

Book Reviews

Robert J. Antony and Angela Schottenhammer (eds.) *Beyond the Silk Roads: New Discourses on China's Role in East Asian Maritime History*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, www.harrassowitz-verlag.de, 2017. ix+222 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, notes, index. Euro 68,00€, hardback; ISBN 978-3-447-10944-4.

Beyond the Silk Roads: New Discourses on China's Role in East Asian Maritime History is one of the latest entries in the rapidly-expanding field of Asian-Pacific maritime history. Derived from the 2015 "Beyond the Silk Road" conference in Shanghai, this volume is a curated collection of eleven revised essays, including an introductory chapter and conclusion, representing a broad cross-section of times, places, and themes related to East Asia's maritime history. The book is very well-organized, thoroughly researched, and provides a strong, comprehensive overview of some of the most important research taking place in this emerging field. While its primary focus is on Chinese maritime history, it also provides detailed and fascinating glimpses into

the maritime histories of Japan, Taiwan, Vietnam, Spain, Portugal, France, the Philippines, and many other localities both past and present. The theme of interconnected histories is consistently strong and well-argued throughout this volume.

Robert Antony's opening chapter establishes a consistent thematic blueprint for the rest of the volume by examining recent historiographical shifts in maritime and global history in the context of East Asia. The thematic heart of the volume is Sanjay Subrahmanyam's seminal 1997 article "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," which argues forcefully for "connected," "entangled," or "shared" history, instead of the more traditional comparative history (3). Antony also centres the Chinese maritime world on the South China Sea in particular, and provides a general history of its importance to China and the world while avoiding an over-focus on Sino-Western encounters common to many global historians. Reading this volume, the reader gets the distinct impression that the entrance of early modern Europeans into Asian maritime

space was simply another addition to an already-crowded seascape rather than the momentous, earth-shaking event perceived by previous historiography and popular culture. As a rule, the subsequent ten chapters do an exemplary job of relating back to and expanding upon Antony's blueprint.

Aside from the excellent introductory chapter, three essays in particular stand out. Ubaldo Iaccarino's "Conquistadors of the Celestial Empire: The Spanish Policy toward China at the End of the 16th Century" illuminates a little-understood aspect of Sino-Western relations that has only recently begun to garner serious attention from Anglophone historians. He focuses his arguments on the ignorance and near-hubris of the Spanish, whose ignorance of Chinese norms, trade, and language doomed their efforts to trade with and expand militarily into China. "Leizhou Pirates and the Making of the Mekong Delta" by Xing Hang is another high point of the volume. It places the Mekong Delta at the centre of the seventeenth-century battles between the Ming loyalists and the advancing Manchu forces, skillfully examining the long-term significance of this often-neglected frontier region. Finally, Robert Antony's second essay, "Pirates, Dragon Ladies, and Steamships: On the Changing Forms of Modern China's Piracy," brings the maritime world of late Qing and Republican China into focus. This article addresses the "underside of Chinese maritime history" (165), rather than the official, institutional aspects that make up much of the historiography. His investigation of the impact of piracy on China's maritime world represents an important contribution to our understanding of China's nineteenth- and twentieth-century lowpoints by illuminating the economic and diplomatic costs of this extensive underground

network. The essays by Adam Clulow, John W. Chaffee, and Susan E. Schopp are also especially strong, no mean feat in a collection without any poorly-conceived or mediocre articles.

The only real discordant note is the gaps in the chronology presented in this volume. The essays are generally in chronological order after the introduction, beginning with a pair of prehistoric/ancient chapters by Judith Cameron and Hugh R. Clark respectively, and ending with two essays on the modern maritime world by Adam Clulow and Robert Antony before proceeding to Angela Schottenhammer's masterful *longue durée* overview of China's maritime history. The remaining five essays all focus on some aspect of the medieval or early modern worlds. The thematic and analytical strengths of the volume are at their best in these five chapters, undoubtedly owing in part to authors' ability to draw from an extensive and well-established historiography for both early modern maritime and global history. While all of the essays are strong, well-researched, and of significant interest to the historian of China, the case for a connected, sustained Chinese maritime world stretching from prehistory to the present is undermined by the two significant, extended gaps in the chronology presented here.

Regardless of this relatively minor concern, *Beyond the Silk Roads* represents a truly significant milestone in the development of a formidable historiography of the Chinese maritime world. It should be required reading for any scholar of China or the global maritime world. Indeed, it would make an excellent addition to any upper-level or graduate course on Chinese, global, or maritime history.

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Christopher M. Bell. *Churchill and the Dardanelles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, www.oup.com, 2017. xiv+439 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, maps, index. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 987-0-19087-0254-2.

“Isn’t the whole of Gallipoli one mighty might have been?” so wrote one Royal Navy officer to a fellow veteran of the Dardanelles campaign in 1936, 21 years after coming under heavy fire. (quoted in *Gallipoli* by Eric Bush (1975). The ill-fated campaign, which cost Britain and her Allies almost 190,000 casualties, became one of the great Allied failures of the First World War. (Canadian angle: It is not widely remembered that the Royal Newfoundland Regiment served in the campaign before being sent to France.) Winston Churchill, who, as First Lord of the Admiralty, had pushed for a naval attempt to force the strategic waterway between the Mediterranean and Black Seas, came to be associated with the failed campaign. Indeed, the poorly managed naval attempt to penetrate the Dardanelles before any troops were landed triggered a political crisis that cost Churchill his Cabinet position. It eventually led to a Coalition government while a disastrous land campaign dragged on. Throughout his life, Churchill would steadfastly maintain that the Dardanelles campaign had been “a mighty might have been”. In this thorough study, Christopher Bell examines Churchill’s actual involvement and his subsequent efforts to erase the public opprobrium that linked his name to the failed campaign.

Bell has written extensively about maritime aspects of the Second World War, the Royal Navy between the wars, and other twentieth-century naval issues. In 2012, he published *Churchill and Sea Power*, which examined Churchill’s involvement with the Royal

Navy over his entire political career. His extensive command of archival and published material, his fluid writing style and convincingly argued judgements are all on display in *Churchill and the Dardanelles*.

While this is not an operational history, the author offers enough detail to provide context for the political arena that is his focus. The impact of new technologies on naval operations had a significant role in the attempt to force the Dardanelles. Wireless enabled Churchill and his naval staff in London to become closely involved. Naval staffs in Whitehall and on the scene, however, failed to appreciate how seriously Turkish mines would stymie the advance of Allied fleet units. The British were slow to improvise more effective minesweepers. Both sides used and feared submarines, which although small and with limited submerged endurance, managed to penetrate the straits in the face of mines and strong currents that varied at different depths. The Royal Navy was overly optimistic about the power of naval guns against fortifications. The British exploited intercepted radio traffic. Finally, both sides used aircraft for reconnaissance and strikes; but Royal Navy efforts to use aircraft for spotting ships’ gunfire were unsuccessful on the critical 18 March 1915 when British and French warships made their major attack on Turkish fortifications.

As the Cabinet Minister responsible for the Admiralty, Churchill’s style was forceful and dynamic. But Bell shows that, while overly confident in his operational judgements and tending to disregard professional advice that did not mesh with his views, Churchill did receive support from his Admirals in planning the Dardanelles attacks. Always keen on offensive action, Churchill became interested in the possibil-

ity of forcing the Dardanelles as early as the first weeks of the war. On the outbreak of war, two German warships in the Mediterranean evaded superior Royal Navy units and reached safety in Constantinople where they were nominally incorporated into the Turkish Navy. As the fighting on the western front settled into a bitter stalemate, the original idea of attacking the German ships was resurrected. The strategic advantages of opening the Dardanelles beckoned British planners. Success would knock Germany's ally, Turkey, out of the war and open a new front on the eastern flank of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Most importantly, the sea route via the Black Sea to Russia, hard-pressed on the Eastern Front, could be reopened.

Bell outlines the complex story of how Churchill pushed forward a plan for a purely naval assault. In January 1915, it received the approval of the War Council, a critical group chaired by the Prime Minister that functioned as a sort of Cabinet sub-group. The author describes this as "a seemingly low-risk venture that might produce far-reaching results." (71) Within weeks it was recognized that ground forces would be needed to permanently eliminate the threat offered by Turkish fortifications. By March 1915, a powerful Anglo-French naval force had been assembled. Although there had, as yet, been no decision on a land-sea operation, ground forces were being assembled in the eastern Mediterranean. Despite the lack of sufficient troops in the area for such a combined operation, it was hoped that warships could force the narrows. The attack, on March 18, was a debacle; mines sank three battleships and heavily damaged three other major warships. The Admiral in command refused to attempt further attacks without support by troops.

While the ground forces already in-theatre and reinforcements were laboriously concentrated in Egypt and prepared for an amphibious attack, Churchill's role came under increasing attack in the press and from his political enemies. His mercurial First Sea Lord, Jacky Fisher, now an erratic 74 and long ambivalent about the campaign, resigned in dramatic fashion in May. Bell notes that Churchill's decision to recall Admiral Fisher from retirement to serve again a First Sea Lord in November 1914—based in part because he thought that Fisher would be a compliant colleague—had been "disastrous". (364) The government was already under severe pressure because of an emerging "shell crisis" on the western front. In the ensuing political crisis, Churchill was forced to resign; within days the Liberal government of which he had been a member had been replaced by a Coalition. The Allies finally landed troops at the end of April. The Turkish defenders, assisted by German officers and munitions, proved tenacious; the campaign became a long, costly quagmire of casualties that ended with an Allied withdrawal in December. The dysfunctional British system for making high level decisions and planning throughout the campaign had failed this test of war. For example, the War Council did not meet for eight critical weeks between 19 March and 14 May 1915, which meant that the decision to delay operations until troops could be landed was taken by the commanders in the field rather than in London. It was subsequently endorsed by just three cabinet ministers. The author summarises the lack of coherent planning and aptly decries strategic decision making as "haphazard"(136).

Churchill, whose name was linked with the disastrous campaign because this suited his press and political oppo-

nents, began an energetic and ultimately successful campaign to rehabilitate his reputation. It seems extraordinary now, given how modern governments control information, but an official commission was launched in April 1916 to examine the Dardanelles campaign. Churchill connived with Admiral Jacky Fisher to give the commission a picture of their work in planning and running the operation that “involved considerable distortion of the truth.”(227) The Commission published its initial report in March 1917. It was ventilated in the press even as that year’s cataclysmic developments unfolded—the collapse of Russia, the German submarine campaign, the ongoing failure of efforts to break the enervating stalemate on the Western Front, and the American entry into the war. The final report appeared in 1919. The next major hurdle in restoring Churchill’s reputation emerged with the official histories compiled in the twenties. The author provides a nuanced and admirably clear outline of how Churchill manoeuvred to influence what became a mostly positive image of his role in both official records. Finally, Churchill published his own selective version of the campaign in his history of the Great War, *The World Crisis (1923-31)*.

Churchill and the Dardanelles has a satisfactory index and maps. The illustrations include three captivating contemporary drawings of personalities important in the story, but otherwise are mostly small and grainy photographs. Even though the literature on the Dardanelles campaign is already vast, Christopher Bell’s lucid, crisp and authoritative examination is welcome. His book covers the policy decisions behind the campaign, how it unfolded, and how Churchill was eventually able to overcome the personal opprobrium that resulted from the failed oper-

ation. This is an even-handed account based on extensive use of archival and published sources. One of the book’s strengths is how it dissects complex episodes involving several personalities in a fluid and engaging manner. Highly recommended for those interested how policy was being made in Britain during the opening months of the Great War and a fascinating aspect of Churchill’s long political career.

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Christopher M. Bonin. *Virginia in the War of 1812*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishing, www.mcfarlandpub.org, 2018. ix+185 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$35.00, paper; ISBN 978-1-4766-7108-6. (E-book available.)

Preservation of Canada within the Empire was the paramount goal of the British during the War of 1812. Unfortunately, residents of the Chesapeake, especially Virginians, paid the price for being on the front lines of this “secondary” theater of war. Christopher Bonin produces a monograph of limited size and scope focusing on the region in *Virginia in the War of 1812*. He notes there are few studies on the war regarding individual states and, “At present, there is not a single-volume work on the Old Dominion at war (1).” Therefore, the author ably introduces the reader to a Virginian perspective of the conflict as a corrective for this perceived inadequacy.

“Free trade and sailor’s rights” is considered the traditional *casus belli*. Does the evidence support this thesis? War was not a result of the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair in 1808. The British brazenly attacked a U.S. naval vessel and removed four sailors, three of whom were Americans. What of

sailor's rights then, after a direct affront to national honor and prestige? Northern interests, generally merchant/shippers who supported the idea of free trade, roundly opposed war. But when the war hawks, generally western representatives in Congress, and the man in the White House, James Madison, a Virginian, began their bellicose drumbeat for war, only then did war materialize. It was thought it would be an easy march for Canada as the British were in a dire struggle in Europe. It is against this backdrop that Bonin submits his state-centric contribution to the historiography of the War of 1812.

