature of shipboard life and numerous sidebars explaining, among other things, the origins of the name Maryland and the more technical aspects of the arcane art of naval gunnery. Sauer also makes very good use of numerous photographs, many of them from his private collection, to illustrate his story further.

But a collection of anecdotes does not a book make. Indeed, the title is a misnomer as very little of the book actually deals with the battle of Surigao Strait, part of the controversial Leyte Gulf naval campaign that very nearly ended Bull
Halsey's naval career when his main force left American amphibious support vessels vulnerable to a Japanese assault. Sauer could have made good use of an editor charged with keeping him on track. Some odd tangents occur, including an unnecessary explanation of the Royal Navy's battle plan at Jutland in 1916. The writing too can be awkward and uninspired, and occasionally there are mysterious font changes in the text. There is a four-page bibliography, the vast majority being secondary sources, but there are no footnotes. Most importantly, Sauer paints a portrait of a happy, patriotic ship's crew, eager to do their duty at all times. And while it is not my intent to question the accuracy of Sauer's recollections, it is hard to imagine that over nearly four years of often difficult and dangerous campaigning so far from the comforts of home, that the crew's morale did not flag or that relations among the ship-bound sailors always remained fraternal and friendly.

Galen Roger Perras  
Lennoxville, Québec


Over the years the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University has sponsored a series of significant conferences on aspects of maritime strategy. The resulting publications have always been useful but none more so than this current volume. It is the product of a major meeting held in May 1996 under the auspices of both the Centre and NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic. The theme was the changing nature of maritime power and the prospects for a more co-operative approach to maritime security. The result is an exceptional series of essays that provide an excellent survey of the maritime strategic world of the 1990s.

The first part of the book looks at maritime security in a general way. In one of his best recent contributions Admiral Sir James Eberle gives an overview of the meaning of global maritime security. This is followed by a comprehensive brief survey of the current legal status of the high seas by Lewis Alexander and a masterly survey of "Global Shipping Trends and Implications for Navies" by Daniel Coulter and Alan Goldman. Both could hardly be bettered as introductions to the subject to beginners or necessary updates for more experienced observers of the maritime scene. The merchant shipping piece is particularly good in its call to revise traditional notions of the relationship of navies and merchant shipping. Joel Sokolsky then gives a comprehensive account of the development of multinational naval co-operation in the NATO context, pointing to the heritage of Admiral Richard Colbert, one of the main founding fathers of NATO's successful standing combined forces. Finally in this section there is an all-too-rare piece by analyst Stuart Slade in which he gives a highly informed and thoughtful doctrinal and technical survey of the problems of multinational co-operation in limited, littoral conflicts. His analysis of the problems posed by the development of co-operative engagement is particularly noteworthy.

The book then moves on to regional surveys divided into the Asia-Pacific, with individual chapters on the North East Pacific, Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, the "Euro-Atlantic," with chapters on the Mediterranean and northern European waters, and finally the Americas with chapters on the Canada-US relationship and Latin America. In effect, these sections provide a comprehensive global survey of the maritime security scene, one which has stood the test of the last three years remarkably well. The authors are well informed and lucid and there are few mistakes, the most serious perhaps being the confusion in the Mediterranean chapter between St. Petersburg and the Western European Union's Petersberg tasks. One important theme to emerge is the more essentially maritime nature of the geopolitics of the Asia Pacific compared to the landward orientation of the Euro-Atlantic. Although this should not be overstated - maritime power must be a key factor in a region with any ocean in its title - there is a fundamental geostrategic truth in it.

In all, this is an excellent survey and it could form a splendid text for a contemporary maritime security course. The only problem therefore is its price which will sadly confine it to the library - assuming straitened budgets can afford it!

E.J. Grove  
Hull, England

With the end of the Cold War and the retraction of defense budgets in the United States, high-priced items become the focus of budget battles. Perhaps no item in the defense budget is as costly as the aircraft carrier. That alone is sufficient to make it the target of budget cutters. But beyond questions of cost and the "peace dividend" there remain other issues: Does the US Navy still need aircraft carriers? What missions will they fulfill? How large do they have to be? And how many of them do we need?

Jacquelyn K. Davis's brief study, *CVX: A Smart Carrier for the New Era*, addresses these questions systematically. Yes, she concludes, there are still many roles for carriers to play in the post-Cold War world. They do need to be big. They do need to be nuclear-powered. And the navy does need twelve of them to meet all contingencies and commitments.

Davis's study demonstrates that Cold War trends relative to carriers have not changed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Crises abound, and American presidents invariably turn to the navy's carriers when they choose to respond. Furthermore, the number of overseas air bases available to the United States has continued to decline, from 172 in 1945 to twenty-four today. Carrier-based air power remains as, if not more, important than ever.

The carrier that the navy ought to build, in Davis's view, is the CVX - which she dubs the "Smart Carrier." Unlike the "dumb" carriers with which the navy has made do in the past, the proposed CVX will take advantage of a variety of modern technological advances inherent in the current "RMA" - the Revolution in Military Affairs. The CVX needs to incorporate the most advanced technology and be extremely flexible in design. Why? Because if it does it can last into the twenty-second century, serve as a base for aircraft designed a century from now, and meet the missions needs of the future. The CVX must be big, to accommodate scores of the aircraft of the future and to ensure the sea-worthiness that comes only with a large vessel.

Nevertheless, Davis believes that the CVX, while large and more effective, can also save defense dollars. Savings would come in three areas. First, there is the longevity of the CVX, a consideration that will save budget dollars decades from now when the carrier does not need to be replaced. Second, by automating systems (Davis suggests that some could be effectively monitored ashore) you can reduce manpower requirements. The smart, less manpower-intensive CVX could get by with about half of the 5,300 men who currently crew the largest American carriers. Third, the CVX will also be more survivable, incorporating a variety of design features, especially stealth technology. Such advances will cut costs indirectly by reducing the need for escorts to steam along with the carrier. The CVX will also be an effective platform, carrying a wondrous assortment of communications technology that will allow "information connectivity." The navy will be able to employ the CVX in an innovative fashion, occasionally as the central element of a joint task force, be it national or multilateral, or given the platform's greater stealthiness and survivability, "autonomously."

Davis makes a good and coherent argument for the CVX. One can argue, of course, about the nature of current technological advances and whether or not they are part of an "RMA." (Some historians doubt that there has ever been an RMA.) And it is difficult, even for this naval-oriented reviewer, to feel confident about the shape of the national security environment a century from now and the role of a vessel designed in 2000 to be still operational in 2100. Nevertheless, if the United States intends to play its current role in the world, and there are few signs that it does not, the nation will soon need new carriers. Decisions must be made soon, otherwise the planned retirement of existing carriers early in the twenty-first century will leave the US Navy short of a twelve-carrier fleet by about 2015. Is the CVX the answer? Well, that is what the next carrier debate will be about, and Davis' case will certainly be among the better argued.

Michael A. Palmer
Greenville, North Carolina