The story of Virginia's place in the war is relayed in nine short chapters. The *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair and intervening four years of dismal American diplomacy in the hands of Virginian administrations that lead up to the avoidable conflict comprise the first two chapters. The third illuminates both the desire and dread of war through the letters of Virginia luminaries and newspaper commentary. A surprisingly wide diversity of opinion existed within the state regarding going to war.

The next two chapters relate the condition of the nation's and Commonwealth's military preparations and stature, neither very sophisticated, compared to the British, who were vastly more competent in the martial craft. The following three chapters focus on Virginian forces fighting both outside the state, in the old Northwest, and in the tidewater during 1813 and 1814. Successes for Virginians, when they occurred, were almost glorious, but in most actions and skirmishes the British generally had the run of the state from Hampton to Alexandria. The author offers brief outlines of some of the notable three battles, 27 skirmishes and 11 raids that occurred in the Commonwealth. The final chapter presents the outcome

of the war and the fates of various significant persons mentioned in the book.

Bonin sheds some light on a number of local issues, such as slavery's effect on the Old Dominion. This particular institution influenced the strategic thinking of the state's leaders. Centralizing the location of armouries inhibited the distribution of weapons for local militias. This was policy due to the fear of slaves arming themselves from dispersed militia stores. The dread was real as numerous slaves rebelled by claiming their freedom and offering their services to the British. Hundreds were incorporated into a Corps of Colonial Marines to fight their former masters. In fact, they did yeomen's service and were lauded by their officers. Other nuggets of historical information can be mined from this manuscript as well.

A book with modest goals, its overall presentation could have been improved by including maps of various locations discussed. This would help geographically situate a reader, who may not be as familiar with Virginia as the author. Additionally, a more thorough editing would have improved the text. An occasional sentence and fragment were repeated, proper capitalization missed, and nonsense words or words out of context were sporadically found in the text—minor issues but distracting, none the less. The short *Conclusion*, however, seems out of place. In an apparent attempt to be timely, an anguished comparison is made between the War of 1812 and the Post 9/11 Second Iraq War. As the book was published in 2018, maybe a comparison with the centenary of the First World War might have been more appropriate. The parallels are more obvious: *Lusitania/Chesapeake-Leopard*; Virginian presidents; America's desire to avoid a war for which it was unprepared; and Great Britain versus a continental pow-

er. This reviewer found the diversion into contemporary politics an interesting choice.

Virginia in the War of 1812 is a fine monograph that makes a quick and easy read. Any historian of the era or person with a general interest in the War of 1812 should find the book handy. A student of Virginia history might also find it useful as an introduction to the war and its focus on the Commonwealth. Bonin states, "If this book sparks interest and leads to further research, it will have more than fulfilled the author's ambitions (4)." I hope the author's ambitions are fulfilled, and motivated readers use this introduction to Virginia's role in the War of 1812 to further research and flesh out more fully Old Dominion's place in the conflict.

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Thomas Böttcher and Christine Hieber. *Viermastbark Kruzenshtern ex Padua*. Bremerhaven. Germany: Deutsches Shiffahrtsmuseum and Oceanum Verlag, www.dsm.museum and www.oceanum.de. 2016. 325pp., illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography. English summary. Plan. €39,90 Euro, cloth: ISBN 978-3-86927-077-7.

One of the amazing, still-intact examples of a windjammer is the *Kruzenshtern*. Built in 1926 at the famed Joh. C. Tecklenborg yard for the F. Laeisz (known as the famous Flying P-Line), the ship still sails today and surprisingly, this is the first full monograph written on the subject.

Purpose-built as a cargo vessel named the *Padua*, the ship was the pinnacle of sailing technology of its day. Rigged as a four-masted barque and with a three-island hull, the ship was designed for efficiency and the abili-

ty to haul a load. Patent 'Jarvis-type' brace-winches were also key in the design, reducing crew numbers from what would have required 12-16 men traditionally to only four men using the Jarvis winches (23). Compared to a clipper ship of just 50 years earlier, this meant 135T per crew vs 34T per crew for a clipper. In service as the *Padua*, like all sailing ships of the era, she hauled cargo that was not time-dependant—initially, the nitrate trade out of Chile and later, grain from Australia—niche routes where steamers had yet to take over.

The *Padua* served well under the flag of the Flying P-Line. It is unfortunate that her greatest achievements were almost buried in history. For example, during the last 'grain race' from Australia during the winter of 1938-1939, *Padua* came in second place behind the famous *Moshulu*, taking two days more than the winner's 91 days (84). By the time she arrived back in Germany in August 1939, *Padua* had circumnavigated the world under sail in 8 months and 5 days—a record that still stands to this day (86).

The book also provides some insight into daily life aboard the ships of the era. Despite the technological advancements, ships were still very dangerous workplaces and crew deaths were not uncommon. Safety depended heavily on a ship's captain, with so called "drivers" losing up to four men per voyage, while a 'good' captain might lose two crew in a lifetime at sea. Despite this, this reviewer was surprised to learn that German merchant sailing vessels generally treated their crews better and had the lowest desertion rates.

Within her history, *Padua's* survival to today must be credited to her ability to remain a useful training platform—a secondary mission she had had since her launch. Until 1957, Ger-

many required captains to have a minimum amount of time ‘before the mast’ to qualify for Master Mariner, which meant vessels like the *Padua* were still needed. Post-war, the ship was surrendered to the Soviet Union and without the intervention of a handful of key Russian captains who saw a future for her, the now-called *Kruzenshtern* might well have landed at the breakers. As it happened, by 1968 the ship had found a new purpose solely as a sailing training ship—a task she still fulfills today.

The second half of the book, detailing the ship’s history under Soviet and later Russian flags is where the wealth of ‘new’ information can be found. Understandably unavailable during the Soviet era, this history has finally been revealed. For example, in the late 1960s, while still under Soviet navy command, the ship had a bear on board—Misha (123). When the *Kruzenshtern* first participated in the International Sail Training Program in 1974, one can imagine the impact of a ship sailing onto the international scene from behind the Iron Curtain.

Most important to the ship’s fate is one of her former Russian captains, Gennadiy Kolomenskiy. His life was ultimately tied to the ship for 40 years and it was his driving force to preserve and push for the ship to be given to the Baltic State Academy during the breakup of the Soviet Union that the ship survived another great moment in history.

Much like other books from the publisher, this one is also heavily filled with photographs, maps, charts, and tables of voyages. Anyone interested in the topic of Windjammers solely for the aesthetics will not be disappointed in this regard. The original builders’ specifications have been completely reproduced in facsimile. For the sailing ship geek this is a very nice addition to the text.

One aspect where the book disappoints is in the English summary. For a 300-page book, roughly 20 pages of summary is largely bare bones and dotted with only a few highlights from the full text. Furthermore, the summary reads as what can be best described as ‘translated.’ It may not be the product of Google Translator, but it certainly lacks some polishing. While, in fairness, the summary does the job, this reviewer expected much more from a monograph of this type.

Given the ship’s 90-plus-year existence and very intriguing history, it is only proper that there be a monograph to bring the ship’s story to light. Authors Böttcher and Hieber do this very well, with a text that is beautifully illustrated. Those with interest in windjammers will certainly enjoy the work, and those who have had the pleasure of walking on *Kruzenshtern*’s decks should add it to their library.

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Roger Branfill-Cook. *River Gunboats. An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Seaforth Publishing, www.seaforthpublishing.com, 2018. 336 pp., illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. UK £40.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-84832-365-0.

When it comes to modern warships, there is no shortage of books detailing the history and development of various types of vessels. Shelves groan with the specialized studies on battleships, aircraft carriers and submarines, with even workhorses such as destroyers and frigates receiving their due. When it comes to the smallest warships, the lowly gunboat, however, a prospective reader faces a surprising dearth of options available to them, with the few

books on the subject typically devoted to the specific vessels used in a particular conflict. This is what makes Roger Branfill-Cook's book unique, as it is the first effort to provide a comprehensive catalogue of all of the powered vessels employed as warships on the rivers, lakes, and lagoons of the world, from the Honourable East India Company's HEIC *Diana* down to her present-day descendants.

One likely reason for the absence of such a work until now is the challenge of researching the histories of these vessels. Many gunboats did not start out as purpose-built warships, but were initially civilian vessels that were subsequently modified for use, with the occasionally hasty addition of cannons or machine guns, and some form of protection from attack. Even when these vessels were commissioned into their respective navies, the details about their construction, operations and fate can be hard to find. Here Branfill-Cook generously details the assistance he received from dozens of people who through their own time and labour provided much of the information he relied upon for his book, yet for all their help, he acknowledges that many gaps remain in the details available.

To organize his information, Branfill-Cook relies upon the tried-and-true approach of doing so by country. This is a perfectly sensible way to manage the material, yet there are limitations in how he employs it. Foremost among them is how he deals with the many gunboats that were transferred between countries; namely, by referring his readers to the relevant listing in their country of origin. While understandable in terms of managing the size of the book, often it forces readers to go paging back and forth to find out what they need to know. Easy referencing is further hampered by the absence of more specific

location information such as page numbers within the reference, as well as the author's subdivision of the entries on the gunboats of the larger navies by the region where they were deployed. Together, these make the book far more time-consuming to use than should be the case with a good reference work. These entries also exclude any details of modifications that the new owners might have made to the vessels, an omission which further diminishes the book's overall utility for the interested user.

Yet for those who persevere with it, Branfill-Cook's book provides a trove of useful facts, with its focus on gunboats allowing readers to uncover many fascinating nuggets of information about these vessels. Though details about their deployment are as limited as those of their construction and modification, what the author does provide conveys something of the impressive breadth of missions they have performed over the decades, from traditional naval warfare to amphibious operations to support for land operations. As Branfill-Cook reveals, gunboats have often played a number of utility roles beyond those of their initial conception, serving as river-borne tanks, ersatz landing craft, and as floating artillery platforms. This range of use helps to define what the author classifies as a "gunboat." For example, he includes artillery mounted on canal barges, but usually leaves out vessels used for non-military duties (such as coast-guarding and policing). This leads to some questionable omissions, such as the *Point*-class cutters initially used by the U.S. Coast Guard in Operation Market Time and later transferred to the South Vietnamese during the Vietnam War. And yet such omissions are probably inevitable, given the impossibility of including every engine-powered boat that has ever had a machine

gun attached to its frame. While some of the decisions in this regard are debatable, the challenge involved in such a classification effort underscores both the utility of these vessels and the need for a work such as this.

And this is why, for all of its flaws, *River Gunboats* is a welcome contribution to the sparse literature available on its subject. With its generous collection of photographs and profile drawings of nearly every class of vessel described, it reflects the author's clear love of the subject. Thanks to him, we now have a work that is a useful go-to reference for anyone interested in gunboats and the many roles they have served in wars around the world. Hopefully, it will also serve as a springboard for further research into these humble craft and highlight the often under-appreciated role they have played in modern warfare.

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Geoffrey Brooke. *Alarm Starboard! A Remarkable True Story of the War at Sea*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen & Sword Maritime, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. 288 pp., illustrations, maps, index. UK £14.99, paper; ISBN 978-1-52674-381-7.

This work is an autobiographical account of Royal Navy Lieutenant Commander Geoffrey Brooke's service in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Mediterranean from 1938 to 1945. Originally published in 1982, this is the third republishing of *Alarm Starboard*, with the previous offering being a 2009 reprinting by Leo Cooper Ltd. shortly after Brooke's death. Written chronologically and relying on his memory, papers, and letters home, Brooke supplemented his first-person account by interspersing

letters from fellow service members and an assortment of period photographs to provide additional perspectives and better visualizations beyond his own recounting. The text is straightforward, with a single-page introductory letter from Brooke offering background on the work's construction before delving into his service aboard HMS *Nelson* in 1938. Ten chapters are based around significant events and reassignments, followed by an eight-page index.

The first three chapters of the work detail Brooke's service from the late 1930s through his participation in the hunt for the German battleship *Bismarck* while serving aboard the *Prince of Wales*. They cover Brooke's pre-war career as a midshipman aboard HMS *Nelson*, offering a glimpse into the interwar Royal Navy and the rising war tensions. His brief time aboard destroyers is followed by a transfer to the famed HMS *Prince of Wales*, on which he served for both Churchill's secret meeting with Roosevelt and the hunt for the *Bismarck*. His accounts of both incidents are fascinating glimpses into often-discussed moments of Second World War history. The vast majority of text, however, consists of the four central chapters that document the transfer of the *Prince of Wales* to the Pacific, its sinking, and Brooke's subsequent escape back to the safety of Ceylon. The sinking of the *Prince of Wales* is covered in vivid detail. It is Brooke's escape from Singapore, survival amidst the tumultuous retreat through Sumatra, and his five-week voyage across the Indian Ocean in a battered sailing ketch, the *Sederhana Djohanisi*, where the work truly shines. He not only offers the gritty details of men lost, friends abandoned, and last-minute deals made to ensure one's survival, but fully captures the madness, despair, and desperation of those Commonwealth and

indigenous forces smashed by the unexpected Japanese onslaught. Given that almost a third of his wartime memoirs are devoted to this tale of escape and evasion, it is clear that the actions of January to April 1942 had a deep impact on Brooke for the rest of his life. The final three chapters cover 1943 through January of 1946, documenting his return to Atlantic Operations aboard the cruiser *Bermuda*, followed by a reassignment to carriers operating in the Pacific. Brooke's accounts of Operation Torch and Russian convoys is relatively short in comparison to other points of his career, with his time aboard HMS *Formidable* comprising the bulk of his late-war account. As a transferred officer, Brooke offers a unique view into the operations of a late-war carrier, as he was thrown into several unaccustomed roles. His descriptions of kamikaze attacks are fascinating, but it is visiting the aftermath of one such action, and his panicked shooting down of a crippled allied aircraft afterwards that helps humanize the statistics of these suicidal operations (249-251). Upon completing his extraordinary tale, his final line is most fitting: "Even now, 40 years on, if my luck seems to be temporarily out, I feel it is only someone redressing the balance." (280)

In terms of possible improvements, there are several suggestions. The most striking is the work's biography on the back cover. The final line states "Now retired he [Brooke] has three daughters and lives with his wife in Sussex." This is a rather bizarre statement, given that Geoffrey Brooke passed away in 2009, nine years before this edition's publication. It is a simple correction, but a strange and seemingly huge oversight. Another oddity deals with the photographs, in six sections, spaced evenly throughout the book. They appear to have been taken from an older edi-

tion, subdivided and merely dispersed to break up the text. While some line up with discussed materials, Brooke's primary focus on his 1942 escape mean that the images are inserted in random areas, such as the chapter on the *Sederhana Djohanis* containing a photo block with a single image of Brooke aboard that ship, followed by seven images of HMS *Bermuda* and one of a 1945 air raid, with the seven relevant images of the *Sederhana Djohanis* voyage being found over thirty pages earlier (p. 137-140, 172-176). The most obvious casualty of this breaking up of the photo block is that the caption of an image on page 209 is instead found on page 176, still bearing a previous editions' bolded "Opposite" directional text. On a more constructive level, the addition of editor's footnotes or summaries would help clarify aspects not fully explained within the text or in Brooke's occasional footnotes. Brooke gives the impression that he is from the upper echelon of British society, and seems to expect readers to know the jockey/horse racing parlance he tosses out, or the assumedly famous names and societal ranks he would encounter early in the work. Alongside details, terms, and traditions which may have faded from common knowledge over the thirty-six years since the work's first printing, short explanations of these details in footnotes or endnotes would greatly help those not familiar with the subjects or mid-twentieth century British high society. Perhaps a future edition might include these suggestions, and further increase the strength of this work.

All in all, *Alarm Starboard* is a fascinating glimpse into the wartime career of an extremely lucky (or unlucky) man. Brooke's harrowing centerpiece account of escaping from Singapore and sailing across the Indian Ocean to safety alone make this a wonder-

ful resource for those interested in the 1941/1942 allied retreat in the Pacific. His additional wartime accounts offer further ground level insight into several key events in World War II naval history as well. While the work could use an editor's hand to help with lay understanding of some of Brooke's more esoteric references and statements, this is a good firsthand account of one man's war at sea.

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James E. Bruseth, Amy A. Borgens, Bradford M. Jones and Eric D. Ray. *La Belle. The Archeology of a Seventeenth-Century Ship of New World Colonization*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, www.tamupress.com, 2017. xix+892 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$95.00, hardback; ISBN 978-1-62349-361-5.

The shipwrecked fate of the *barque longue La Belle* is well known in Texas history, and its potential importance to French and American colonial history buoyed interest in the search for the vessel, much like the search for other mythologized shipwrecks in North America, including *Le Griffon* in the Great Lakes and *Queen Anne's Revenge* in North Carolina. After approximately 20 years of active searching, *La Belle* was discovered in Matagorda Bay, a bronze gun recovered definitively identifying the shipwreck, and plans almost immediately put into place to archaeologically investigate the site. Rarely is any state archaeological agency afforded so many years to conduct such a comprehensive excavation, documentation, and research of a submerged shipwreck, especially through changes in political administrations, funding un-

certainties, and project personnel. This speaks to the importance of the shipwreck *La Belle* to the history of European exploration and colonization of North America, to our understanding of the expedition's leader, Robert Cavellier, Sieur de La Salle, and to the earliest colonial history of the Texas coast.

The present volume, *La Belle: The Archaeology of a Seventeenth-Century Ship of New World Colonization*, is the comprehensive technical documentation of the full excavation of *La Belle*, archival research, conservation of the hull and artifacts, physical vessel modeling, and analysis of the material culture recovered from the site. The volume opens with an introduction to La Salle, the expedition, and the expedition's four vessels, including the selection, construction, sailing, and ultimate fate of *La Belle*. At the time of its loss, *La Belle* was being used as a temporary store ship, and La Salle documented what was loaded onto and stored in it giving archaeologists a useful guide for what to what might be expected during excavation and conservation.

Following the introduction is an analysis of new archival research conducted as part of this project. Much professional research on La Salle's colonial expedition to the Gulf of Mexico had already been published; therefore, researchers focused on newly discovered material and documents pertaining to *La Belle* in particular. Only documents relevant to the 1684 voyage are presented and discussed in this volume, including the construction and provisioning of *La Belle*. This chapter was written before conservation work was completed, meaning that specific details related to the vessel are, unfortunately, not linked to the archaeological remains in this section.

Next is a description of the excavation of *La Belle*. Due to the lack of

visibility at the site and its proximity to active shipping, the project team decided to build a cofferdam around the shipwreck and excavate the vessel as if it were on “dry” land using both terrestrial and marine archaeological techniques. This methodology was the first of its kind in North America, and this chapter describes the pros and cons, and trials and errors of developing and using this methodology in open water. It then goes on to describe the quite spectacular process of the excavation, how artifacts and features were mapped and removed, and how they were packaged for shipping to the conservation laboratory.

The chapter on the conservation of *La Belle* is a well-written description of both representative and challenging treatments of the material culture. Case studies presented involve the nocturnal (navigation instrument), the hull, wood casks, and complicated composites, such as the firearms. What is especially interesting is that it does not just describe the final results of conservation, but also difficulties encountered, decision-making processes, new insights, reconsideration of methods, and budget considerations. Conservation of water-logged artifacts is never straight-forward, fast, or even permanent.

In the following chapters, researchers do not always agree on the analyses of characteristics or features of the vessel and its artifacts. The volume’s editors purposefully preserved these arguments to that the reader may “... understand that there is no single best interpretation” – a reality that deserves to be better recognized in archaeology. In this volume, this is especially true for the two chapters that propose radically different interpretations of the hull design and construction. That the *barque longue* is a previously unidentified vessel type in the archaeological record

appreciably complicates the analyses. Carrell proposes that *La Belle* was constructed as a whole vessel from a mix of new and used timbers following the Mediterranean method of *trébuchement* (another archaeological first). Alternatively, Pevny argues that *La Belle* was designed, following the French system of graphic design using diagonals to develop the hull curvature, to be a ship-in-parts that was ultimately assembled in France. Two models of *La Belle* were constructed to represent its appearance and layout, and to recreate the method and sequence of its construction.

Subsequent chapters analyze material culture associated with: rigging; cordage; cooking (heating) and diet; stowage and packing containers (including individual analyses of the contents of a sample of whole containers); navigational instruments; artillery; a gun carriage; petards; firepots; firearms; gun flints; iron and lead shot; swords; polearms; trade goods including glass beads, iconographic rings, flush loop brass bells, brass straight pins, and axes and knives; ceramics; glass bottles; footwear; human skeletal remains and facial reconstruction; faunal remains; floral remains (flotation); textiles; pigments; medicinals; ballast; and miscellaneous “domestic” goods. In this last category are items such as lighting; containers; utensils; hardware; personal items; barber/surgical tools; writing implements; items associated with leisure activities; and random, uncategorized objects. That it is comprised of such a variety of material culture is due to this reviewer’s one significant criticism of this volume. There is no established classification system used to categorize the material culture. What is presented is mix of material, form, usage, location within the vessel, and association/context.

The project team for the excava-

tion of *La Belle*, including the editors and authors of this volume, have produced a highly significant contribution to our understanding of the maritime archaeology of colonial North America, the European colonization of the Gulf of Mexico and the Texas Coast, seventeenth-century French ships of exploration; the evolution of French ship design; trade practices with Native Americans; life about a ship at sea; and life at a fledgling and failing colony. They have developed methodology for excavating, recording, conserving, and archiving many archaeological finds, for example, the first identified *barque longue* in the archaeological record. The archaeological assemblage comprises some of the largest single collections of artifacts types of the time period, including trade goods such as glass beads and iconographic rings. No doubt many future large-scale archaeological projects will look towards this work as an archetype model for research design. This volume is highly recommended.

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Jon Bursley. *Captain Elliot and the Founding of Hong Kong, Pearl of the Orient*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen and Sword, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. xviii+274 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. UK £25.00, US \$34.95, cloth: ISBN 978-1-52672-256-0.

Author Jon Bursley explores the lifelong trials and accomplishments of a nineteenth-century British naval captain in *Captain Elliot and the Founding of Hong Kong, Pearl of the Orient*. Controversies surrounding the First Anglo-Chinese War and Britain's acquisition of Hong Kong during the nineteenth century lay the background for

Bursley's extensive history of Charles Elliot. Though several books have explored Elliot's role in the Hong Kong acquisition, the author extends his exploration to analyze the character and context of decisions which drove Captain Elliot to challenge naval protocol in the Orient. Bursley explains Elliot's actions in navigating through a political den of profit and controversy which surrounded the unlawful exchange of opium among British and Chinese merchants, ultimately leading to open conflict between Britain and China.

Newspapers which reported on opium exchanges during Elliot's tenure in the orient painted Elliot as a character who lacked the capacity to fulfill his duties effectively. Bursley, however, redefines this characterization by distinguishing Elliot's options and his resourceful nature to find a balance of humanitarianism and duty. While Chief of Commissions in China, Elliot negotiated a diplomatic solution between the British government, the Co-Hong cartel, and Commissioner Lin who was tasked at preventing further opium exchange. Bursley successfully demonstrates that during these events, Captain Elliot assumed a self-motivated leadership role in negotiations between British opium merchants, who faced punitive repercussions by China for their defiant actions, and Lin while honouring the British government's responsibility toward its citizens conducting trade overseas. By outlining the complexity involved in juggling dated directives from Britain with the need for immediate action in the orient, Elliot demonstrated competency and an ability to drive events.

Bursley designed this naval history narrative using a friendly format which first explains the contextual history for each area assigned to Elliot, then proceeds through a detailed account of Elliot's decisions which affected these

areas by means of politics, diplomacy and personal interactions. The author catalogues Elliot's actions through extensive reference to personal letters and official correspondence. Using these resources, the author effectively outlines Elliot's character and identifies a pattern of humanitarian interests driving Elliot's agenda which included opium exchange, prisoner rights and slavery.

Elliot's career spanned his initial enlistment aboard HMS *Leviathan* in 1815, progressing through his rise to commander of the *Serapis* and HMS *Renegade* in 1825-6, then elevation to Captain aboard the *Harlequin* in 1828. Elliot's early titles included Protector of Slaves in British Guiana, Chief of Commissions in China, and British General Consul in Texas. He then accepted the Governorship of Bermuda, Trinidad, and St. Helena. Each assignment strengthened his experience and resolve.

Burseley argues that during Elliot's early career, he consistently addressed humanitarian injustices through political and diplomatic maneuvers, though often overstepped his authority. In 1845 Elliot became intimately involved in promoting independence for the Republic of Texas in lieu of American annexation. Addressing additional occasions, Elliot misread the complexity of problems resulting in an overreach from plausible objectives. In later years, Elliot's constructive leadership style allowed him to improve the lives of citizens and prisoners through infrastructure advances, the construction of schools, asylums and prisons, agricultural improvement plans, and port improvements to advance trade capabilities. Elliot became instrumental in evacuating convicts in the Caribbean when issues of yellow fever and cholera affected the islands.

Throughout the book, Bursey addresses nineteenth-century illness and disease. Elliot's correspondence allows the reader to become intimately aware of his family and their frequent bouts with illness. The book serves as a credible tool for exploring the history of Elliot's assigned areas and as a marker for the challenges of living in such areas. The threat of illness became part of a constant struggle for individuals enduring a life of constant travel in and out of tropical ports. Originally, Elliot's career advanced due to the illness of others, but eventually, his own personal struggle with climate-related illnesses began to hold him back. His wife also fell victim to constant weakness as a result of climate adjustments. Yellow fever and other illnesses forced population fluctuation throughout the Caribbean as Elliot's correspondence reveals.

The author's ability to navigate through naval history serves as a modest contribution to the overall success of this book. The significant value of this book lies in the author's ability to capture the perspective of a nineteenth-century British traveler. Elliot became a witness to significant island events due to the nature of his career path, therefore, his life became an instrument in the study of this type of career. The author presents a multifaceted look into the character of a man who shaped the British acquisition of Hong Kong, while explaining the challenges of Elliot's career path. Personality conflicts and diplomatic intrigue enliven the book as a historical and naval study, while the personal details add depth by presenting an intimate look at nineteenth-century challenges encountered by British citizens living, working, and trading abroad.

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R.A. Burt. *British Battleships 1889-1904*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, www.nip.org, R 2013 [Originally published 1988]. 352 pp., acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$75.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-59114-065-8.

In *British Battleships 1889-1904*, Ray A. Burt has created a coffee-table book any navalist ought to consider acquiring. Combining extant technical diagrams with those he created himself based on thorough research, Burt diligently addresses the question of British Royal Navy (RN) ship identification. Strictly speaking, it is not an academic text; for example, there are no notes for readers to cite or use for cross-referencing. He has written a piece of popular history, and as such, it lacks the stuffiness one often finds in purely academic work: this does not detract from the book in the least since it appears to be aimed at providing readers with interesting material to satisfy a reader's curiosity, not fulfill a thesis requirement. Burt does offer a brief and informal bibliography that readers may use to further their own research. The benefits of this approach are not limited to casual readers, nor to neophyte navalists, nor to those specifically interested in the RN. Burt makes it possible for astute readers to benefit from his relatively casual delivery of material by offering key names, events and dates, and terminology in his text.

An easy example of this occurs toward the end of the introduction, in which Burt addresses RN gunnery and marksmanship (53-61). Naval operational theory was changing rapidly at the turn of the twentieth century, and it is a chicken-or-egg quandary whether theory progression was antecedent to technological development. In the case of naval gunnery, simple necessity instigated reform. Long had the RN

relied on the tried-and-true firing practices of "independent fire" and "broadside or concentrated firing." Originally conceived in the age of sail, the former practice allowed each gun's captain to shoot at will, and the latter required all of the ship's guns to target and fire according to the order of a gunnery "director." A reform implemented by Captain Moorsom, RN, in the 1850s, assigned the director the role of collecting and prioritizing targeting information (such as ships' relative speed and bearing, and specific targets, such as the enemy ship's bridge, or a gun turret), to which all gun captains would be bound. Since each gun was located along the length and along the centreline of RN ships, the targeting information the gunnery director would supply, which was usually from the centre-most gun or the bridge of the ship, would be inaccurate for other gun positions because of the disparity of their positions *viz.* the director's position. Frequently, an RN ship's fore battery would shoot too soon for maximum effect, or the rear battery would fire too late and would at best, wing the aft of the target ship as it steamed out of the battery's target-zone; and as the RN held firm to the age-old philosophy that the weight of fire was of superior benefit for a ship in battle than any gun's individual accuracy or any general attempt to improve a gun's aim, any alteration in gun bearing or attempt to increase accuracy was frowned upon. Firing carefully took more time than firing blindly. The traditional broadside replaced the director's role in naval gunnery by 1885.

Innovations in materials, design, and construction occurred around the turn of the last century, and new guns, not to mention new ships, required new ways to conduct battle, rendering past techniques obsolete. Both civilian and senior naval officials remained uncon-

vinced that their battle tactics needed to be changed, and the volume of fire remained superior to collective accuracy in most tacticians' minds. This did not sit well with some particularly progressive officers, such as gunnery Captain Percy Scott, who instituted many reforms on his own vessels, HMS *Scylla* and HMS *Terrible*. A reader familiar with the time period in question might know the topic from the side of the United States, and will know of the reforms Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and William Sowden Sims instituted in the United States Navy (USN) to a greater or lesser extent. This short section of the introduction illustrates gunnery reform from the British side, and includes reference to the influence of the Third Sea Lord Sir William May, for instance, upon cooperative gunnery reform initiatives embarked upon by the RN and the USN. Specifically, naval gunnery reform was not taken seriously in the USN either, until William Sims encountered Captain Scott at the Hong Kong station, after which he composed and sent a highly detailed letter containing his findings and conclusions to Theodore Roosevelt. This chance meeting also coincided with a 1902 British study into gunnery practices, precipitating the complete overhaul of techniques to make them relevant to the needs of contemporary maritime warfare.

While not mentioned in Burt's book, several of Theodore Roosevelt's, Henry Cabot Lodge's and Sims' biographies and collections of personal correspondence reference this specific topic. Burt's ability to draw readers into a larger topic is thereby illustrated in this section of the text. This reviewer has a particular interest in Western/Anglo-American naval gunnery reforms instituted during the 1885-1920 period, and Burt's work has introduced some small, but important, nuggets of new

information pertinent to the British side of the equation that were not referred to in primary documents from the United States consulted prior to this review (e.g., Elting E. Morison, *et al.* [eds.], *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt: Volume[s] I-VIII*. [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951]; Henry Cabot Lodge [ed.], *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918, Vol. I [and II]*. [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925]; Elting E. Morison, *Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy*, [New York: Russell & Russell, {1942} 1968]). Accordingly, further independent research is possible because Burt's book is thoroughly researched and presented in a pleasing manner, albeit not cited to academic expectations.

British Battleships 1889-1904 is a popular, coffee-table-style history book developed through meticulous research and careful reproduction of illustrations, and while it is not "academic" *per se*, it is nonetheless a work of good quality: university instructors would be well-advised to use it as an example of scholarly presentation and prose, and one that might be used best to enhance first-year students' learning. For any reader with a good knowledge of research methods, the information Burt transmits is of pleasing inspirational value.

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Henry T. Cheever. *The Whale and his Captors: or, Whaleman's Adventures*. (First published New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850). Edited and Introduced by Robert D. Madison, Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, www.upne.com, 2018. xxxiii+242 pp.,

illustrations, notes, appendices. US \$40.00, paper; ISBN 978-1-5126-0266-1. (E-book available.)

“There she blows! There she blows! / Man the boats! For nothing stay! / Such a prize we must not lose! / Lay to your oars! Away! Away!” So reads the frontispiece of Reverend Henry Cheever’s 1850 account of his 236-day voyage from the South Pacific to home port in Nantucket. With its over-taxed exclamation marks the poem captured the prevailing view of whale-hunting as a swashbuckling enterprise. In the literature of the day, whaling was a risk-taking battle against a magnificent “sea-monster,” the great Leviathan; a gladiatorial encounter between enterprising humans and insensate beasts. And it was portrayed as such. One of the combatants, if not both, could die a bloody and painful death. By all accounts, the last half of the nineteenth century marked the halcyon days of tall-ship sailing and whaling. Indeed, so much literature of the sea prevailed that Richard Dana had felt obliged to preface his *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) by virtually apologizing for his “unjustifiable” presumption in adding his own tale to the mix. Of course, Dana’s narrative was unique. So, too, was Cheever’s personal account; and now also its first scholarly reprint at the skilful hand of editor Robert D. Madison.

Cheever’s reprint appears in the series *Seafaring America* under its general editor Richard J. King (Williams College, Mystic Seaport). As King explains in his brief preface to this volume, the series promotes a broad range of fiction and non-fiction, poetry and drama. Thus he includes in the historical canon those works of both fact and fiction “that reward reconsideration because of the lessons they offer about our *relationship* [emphasis mine] with the

ocean.” The word “relationship” is key to our understanding of the sea. Thankfully, this conviction remains valid well beyond the nautical experience of the USA. (Editors of academic books and journals might bear that in mind when judging the acceptability of literary manuscripts). Reprinting Cheever’s book also found support in the perspective of Stuart M. Frank, Senior Curator at the New Bedford Whaling Museum. Madison, Cheever’s editor, endorses Frank’s perspective in his Acknowledgements. “In an increasingly materialistic world of literary criticism,” he explains, Frank had years ago “insisted on the importance of American religious thought to maritime culture.” That, too, is a seminal perspective well worth repeating in other cultures as well. The “rewards” which the series *Seafaring America* has promised arise in the case of Cheever’s book from three sources: the immediate experience of a sensitive and reflective writer; the engagement of the creative imagination; and the reflections of a religious writer who, with honesty and conviction, stakes out his changing understanding of the marine world.

Key to the readers’ appreciation of Cheever’s *The Whale and his Captors* is Mark Bousquet’s cogent and well-turned Afterword. It could well have served as a Preface. His sensitive analysis clarifies not only the importance of Cheever’s work for the 1850s, but its historical significance for readers today. In short, by having experienced and thought deeply about the brutal hunting and butchery of whales, Cheever had become “the first writer to produce a whaling narrative that demonstrates a sustained sympathy for the plight of the whales.” He became, in short, the first whaling environmentalist. Certainly, Cheever also provided us with a rousing whaling tale in the established tradi-

tion, but as Bousquet explains, “his text also reveals a confrontation with the unexpected emotions brought forth by his witnessing the slaughter of whales.” Cheever’s work is a vivid social document with a modern thrust.

Cheever himself had recorded his own transformation subtly and well, drawing on a literary record as diverse as Bunyan, Byron, Milton, Cowper, and Coleridge to make his case. He documented his keen scientific interest in the whale’s anatomy and physiology, especially the circulation of the blood, and its breathing. He saw all creatures as endowed “by the Creator’s providence” with survival instincts. He himself had engaged deeply in the whaling experience. As his title suggests, he pondered the existential condition of both the whale and “his captors.” We read his descriptions of the “wondrous monster;” of the “battleground” in which the vicious hunt takes place. At first the whale was nothing but a commodity, sought solely for its economic value on a greedy market. Later Cheever conceded that “the havoc” which the industry caused was “enormous.” If unchecked by ethical considerations, he warned, then “the poor whale” would be “doomed to extinction.” In the course of the voyage his empathy with the whale grew. “Unlike humans,” he wrote, “whales do not wage war.” He found it “painful to witness the death-agony” of a harpooned whale; observed the whale’s “tenderest maternal solicitude” for its young; interpreted a whale’s final moment as “terror-struck” at the hands of “his tormentors.” By the end of the book, as Mark Bousquet’s Afterword rightly explains, Reverend Cheever had reached a position taken by Jeremy Bentham in 1789: the question was not whether animals—the handiwork of the Creator—could reason and speak, but whether they could suffer.

This attractive reprint combines nautical experience, literature and religion to create a compelling narrative. The book makes a significant contribution to current reflection on our oceanic world and the life which it sustains. It takes its rightful place alongside the most recent contribution in the field, Nick Pyenson’s *Spying on Whales: The Past, Present and Future of Earth’s Most Awesome Creatures*. (2018).

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Nick Childs. *The Age of Invincible: The Ship that Defined the Modern Royal Navy*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen & Sword Maritime, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. xxvi+189 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. UK £12.99, paper; ISBN 978-1-52674-382-4. (E-book, Kindle available.)

Nick Childs’ excellent and concise history of HMS *Invincible* provides far more than a traditional ship biography, and the reprinting of this 2009 study is auspiciously timed with the commissioning of the new generation of British aircraft carriers, starting with HMS *Queen Elizabeth*. Childs’ study covers the broad outline and evolution of carrier aviation within the Royal Navy, treating HMS *Invincible* as an essential bridge between Second World War fleet carriers and the daring decision to build large carriers.

As a political correspondent for the BBC World Service and World News television, and a former correspondent on a wide variety of defence affairs and world conflicts, Childs brings an easy familiarity with the intricacies of defence policy that allows him to unravel knotty decisions for even casual readers to absorb. Scholars will note that Childs does not rely unduly on archival

research and documentation, instead choosing to rely upon extensive oral interviews with naval officers, politicians, civil servants and academics. The result is a readable and concise book, albeit one that presents an interpretation of defence policy from the Royal Navy's point of view. There is obviously an effort to use the history of the *Invincible*-class to justify the policy decision to invest in fleet carriers, but Childs offers a solid case for such a large strategic investment.

HMS *Invincible* faced the perennial challenge of financial constraints, and Childs expertly connects naval policy decisions with the wider political and economic condition of Britain. For example, while the Royal Navy's experience of combat in the Falklands War justified the relevance of carrier air power for power-projection and amphibious operations around the world, popularity and prestige did not insulate the Royal Navy from ongoing financial pressure (117). The book addresses the tangible impact of inter-service rivalries, particularly between the Royal Navy supporters of the Fleet Air Arm and the Royal Air Force, which played an important role in negotiations over the Joint Harrier Force and the eventual cooperation of the two services in the *Queen Elizabeth*-class. Readers unfamiliar with the Royal Navy and its perennial financial challenges will find the political and bureaucratic infighting particularly fascinating, considering the common assumption that Britain prioritized naval forces.

Childs integrates the activities of *Invincible* into the broader strategic narrative, expertly connecting the thread of carrier air power to the navy's role in NATO European defence during the Cold War and demonstrating how the experience of Middle East conflict in the late 1990s and early 2000s revived and reinforced the need for full-scale

fleet carriers. During the Cold War, carriers competed for scarce financial resources with the extensive demands of anti-submarine warfare against Soviet submarines and with the navy's own role in providing a nuclear deterrent aboard its own submarines. Childs convincingly argues that the end of the Cold War and the concurrent increase in amphibious and expeditionary operations under the more interventionist government of Tony Blair proved the wisdom of maintaining the Royal Navy's capacity to provide naval air support for global power-projection and conventional (non-nuclear) deterrence. Building the *Invincible*-class and maintaining a foothold in carrier aviation reduced British dependence on the United States Navy, and allowed the United Kingdom to conduct independent operations and make effective contributions to joint missions.

Childs uses the story of the *Invincible* as a microcosm of the wider changes affecting British defence policy in the evolving conditions of the Cold War and post-Cold War periods. Scholars and recreational readers will find that the book neatly synthesizes first-hand accounts of the warship's origins, service and fate into a concise account of the strategic and institutional evolution of the mid- to late-twentieth-century Royal Navy.

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Jeffrey R. Cox, *Morning Star, Midnight Sun: The Early Guadalcanal-Solomons Campaign of World War II August–October 1942*. New York, NY: Osprey Publishing, www.osprey.com, 2018. 448 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. US \$28.95, cloth; ISBN 978-147282-638-1 (Available in paperback).

On the inside she was a poisonous morass. Crocodiles hid in her creeks or patrolled her turgid backwaters. Her jungles were alive with slithering, crawling, scuttling things, with giant lizards that barked like dogs, with huge red furry spiders, with centipedes and leeches and scorpions, with rats and bats and fiddler crabs and one big species of landcrab which moved through the bush with all the stealth of a steamroller. (130)

Such is the way Coastwatcher Martin Clemens described Guadalcanal, an island in the Solomon Islands where America's navy, marines and army would begin the long trek to Tokyo Bay. *Morning Star, Midnight Sun* is the story of the early Solomons Campaign of August-October 1942 when the United States Navy, reeling from the disaster of Pearl Harbor and the Imperial Japanese Navy, afflicted with a bad case of "Victory Disease", fought over miserable islands and crucial ocean routes while the war's outcome hung in the balance.

The setting is the Solomon Islands of the South Pacific, those small, jungle islands of minimal significance to the great powers of the world other than they were situated astride the lines of communication between the United States and Australia, that the Americans wanted to save and the Japanese sought to conquer.

The forces are the United States Navy Pacific Fleet, striped of battleships after Pearl Harbor and reduced to a few carriers after the battles of the Coral Sea and Midway, and the Imperial Japanese Navy, still expanding but bloodied in the same battles. The names of some characters are famous, such as Yamamoto, Ghormley, Nimitz, and Halsey. Others are unfamiliar; the pilots of the Cactus Air Force, the makeshift squads operating from Henderson Field on Guadalcanal, and of the *Enterprise* and

Hornet, the Japanese who flew against them, the sailors who scanned the radar, aimed guns, did damage control and the Marines and soldiers who fought while navies maintained and cut their supply lines. The battles included Savo Island, the greatest defeat in U.S. Naval history, with four first-line cruisers sunk and 1,077 American and Australian sailors dead over what remains known as Iron Bottom Sound.

The Japanese plan was to fight the "Decisive Battle" that would win the war. The Americans wanted to an offensive that would keep the sea lanes open and start the road across the Pacific. At the onset, the forces were fairly evenly matched. The U.S. advantage was that it a pipeline of production to replace its losses while Japan did not.

This book chronicles the men who decided the fate of the Solomons in late 1942. Their errors were costly, such as those of the *Blue* and *Talbot* who missed the oncoming Japanese Fleet, as were the equipment failures, such as the repeated duds of American torpedoes. Mistaken identification rained down fire on friendly forces and withheld it from the enemy. The actions related in this tome reflect a time of transition. The American Navy sharpened its skills while the Marines and army took, and held, the first pieces of Japanese occupied territory. The shortcomings of Adm. Ghormley were recognized and his replacement by Adm. Halsey, recently returned to service from medical leave, put in place the team that would lead the coming offensive. Americans began to realize that, though Zeros retained their technological qualities, those of the pilots were ebbing. The Japanese tide had reached its peak and began its relentless ebb.

Author Jeffrey R. Cox has crafted a thoroughly researched narrative that tells it tale in great detail. He combines

the big history of admirals, engagements and shifts in battle momentum with the small history of the men who lived it. For the scholar or student with a focus on the naval war in the Pacific this is a valuable resource. For the general reader it may contain too much detail. I like a book that helps me put names and engagements into context of the greater war. I gain little by knowing that Japanese Petty officer 2nd Class Miki Isamu released his bomb too high to hit the *Enterprise* or that Captain William Sharpsteen torched a Zero, apparently piloted by Seaman 1st Class Iwase Jisuke. I recommend *Morning Star*, *Midnight Sun* for readers already conversant with the naval war in the Pacific who seek to deepen their understanding, but not as an initial read.

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Leslie Dawson. *Fabulous Flying Boats A History of the World's Passenger Flying Boats*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen & Sword Aviation, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. xiii+320 pp., illustrations, appendix, index. UK £14.99, paper; ISBN 978-1-52673-969-8.

Despite their brief pre-eminence, few types of aircraft capture our imagination like the huge, sleek-hulled flying boats. They embody the glamour, adventure, and danger that characterized air travel in the interwar period. Avoiding the need for expensive and infrequent land-based runways, flying boats skimmed across the waves and gracefully lifted into the air “from the grey, heaving Atlantic to the dry heat of Africa and the idyllic sun drenched islands of the Pacific.” (300) Leslie Dawson’s *Fabulous Flying Boats* breathes life into this bygone era through a collection of first-hand accounts, aircraft descriptions,

and recreated journeys.

Dawson traces the early development of the flying boat in chapter one before chronicling the rise of commercial air ventures during the interwar period in chapters two and three. The focus is on British experiments and operations in the 1920s and 1930s with short sections covering similar operations in other countries. British efforts to develop long-distance flying boats were intimately related to the maintenance of its colonial empire. Engineers and pilots strove to extend the reach of aircraft and create a reliable service that could quickly deliver Britain’s elites to anywhere in the colonies.

By the 1930s, the first practical long-range flying boats were ready for service. Dawson focuses on the venerable Short C-Class Empire flying boat which served British Imperial Airways’ colonial routes. The highlight of this section is Dawson’s account of a typical journey from England to South Africa on the C-Class. The reader first takes a virtual tour of the huge plane, getting a sense of the cutting-edge technology and lavish accommodations that characterized flying boat interiors at the time. As the journey begins, we follow along for five days of travel across the Mediterranean, south along the Nile, over to Kenya, Mozambique (then Portuguese East Africa) and finally, South Africa. Dawson palpably conveys the tensions of early air travel: the simultaneous excitement and tedium during days spent in the air, and the constant reassurances of the safety of the aircraft juxtaposed with all-too-frequent accidents.

Dawson follows the flying boats into their operations during the Second World War in chapters four through seven, again largely focusing on British colonial and transatlantic operations. The nation’s pilots and flying boats were reorganized to coordinate the war

effort across the empire. The demands of war pushed social and technological change; women had new opportunities to work on seaplane bases as pilots and sailors. The need to overfly enemy-occupied territory put a renewed emphasis on ultra-long-range flying. The story of the PBY Catalina flying boats which reconnected London and Australia in 1943 is a particularly fascinating case. Five Catalinas were modified to make the non-stop flight from Perth to Sri Lanka over the Indian Ocean. In a true feat of endurance, the journey took 28 hours in the austere, unpressurized plane. To commemorate the arduous experience, those who took the journey were ceremoniously inducted into the "Secret Order of the Double Sunrise."

In the final section of the book Dawson tracks the post-war decline of flying boats. A new generation of huge ocean-spanning flying boats, such as the British Saunders-Roe Princess and Howard Hughes' infamous *Spruce Goose*, were already obsolete as their prototypes were finishing construction. These aircraft were but dreams of a bygone era supplanted by land-based Douglas DC-6s, Lockheed Constellations, and Boeing 377 Stratocruisers.

Yet, as Dawson shows in chapters eight through eleven, many of these flying boats had extended service lives long after their supposed obsolescence. They have found uses fighting fires and transporting passengers in more remote commercial aviation markets. Dawson traces these afterlives of British- and American-made planes in operations from Argentina to the South Pacific. Finally, as is evident in his meticulous appendix of the world's flying boats, Dawson tracked down the final resting places of the most of these aircraft, whether the glamour of a museum, the inglorious scrap yard, or a somber grave at the bottom of a river, lake, or ocean.

Dawson takes great care to guide readers through the interiors of the Short C-Class and Boeing 314, but there are few images to supplement his descriptions. Discussions of rarer aircraft that readers are unlikely to know also often lack images. Furthermore, there are no footnotes or bibliography, making the text of limited use for researchers and historians.

The greatest strength of Dawson's book also points to its weakness. He vividly captures the experiences and efforts of flying boat operators and passengers in the colonial settings that defined their use in the interwar period. The stories of aircraft narrowly threading between the trees to land in remote tropical rivers are engaging and fascinating. Yet Dawson does little to interrogate the motivations and significance of their imperial roles. It would have enriched the book to consider the wider implications of flying boat operations beyond the triumphs and tribulations of early air travel.

Nevertheless, *Fabulous Flying Boats* is a worthwhile book for anyone imbued with an enthusiasm for these iconic machines and their crews. Dawson's passion for flying boats is infectious, and I for one will be stepping aboard one of the remaining examples as soon as I can.

Marc J. Alsina
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Anthony B. Dickenson and Chesley Sanger. *After the Basques. The Whaling Stations of Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: DRC Publications, www.drcpublishingnl.com, 2018. x+277 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, sources, bibliography. CDN \$19.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-988358-16-1.

This is a detailed but concise account of station-based whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador from 1898, when a processing plant was established in Notre Dame Bay, until 1972, when whaling, other than indigenous hunts, was banned by the Canadian government. The title of the book is *After the Basques*—long after, really. The systematic Basque whale hunt, exemplified by the operation at Red Bay, Labrador (a heritage site), ended in the 1580s but throughout the next three centuries some whaling was carried out on a small-scale opportunistic basis by ships from Spain, France and New England, usually in conjunction with catching cod. In the nineteenth century, Scottish and American whalers worked in the northern grounds of Davis Strait and Baffin Bay, leaving the waters around Newfoundland comparatively unexploited.

It was Norway that developed the steam powered whale catcher armed with a powerful harpoon gun at the bow, and Norwegian know-how and business interests were enlisted in the establishment of the industry in Newfoundland. Twenty-one coastal stations were constructed by 27 companies, though not all were open at the same time. As usual, efficient killing reduced the number of whales that came by the different areas. The processing centres would then be closed either temporarily or permanently and the operation shifted to a different bay. Companies also were established and dissolved. At the peak of these operations in the early twentieth century, whaling for a while supplanted sealing as Newfoundland's second largest industry after salt cod. During the time this enterprise was in operation over 20,000 whales were caught in Newfoundland waters.

After an introduction and a descrip-

tion of the process of catching and processing the whales, Part 3 is the main section of the book. It deals with each whaling station in turn: initial establishment, owners, location (mostly illustrated by aerial or satellite photographs), record of catches and eventual closure. There are many period photographs of operations, whales being dismembered, ships (the whale catchers), and some of the people involved: Norwegians as well as Newfoundlanders.

Part 4 is devoted to the 60 whale-catching vessels, most of which were built in Norway. They are illustrated by photographs which compliment those in Part 3. Statistics (tonnage, dimensions, horsepower) are not given, but the catchers were small, powerful craft and excellent sea boats, while larger ships, converted from freighters, were of the fish-factory type, although they did not operate independently but were used to support the stations.

An appendix shows total and station catches by species; another, legislation that affected Newfoundland and Labrador whaling, while a third lists the formation and changes of Newfoundland whaling companies, correlating the information in Part 3. A fourth details what can be gained from each part of the carcass of a blue whale, the greatest prize.

Nowadays, with the number of whales in the oceans so depleted, we tend to deplore whale hunting, but formerly it was seen, like sealing, as a necessary though dangerous and adventurous enterprise that produced a needed commodity and provided employment to the shore workers and the ships' crews.

The authors are both retired faculty members of Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland, and obviously saw the need to put the story of this

industry in accessible form, which they have achieved by this compact but comprehensive volume.

C. Douglas Maginley
Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia

Aidan Dodson. *Before the Battlecruiser: The Big Cruiser in the World's Navies 1865-1910*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Seaforth Publishing, www.seaforthpublishing.com, 2018. 304 pp., illustrations, maps, glossary, notes, index, appendices. UK £35.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-4738-9216-3. (E-book available.)

This work combines chronological history with technical data around the 'big cruiser' naval vessels of the world from their advent in 1865 to the completion of the last designs in 1910. While each nation maintained its own designations of ship types, which varied from country to country and occasionally, within navies by decade, author Aidan Dodson uses his own criteria to determine relevant vessels, namely, non-line-of-battle armoured vessels begun prior to the official 1909 completion of HMS *Invincible* with side protection and/or a displacement of over 7,500 tons (7). Given the tangled and often interconnected nature of warship development on the international stage, Dodson states that his work is not only an analysis of the relevant vessels, but also a view of international naval history through the "lens" of the big cruiser movements. This narrative is largely concentrated in the first half of the book, which examines the ships of the world chronologically. The second half examines the vessels' career data and serves as a repository of technical data, classified by nationality. Using a standardized format, Dodson discusses each vessel's national service life and illustrates it with line drawings

to showcase the vessel profiles as-built and after refits. These core components are bookended by additional information, an introduction and a "Sources, Conventions and Abbreviations" section proceeding the main body of text to inform the reader of the author's classification rationale. At the end, is a list of principle gun types and metric to imperial conversion appendices, end notes, maps, and an index. The maps are of special note, showcasing not only the worldwide routes of key squadrons in 1904 and 1914, but also detailed maps of various seas showing the location of major ports, significant actions, and points where various 'big cruisers' were lost.

Part One, "The Rise and Fall of the Big Cruiser," actually begins with a summary and analysis of wooden and early iron ships of the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, following various designs and 'replies' between key navies as they pushed wooden vessels to their limits and brought about the advent of iron, armoured, mechanically powered commerce raiders (13-15). From there, Dodson examines the early forays into big cruiser designs, the cycle of construction and 'replies,' innovations, advancements, and warfare. Shortly after a vessel's introduction to the timeline, he often pauses to cover key points of its service history. Among the naval conflicts examined, the two most in-depth studies cover the 1904 Russo-Japanese War and the First World War. The author sees the Russo-Japanese War as the "high point" of the big cruiser, as both the Japanese and Russians relied heavily on various designs throughout most engagements (93). The Japanese victory was such a shock to the Russians and their navy that the text devoted to their post-war reactionary construction is a third of the

length of the war summary itself. Unsurprisingly, the First World War consumes almost an entire chapter, covering well known engagements such as Jutland, Gallipoli, and convoy actions, arranged chronologically and by theatre of action. Most fascinating is the antecedent chapter, "The Long Dying," which examines the fates of the surviving big cruisers after 1919 to the present. This includes their conversion to receiving ships, training vessels, mine-layers, and the like. Scrapping operations were carried out throughout the interwar period, with the Second World War serving as a brief respite for the dwindling number of survivors. The last of the breed, the *Georgios Averof*, occupies the final paragraph, detailing its last cruise into preservation as a museum ship. The main text ends with a four-page analytical "Retrospective," which examines the design approaches and changing roles faced by countries as they innovated their way closer to the advent of the battle cruiser. Dodson concludes that the vessels were "when looked at in their own terms... credible attempts at harnessing rapidly-changing technologies" (161). Finally, the amazing assortment of period photographs scattered throughout the work provide a wonderful resource, offering images of the various vessels at different points in their careers in ways that line drawings cannot fully encapsulate.

Part Two, "Technical and Career Data," is impressive in its own right, with 117 pages of information on all vessels Dodson defines as big cruisers, subdivided by the 14 nations to which they belonged. The section begins with a four-page chronological 'timeline' of 'to-scale' waterline silhouettes, before moving to the alphabetically-arranged nations. Entries for each country are similar, beginning with a graphic timeline scaled at five-year intervals from

1865 to 1955, a list of each nation's vessels located along the timeline's y-axis and shaded lines to illustrate their build time, service life, and final reserve periods. Vessels are then examined chronologically, with each class of warship (if applicable) receiving its own section. Within these subsections, a deck drawing illustrates internal layouts and armour thickness, while line drawings show the external appearance of class vessels as built and following refits. Basic data such as designation, displacement, dimensions, machinery, armament, protection, and compliment are listed, followed by tabulated data on individual ships detailing builder, key dates in ship construction, and final fate. Each class section then concludes with the brief synopses of the assignments of the relevant vessels. As the technical data on some of these vessels was sometimes hard to pin down, Dodson standardized information in Imperial units and utilizing British deck terms, with other choices being fully documented in his earlier "Sources, Conventions and Abbreviations" section (8-9).

Very little comes to mind in terms of possible improvements, although it was surprising that the naval Battle of Manila Bay received only a single sentence within the main text (76). While none of the various cruisers involved in that battle fall directly under Dodson's definition of a "Big Cruiser," the participants were definitely close cousins. Certainly, the destruction of unprotected vessels by those protected by armour further emphasizing the demise of the unarmoured cruiser design. Another suggestion would be to include photographs of some of the key individuals involved in the realm of cruiser design, such as Russian Captain Second Rank Kopytov, whose specifications formed the first true armoured cruiser, French warship designer Emile Bertin, whose

work Dodson deemed an “Era,” German Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, the driver behind German Fleet Laws, and British First Sea Lord Admiral Sir John Fisher, whose tenure saw the disposal and refitting of many big cruisers of the Royal Navy. These are just minor suggestions, however, and their absence from the work is in no way detrimental.

Before the Battlecruiser is an excellent resource for those interested in mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century naval designs, fleets and actions. Dodson’s analytical text is strong enough to stand alone as a solid study of the international evolution of armoured cruiser design and employment, but the coupling of this with his thoroughly researched and well compiled technical data compounds the work’s usefulness, providing data that is much more reliable than standard populist texts or the more propagandized contemporary data which nations often produced during the ships’ lives. For those researching naval vessels of the mid-Victorian to interwar period, *Before the Battlecruiser* is a fine addition to the historiography.

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Sheilah Mackinnon Drover. *Ted Drover, Ships Artist*. St. John’s NL: Flanker Press, www.flankerpress.com, 2018. xvii+186 pp., illustrations, glossary, notes, bibliography. CDN \$21.95; ISBN 978-1777117-436-7.

Ted Drover was born in St. John’s, Newfoundland in 1907. He had polio as a child which left him with one leg shorter than the other and gave him a distinctive walk but did not prevent him from living an active, adventurous and successful life. Ted was a businessman, sailor and artist who had a deep interest in the history of his native land and

especially the way its ships and sailors typified, indeed created, the unique culture of Newfoundland. His family had sawmills in Green’s Harbour in Trinity Bay, and later in other outports, with a finishing mill in St. John’s which Ted’s father managed, so he was well acquainted with all aspects of the marine scene.

Ted showed an early aptitude for art, and in the 1920s, after completing his schooling in St. John’s, he attended the Ontario College of Art where he studied under E.H. MacDonald and Frank Johnston of the Group of Seven. Unfortunately, the stock market crash of 1929 affected the family business, and in that year, Ted returned to Newfoundland to run the family sawmill in Alder Harbour. While he was seldom without his sketchpad (his preferred medium was pencil), he did not seriously pursue his art until 1936, when he was commissioned to draw portraits for *The Book of Newfoundland*. Although he was also a talented cartoonist, his portraits and cartoons are not included in this book: they may be in another volume.

This collection of his ship portraits has been put together by his daughter-in-law, Sheilah Mackinnon Drover. Starting with sketches of ancient and historic ships, it is then divided into chapters on sail, steam and motor vessels. The accompanying text, describing the work and history of each ship, provides us with a virtual nautical history of Newfoundland. The Grand Banks fishery, which has been well covered elsewhere, is not largely featured but there is an important section on the contribution of women and girls, especially in the Labrador fishery to which thousands of Newfoundlanders—men, women and children—migrated every year.

Sealing was an important part of the

economy of Newfoundland, conducted in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth in wood or composite ships with auxiliary engines, many originally built in Dundee, Scotland, as whalers. Competition was fierce and successful sealing captains became locally famous. A berth on a sealer was coveted by townies and out-porters alike. In fact, Ted had signed on for a trip to the ice in a sealer when he returned to St. John's in 1929.

Then there was the coastal trade. As early as the 1860s, the Newfoundland government granted subsidies to steamship owners who would provide reliable communication with the coastal settlements. There were two types: the "coastal boats" which connected St. John's with the larger coastal towns, and the "bay boats" that plied the waters between the many settlements around the larger bights, such as Fortune, Placentia, St. Mary's, Conception, Trinity, Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays. (Look at a map of Newfoundland: even today, after the consolidations of the 1950s and 60s, the inhabited coves seem innumerable.) These were small steamers by ocean-going standards: the larger ones 1000 -1500 tons, the "bay boats" a few hundred. Ted's images of the earlier vessels are especially interesting as they have seldom been illustrated. These ships were operated by the Reid, Crosby and Bowater companies, and the later ones, which were owned by the government, and then the Canadian National Railway. They survived to the post-Second World War period. I first saw St. John's in May, 1947, the first port in my first trip in my first ship, and was there from time to time up to 1955. I remember the Portuguese "white fleet" of dory fishers, the *Glencoe* (the last of the clipper-bowed steamers), the famous *Kyle* on the Labrador run, and the *Northern Ranger* which did the long haul from St. John's around the northern tip of Newfound-

land to Corner Brook on the West Coast and return. These steamships and many more are featured in this book.

During the Second World War there was a great demand for shipping of all kinds. In 1942, the Newfoundland government set up a new shipyard at Clarenville on a long inlet off Trinity Bay. Ted Drover was contracted to set up a sawmill there to provide the material for a group of ten wooden motor vessels designed by William Roué, who had designed the schooner *Blue-nose*. These little ships, known as "the splinter fleet" were very successful and found ready employment during and after the war. In 1935 Ted had married Jessie Troake, a District Nurse. They lived first at Alder Harbour and then Clarenville, but in 1944 Ted and his family moved to Twillingate where Ted acquired his own vessel, the MV *Jessie Cull*, which he operated as a charter boat. These were smaller vessels that could take a few passengers and a small amount of cargo and were used by government officials and commercial firms that wanted to go directly to a destination avoiding the many calls of the "bay boats". The *Jessie Cull* measured only 21 tons and was 47 ft long, but Drover took her as far as Labrador. He sold her in the early-1960s after suffering a heart attack and the new owner soon lost her. Then, in 1965, Premier Joey Smallwood invited Ted to come to St. John's and establish a new maritime museum. He accepted and took great pride in exhibiting the objects that typified Newfoundland's marine heritage. He died in 1980 having taken part in virtually all of his Province's maritime activities and leaving an historically valuable collection of ship portraits. It is very good to have many of them reproduced in this book.

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Brian Fagan. *Fishing. How the Sea Fed Civilization*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, www.yalebooks.yale.edu, 2017. xvii+346 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.99, cloth; ISBN 978-0-30021-534-2.

We have all heard the story of how hunters and gatherers turned to agriculture and 80-90% of the world farmed to survive until the rise of commercial farms and industrialization led to the mass production of food. Farming, we are told, gave rise to civilizations. Brian Fagan argues that fishing was just as important as farming. His latest book is a must read for anyone interested in maritime history.

Several recent books on commercial fishing by Jeff Bolster and Matthew McKenzie have stressed the importance of the nineteenth century and the rise of industrial capitalism to our understanding of the depletion of fish stocks and the decline of commercial fishing. Fagan follows them in arguing that trawls, purse seines, and encircling nets exploited the oceans on an industrial scale beginning in the 1850s. But, Fagan is an archeologist who takes a very, very long view of changes in the environment. He insists “the modern fishing industry should not get all of the blame for the current state of the world’s fisheries. The present condition of the world’s fishing grounds is the culmination of thousands of years of exploitation of the oceans, exacerbated by the assumption that fish were a limitless resource.” (241) Yes, modern technology transformed commercial fishing. Yet, the depletion of fish stocks is rooted in “that most human of qualities—the ability to exploit opportunities as they arise.” (241) Fagan traces opportunistic fishermen to 1.9 million years ago. (16) He covers a lot of ground in this book. Probably too much. But, there is much

to discuss to demonstrate that fishing has fed people around the world since they tamed fire.

Fishing is neatly organized into three parts. Part One covers the rise of subsistence fishing. Between the taming of fire and 13000 BC, people developed tools specifically designed to catch fish such as fishhooks, barbed spears, shallow-water traps, and nets. By 8000BC, subsistence fishing stimulated population growth and permanent settlement in northern Europe and Japan. Other subsistence fishers migrated to find newer, richer fishing waters. This sort of migration was a “significant element in the first human settlement of the Americas.” (17)

Part Two addresses the role that fishing played in the rise of civilizations. The world’s first cities emerged near the Mediterranean Sea around 3100 BC. Cities developed later in Asia and in the Americas. These population centers were located along estuaries, lakes, and rivers. Their societies were all complex hierarchies with farmers and fisherfolk at the bottom. The Sumerians, Egyptians, Romans, and Mayans depended on each of these workers for food. Fish also became a commodity used in trade.

The final portion of the book covers roughly 1000-2000 AD. Here, Fagan focuses on the rise and decline of herring and cod fisheries in the Atlantic Ocean. Medieval technology sufficed to catch large numbers of these fish until well into the 1800s. Steam trawlers in the 1840s then enabled fishermen to stay far offshore for longer periods of time, and their catches were eight times larger than they were during the Age of Sail. One hundred years later, diesel trawlers brought in 40 percent more fish than steam trawlers. A combination of climate change, technological innovation, and basic human opportunism has led us to a point at which fishing

may no longer be able to feed people. Fagan ominously notes “Today, we face the challenge of feeding more than nine billion people by 2050, at a time when climate change threatens fisheries already under severe stress.” (240)

There is much to admire in this book. Fagan brings to the table a life spent on archeological digs around the world. He is an expert on climate change and commercial fishing. He is also a very good writer. The book could have easily been mired in scientific jargon. But, Fagan wants to lure as many readers as possible into his narrative. And *Fishing* deserves a wide audience.

Having said this, two-thirds of the book is based on archeological evidence. The written record is largely overlooked. This represents a missed opportunity, as fish merchants and fishermen have left us quite a paper trail in ledgers, log books, memoirs, court records, naval records, government documents, and newspapers. Also, Part Three leans very heavily on Bolster’s *Mortal Sea* for fishing in the modern era, but the heart of this book focuses on one particular region during the mid-nineteenth century. Fagan could have broadened his secondary source base to deepen our understanding of the history behind the rise and fall of the Atlantic cod and herring fisheries. Of course, these caveats do not seriously undermine Fagan’s larger argument about the pivotal role fishermen played in the rise of civilizations.

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Andrew Forbes (ed.) *The Future of Sea Power. Proceedings of the RAN Sea Power Conference 2015*. Canberra, AU: Sea Power Centre–Australia, www.navy.gov.au, 2017. xi+140 pp., figures, notes. PDF ; ISBN 978-0-9925004-8-

1. (Available for download at: <http://www.navy.gov.au/media-room/publications/sea-power-conference-proceedings>)

This is one of the latest installments of an excellent series, from which I’ve been lucky enough to review a couple and read a lot. So, when this popped through letter box, I was quite excited. Attracted by a cover that features a striking, stormy image of a *Hobart* class destroyer, I decided to read it immediately. That picture sets the tone for what is quite a vibrant read, despite the lack of internal imagery other than some black and white charts. The ‘quite’ comes from the fact that, due to its nature as a conference compilation, it feels like a series of 20-minute papers, with all the attendant sub-headings at points. But if the worst you can say about a well written, encompassing work is that it attempts to cram in too much of the good stuff, then honestly, the criticism feels weak.

Most readers, especially specialists in the field, would probably start with either of the work’s bookends, *A Global Navy for Global Needs* by the then-Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Tim Barrent, RAN (retired 2018) or *The Future of Sea Power* by Rear Admiral James Goldrick, RAN (retired 2012). Both are excellent, well written pieces which explore and encapsulate the topic of this work; namely, the future role of the navy not only in warfare, but in peacetime, whatever the reality of that may be; and the role of navies as complex yet utilitarian tools of great potential use in the increasingly inter-meshed, and if not multi-polar, certainly multi-centric world.

The three pieces that caught my eye were written by Professor Michael Evans, Rear Admiral Brad Williamson (USN) and Dr. Alex Zelinksy.

Zelinksy's paper, *The Future Navy Powered by Science and Technology*, actually appears later in the book, but its seven pages are what underpin many of the theses put forward elsewhere. His thesis can really be summed up by his third paragraph, "*The complexity in this analysis is that the threats of today are unlikely to be the threats of tomorrow. Agility is therefore the key. It is into this military, political and economic environment that the RAN will operate. Assured freedom of actions is paramount and to achieve this, the Navy needs access to relevant and world class science and technology*" (69). Interestingly, while making a strong case for organic Australian technology programs, Zelinksy also highlights Australia's need to work with partners to broaden both the pool of expertise to build from, but also the basis of funding.

This builds nicely into *A View from the Bridge Wing: Building Partnerships and Strengthening Cooperation*, the eleventh paper, written by Williamson. This reads like an explosion of diplomatic speak, which is appropriate, as it focuses on the diplomatic side of navies. The conclusion, for example, begins: "*While myriad issues exist that restrain our ability to build partnerships and strengthen cooperation, we cannot use them as roadblocks to preventing developing the building blocks of operational success required to operate together at sea*", a good illustration of the linguistic style employed by the text. It is a thorough, if albeit too brief, canter through those issues and their possible resolutions. This brevity makes more sense when we realize that if it went into greater depth it could well overlap, even duplicate, some of Evans' paper.

With *Australian Rendezvous: Maritime Strategy and National Destiny in the 21st Century*, Evans takes the kind of strategic, long-term overview that ev-

eryone (especially governments) should read to make them think. Using phrases such as the "*tyranny of distance... replaced by the prospects of proximity*" (115), Evans pulls no punches when he points out that Australia's turn-over at the top, five Prime Ministers and eight Defence Secretaries in five years has caused issues—companies which had such a turnover of CEOs and Operations Directors would be considered highly dysfunctional, yet in government, multi-billion decades-long defence contracts are subjected to Treasury and public scrutiny which completely overlooks this weakness. What makes this, in fact, all the papers in this book, so interesting and relevant is that these are issues which do not just affect Australia. They are issues which are common to all democracies to a greater or lesser extent; but especially for island democracies, like Ireland, New Zealand, Japan and Britain where the effect of such instability on maritime strength and flexibility is even more apparent. Let us consider the point made when Evans quotes Admiral Mike Mullen, "*rid yourselves of the old notion – held by so many for so long – that maritime strategy exists solely to fight and win wars at sea, and the rest will take care of itself.*" (123) In the modern era, winning the peace is just as important as winning wars, especially as if done right, it may not only shape the conflict, but prevent it.

Quoting Mahan, in his paper *The Operational Impact of New Technology*, Milan Vego states, it is "*Better to offer certain considerations for reflection, rather than make sweeping dogmatic assertions.*" (77) This could well have been the guiding philosophy, not just for this book, but for the whole series so far. It has certainly provoked many ideas in this reader's mind and I'm sure it would for others. This book is as

much about the past as it is about the present, the timelessness and universality of the problem of preparing for the future, always full of known and unknown factors. Any would-be reader will find it relatable and beneficial, but it would be especially useful for those who are professionally involved in the field, or who have either oversight or over-watch over it.

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Robert Forsyth. *Shadow over the Atlantic. The Luftwaffe and the U-boats: 1943-45*. Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, www.osprey.com, 2017. 312 pp., illustrations, map, tables, appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. UK £25.00, US \$30.00, CDN \$40.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-4728-2045-7.

“The few units that were employed in maritime operations were overtaxed to a greater degree than the rest of the Luftwaffe”. That was the conclusion of German historian Sonko Neitzel in his magisterial study *Der Ansatz der deutschen Luftwaffe über dem Atlantik und der Nordsee 1939-1945* (1995). A single long-range reconnaissance unit, FAGr 5, which is the subject of *Shadow over the Atlantic* typifies how the Luftwaffe was a failure at supporting the U-boat campaign because it expected the impossible of its airmen. Forsyth is a British aviation enthusiast who runs an aviation and military publishing business with an obvious niche market. He has specialized in producing books about German military aircraft during the Second World War. This is his eighteenth such title.

Robert Forsyth invariably uses German ranks and organizations in the narrative. He does not take space to explain how the Luftwaffe organization

compared with those of its opponents. FAGr 5 can be translated as Long-Range Reconnaissance Group 5, but because the Luftwaffe and Commonwealth used similar words for units of different sizes a better translation would be Wing 5. *Shadow over the Atlantic* is based on a manuscript by Oskar Schmidt, who had been in charge of the Wing’s administrative staff and thus, had a broad overview of the activities of individual squadrons and sorties. Schmidt apparently based his narrative on a combination of his memory, input from his former comrades, and official and private records. Little has been published previously in English giving a German perspective from the unit level about efforts to use airpower in the Battle of the Atlantic. Oscar Schmidt’s first-hand accounts of individual missions and FAGr 5’s vicissitudes give the book fascinating immediacy. Robert Forsyth used contemporary British signals intelligence and wartime reports to add extra dimensions to the story of some of the missions described. In addition, he describes in detail how the various types of aircraft flown by FAGr 5 were developed.

FAGr 5 was formed in mid-1943 and mostly flew reconnaissance missions from western France between November 1943 and July 1944. Their aim was to locate allied convoys for attack by strike aircraft and U-boats. The impetus behind its creation had been a promise in February 1943 by the Führer to Admiral Dönitz, recently promoted to C-in-C of the Navy, that more long-range reconnaissance aircraft would be provided to support the U-boat campaign. The Junkers 290 was a long-range aircraft that had entered service in the late 1930s; a militarized version was now available. The Ju 290 had better endurance than the Fw 200 Condor, the mainstay until then, of German efforts

to operate out over the Atlantic. The core of FAGr 5 was drawn from reconnaissance units that had been operating in Russia. It's interesting that this core included 21 "*Hiwis*", Soviets recruited as "Volunteer Helpers." Apparently used by the administrative cell, these *Hiwis* would remain with FAGr 5 until the German surrender in 1945.

Forsyth traces many of FAGr 5's flights from their base at Mont de Marsan, 100 kilometres south of Bordeaux. Their main focus was the area off Portugal to locate convoys on the Gibraltar-UK track; several missions also flew up around Eire to search to the west of Britain's North Channel. These were arduous flights, some lasting over 18 hours, with an ever-present risk of interception by British land- or carrier-based fighters. When searching off Portugal, the FAGr 5 pilots flew at 200 metres or lower when they were over the water to lessen the chance of detection; climbing periodically once in suspected vicinity of convoys to extend their radar search horizons. When returning over the Bay of Biscay, they flew at 15 to 20 metres. Arguably the most gripping parts of *Shadow over the Atlantic* are first-person narratives about individual sorties collected by Oscar Schmidt.

Locating convoys was a major challenge for the Germans. After January 1943 they were no longer able to read Allied radio traffic about shipping movements because the codes had been changed. Intelligence from aerial surveillance became more critical than ever, particularly as U-boats could no longer operate in search lines on the surface in the face of omnipresent Allied aircraft after mid-1943. The narrative about FAGr 5 operations is a litany of the problems that plagued German efforts to locate enemy shipping from the air and to successfully home in attacking units. These included naviga-

tional challenges and communications difficulties. There was no system for passing enemy reports from searching aircraft directly to U-boats, but there are interesting descriptions of air-dropped radio buoys designed to broadcast a signal that would enable U-boats to home in on a reported location. In practice, these were another failure because the Germans did not have a critical mass of searching aircraft or by 1944 of U-boats in the areas under sporadic aerial reconnaissance. Statistics (158) are a typical operational snapshot of a five-day period, 14-19 February 1944: FAGr 5 had deployed 24 aircraft including 17 Ju290s against convoys. Three were shot down and 10 aircraft dropped out due to various defects. The author intersperses contemporary assessments by U-boat headquarters of how there were too few aircraft and of the many other problems that bedevilled air-sea cooperation by using Hessler's *The U-Boat War in the Atlantic 1939-45* (1989).

FAGr 5 lost seven aircraft in encounters with the enemy between November 1943 and August 1944. Records from both sides graphically tell about these incidents. Three Ju290s were lost over a three-day period in February 1944. Two of these involved the escort carrier HMS *Biter* supporting a convoy to the west of the North Channel. On the 16th *Biter* detected a shadower on radar, launched two Martlet fighters and vectored them in for a kill. A few hours later a second of FAGr 5's Ju 290s was tracked on radar by *Biter* which then vectored two Beaufighters for a second kill. These fighters were flying out of Northern Ireland to support the convoy. Three days later, RAF Four Mosquitos patrolling over the Bay of Biscay sighted a Ju290 flying very low over the water (their report (156) said "flying at zero feet") and shot it down. There were no survivors

from these three FAGr 5 290s. There were two further losses to another escort carrier, HMS *Nairana* in late May. Two Ju 290s, 2,500km from their base, located a homebound convoy to the west of Spain that was being supported by *Nairana*. The carrier detected one of the shadowers flying at low altitude in heavy weather and launched two Sea Hurricanes. One of the fighters flew into the sea while trying to close the Ju 290 that was then shot down by the other Sea Hurricane. A second pair of Ju290s were then sent out to track the convoy. These were also detected by *Nairana* which launched two Sea Hurricanes and vectored them in to attack. One of the Ju290s was shot down but the pilot managed to land on the water so he and four others of the ten-man crew survived. Forsyth reproduces the report of one of *Nairana's* pilots about how a fighter was then launched to locate the survivors, "a tiny speck in the vast sea and stayed circling them, waving encouragement, until they were picked up by one of the escorting corvettes". (178)

Reconnaissance flights by FAGr 5 ended in June 1944. That month, one of its Ju290s staged through Norway to fly to northeastern Greenland where it landed on the ice to recover personnel from of a weather reporting station that had operated since the previous summer. The Ju290 returned with a total of 42 men on board. By the summer of 1944 it had been decided to cease production of Ju290s. Weather reporting flights over the Atlantic continued until August when FAGr 5's aircraft flew back to Germany and the Group's personnel trekked east as conditions in France became ever more dangerous. FAGr 5 was not formally disbanded until February 1945, but once it returned to the Reich its aircraft and personnel became involved with various other

formations. Their varied stories are included. There were long fights to drop saboteurs in Algeria, supply missions to German troops cut off in Yugoslavia and to drop parties behind the Soviet lines in Ukraine and even to a town 400km of Moscow in August 1944. In early 1945 former FAGr5 crews trained for a high-priority operation involving several Ju290s that was to attack Soviet power-generating stations. This was finally abandoned when Allied bombers destroyed too many of the Ju290s on the ground. Former FAGr 5 pilots also flew the Ar 234 jet reconnaissance bombers over the British Isles in the final weeks of the war. The narrative includes surreal details in the stories of the FAGr5 airmen-in the summer of 1944 while the Allies were advancing in Normandy and Brittany and flying operations had slowed the men enjoyed a new swimming pool and their commander kept them occupied in sports competitions. This officer, who emerges from how his actions are recorded as determined and dynamic, returned early in 1945 from a skiing holiday in the Alps; his headquarters company compete with their Russian "*Hiwis*" and some soldiers had enjoyed fare brought back from France during their congenial Christmas celebration in an inn in Bavaria. Meanwhile the Allies were pushing into Germany from east and west.

At times the narrative is slowed by detail—for example, the reader learns how a return flight from France by a Ju 290 in October 1943 experienced a flat tire on landing and was delayed until a replacement could come out (66). The author painstakingly includes the serial number of individual Ju290s when describing their sorties. Information about several key personalities beyond their earlier service on the eastern front is absent. It's telling that the narrative traces the fate of several German air-

craft taken by the RAF to Farnborough for evaluation after the war but not of FAGr 5 personnel. It would have been interesting to learn what happened after the war to Oskar Schmidt, his commanding officer and others. There is an extensive section of photographs including an arresting large photograph of *Biter*, pitching into the sea with aircraft ranged on her small flight deck.

Shadow over the Atlantic presents the story of a German maritime long-range reconnaissance wing as seen by its members. This unit, FAGr5, operated the new Ju290 from a base in southwestern France between November 1943 and August 1944. Individual sorties are described using arresting eye-witness accounts supplemented by information from UK archival records. A comparison of the crew size, endurance and general performance of long-range Ju290 with comparable Allied maritime reconnaissance aircraft would have been of interest to general readers. There is a single map and several contemporary photographs. Because the book provides an English-language account of German efforts at air-sea cooperation based on records kept by participants it is a valuable addition to the literature about the Battle of the Atlantic.

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John Gurda. *Milwaukee: A City Built on Water*. Milwaukee, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, www.wisconsinhistory.org, 2018. 244 pp., illustrations, maps, index. US \$28.95, cloth; ISBN 978-0-87020-865-2.

The history of shoreline cities is inextricably intertwined with the history of the maritime landmarks, figures and vessels who defined, founded, supplied and

nourished them. One such story is told in *Milwaukee: A City Built On Water*.

Milwaukee's origins and development were dictated by the rivers and Lake Michigan on which it is situated. The combination of abundant water and "good land" (a translation of the native word from which "Milwaukee" is derived) attracted Native American settlements. In the seventeenth century, French Canadian voyageurs paddled down the St. Lawrence River from Montreal to the Great Lakes in search of furs. The initial route of American settlement in the American Northwest Territory was the Ohio River, a long overland trek from Wisconsin. The development of Milwaukee and other cities on the Great Lakes was spurred by the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 that provided a water route from the Lakes to the Hudson, New York and the Atlantic World beyond. The Canadian Welland Canal, connecting Lakes Ontario and Erie by bypassing Niagara Falls, established a second water route from the American upper-Midwest to the Atlantic. By 1850, Milwaukee would be home to 42,000 residents, many of whom were involved in the transfer of flour, wheat, lumber and hogs to the east. Where there is maritime trade there is shipping and by 1870, there were 1,700 schooners plying the inland seas.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Milwaukee shipyards had turned out 114 of these craft. One of the largest belonged to Captain James Monroe Jones, who opened his yard on what is still known as Jones Island around 1854. In the fullness of time, the "age of sail" would give way to steam for those seeking faster transportation. Even then, lake travel was long, quarters were cramped, privacy nonexistent, food monotonous and the company frequently rude. According to Harriet

Marineau, a British traveler writing in 1837, “The ship was the only place in America where I saw a prevalence of bad manners.”

With the coming of the railroads, highways and air travel, the maritime influence on Milwaukee would take new forms. The completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959 opened a new water route to the Atlantic and was touted as “the greatest single development of this century in its effects on Milwaukee’s further growth and prosperity.” The seaway’s greatest promises went unfulfilled as ocean vessels outgrew it locks. What ships did traverse the Seaway introduced new species of exotic creatures into the Great Lakes that have altered the ecology of the Lakes in ways still evolving.

This work covers many other topics relating to Milwaukee and its water, including its effect on the city’s industry, fisheries, waste disposal, recreation and urban renewal. Issues that have influenced Milwaukee have been felt throughout Lake Michigan and beyond.

Author John Gurda has supplemented his entertaining and informative narrative with a host of photographs, maps and drawings that bring hues and visual images to the written word. Among my favorites are the then-black and white, and now, vivid colour, photos of the same scenes.

Milwaukee: A City Built On Water is an easy read and a delight for the mind and the eyes. Whether your interest is in Milwaukee itself, or how the changing Lakes and lakers have served and molded the Heart of America, this is a book to read, peruse and enjoy.

Jim Gallen
St. Louis, Missouri

Simon J. Hall. *Last Voyage to Wewak. A tale of the sea: West Africa to the South*

Pacific. Dunbeath, Scotland: Whittles Publishing, www.whittlespublishing.com, 2017. xi+193 pp., illustrations, glossary. UK £16.99, US \$19.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-84995-253-8.

Master Mariner Simon Hall reveals some of his experiences in the southern hemisphere over his fourteen years at sea, working first for the British forces and then, in commercial shipping. His book explains what the shipping industry was like at the end of the “golden-age” referring to the mid-1940s to the mid-1980s. He presents many different characters, lifestyles, and experiences, employing an amusing writing style to infuse the story with his obvious passion about everything seawater related.

On the very first page, Hall informs his readers that this is a personal account of his time at sea and that he has altered some of the names of ships and people to avoid offending anyone while retaining their privacy. After that clarification, he continues with his story, offering an even-handed appraisal of the people he meets along the way, including himself. He describes his growth as a sailor and the mistakes he made along the way to becoming such an accomplished member of the nautical community. He admits for example, his own character flaws via stories of his time at the nautical college in Plymouth. Spanning the entirety of Hall’s career, the book often strikes a self-reflective and philosophical tone, but rather than impede the story, it provides the reader with a better understanding of Hall’s personal perspective, not only on matters of the sea but also on important life questions and occasional obstacles.

Among the unique aspects of a seafaring life, Hall refers to the special bond of shipmates which goes beyond traditional working relationships because of the extensive amount of iso-

lated time the group spends together. A close-knit crew is vital, he states, because sailors often run into dangerous situations and must be able to trust their companions, potentially with their lives. Throughout his book, the author deepens the reader's understanding that being a sailor, or working extensively at sea, is more than a job— it becomes a way of life that affects one's mindset and becomes part of one's "soul".

Hall's amusing interactions with people from different nations entertain in an endearing way. Respectful, although not entirely politically correct, the author presents all parties in the same light without crossing the line in terms of disrespect or insult. Even someone from the country involved should be able to relate to the situations he describes without taking offence.

The author does a brilliant job of keeping his audience engaged with personable individuals and exciting experiences. When he introduces someone new, the reader feels almost as if he or she is actually meeting the person themselves. Maritime phrases are sprinkled throughout the book; for example, he refers to his retirement as "The tide went out" or uses the traditional expression, "To swallow the anchor..." Since he usually describes vessels and situations using nautical terminology, Hall has thoughtfully included a brief glossary to help his non-maritime readers, although most terms can be deciphered in the context of the story. His easy and affable writing style make this a pleasant read, even for someone without any previous knowledge of nautical language.

Hall began working at sea as a naïve sixteen-year-old recruit, fresh out of training at college, ultimately leaving 14 years later, age 30, to take a terrestrial job so that he could enjoy life with his then-new bride and shortly thereaf-

ter, his children. He explains how new technology did not just transform industries on land but also extended into the sea, completely changing the way ships operated, and its impact on the shipping industry overall. The book does not dwell on specific enhancements of vessel technology or of foreign policy: it rather provides a personal account of a sailor's life. It is not about technical advancement for the maritime community but instead, it enlightens readers about the lifestyle and experiences of those who work on the sea. Simon Hall's amiable style offers an amusing glimpse into a world that readers might not otherwise ever dwell in or understand. *The Last Voyage to Wewak* is a single installment of his trilogy, extensively showing his time in the nautical sector.

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Maura Hanrahan. *Unchained Man: The Arctic Life and Times of Captain Robert Abram Bartlett*. Portugal Cove, NL: Boulder Publications, www.boulderpublications.ca, 2018. 350pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. CDN \$21.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-927099-94-0.

From Alaska's North Slope to the east coast of Greenland and around to the Northeast Passage above Russia, the Arctic is a bewitching place of rock, ice and sea. The (mostly) white men who penetrated its fastness claimed the mantle of "explorer." But as Maura Hanrahan demonstrates in her uneven biography of one of them, Captain Robert ("Bob") Bartlett, they were as much exploiters as pathfinders, for, unlike the empty, frigid wastes at the other end of the planet, the Circumpolar North was and is inhabited by brave, hardy and

adaptable indigenous peoples whose acquiescence and assistance was indispensable to the invaders from the south.

For Bartlett, the Arctic became an “otherworldly” arena in which he found divinity, refuge and meaning. His ultimate reality lay not in “running away from anywhere,” but “to somewhere: the Arctic.” (249-50). This radical introvert was “virtually unable to derive serenity or genuine pleasure from the comfort of others, save his family; he derived energy from quietness and his own company. . . . In contrast to other explorers, the Arctic was never his adversary.” (251)

Bartlett was born in 1875 into the relatively remote, provincial and rigidly stratified fishing and sealing society of Newfoundland. His father, a prominent local captain, was a hard man whose son never quite came up to his demands until the youngster bailed him out financially near the end of his days. Bartlett’s mother, Mary Jemima, gave her son the warmth and commitment he needed to face life with fair success. He rewarded her with an unstinting adoration that he gave to only one other person in his life. There was no question that the young man would follow the family commitment to the sea and he came to initial prominence after an early career that took him, as captain of various ships, to the Caribbean and Mediterranean, as well as the nearby coasts of Labrador and Greenland. As with so many other young skippers, he suffered traumatic accidents that seem to have confirmed an essentially stoic and introverted nature. In 1909, at age 34, he accompanied Robert Peary on the American admiral’s final (and, Peary insisted, successful) effort to reach the North Pole. As the last person to turn back before the final assault, Bartlett achieved a measure of fame that was to last him all his life and his platonic love for Peary

matched that given to his mother.

Four years later, Bartlett sealed his reputation as a great polar leader. Commanding the ill-fated Canadian Arctic Expedition, he and a single Inuit companion Kataktovik, were forced into a memorable trek across the Arctic ice pack from their besieged vessel *Karluk* off Wrangel Island to the Siberian coast and on to the Bering Sea where rescue came to them, and, eventually some (but not all) of the Expedition’s other members. Hanrahan’s account of the ordeal is masterful. His reputation secure, Bartlett undertook numerous other voyages of exploration and exploitation to Labrador and Greenland in the 1920s, ‘30s and early ‘40s.

The man Hanrahan depicts is not a particularly pleasant chap. Frequently cold and aloof, Bartlett, like his fellow Newfoundlanders and the American “explorers” he encountered and worked with, instinctively embraced the harsh racism and sexism of the time. Hanrahan spends many pages—perhaps too many—dwelling on the ruthless exploitation of native Inuit peoples by their invaders who either ignored or dismissed the distinct culture they encountered.

The author also spends far too much time portraying Bartlett’s immediate family and late-nineteenth century Newfoundland society to the detriment of more important matters. The sources of Bartlett’s conduct are neither systematically explored nor satisfactorily explained. Hanrahan all too often asserts when assessment is demanded. At one point, she casually mentions that Bartlett had moved to New York City. The reader is left to ponder why this aloof character who found deep emotional satisfaction in loneliness would decide to live in one of the world’s largest and most dynamic cities. Proximity to monied folk who could provide need-

ed funds for further Arctic voyaging? The companionship of fellow Arctic explorers?

The strains of a relentlessly harsh life spent in polar seas and lands bred in Bartlett “deep-seated insecurities” (233) that never left him. For a time, he became an alcoholic. He never enjoyed a satisfactory domestic life and endured a lonely old age. What saved him from outright despair were the many honours and awards showered upon him in his later years and the comfort, and even joy, he derived by repeated voyages north, where he could “sink into the spirituality of the Arctic.” (240).

All this we are told, but Bartlett never comes alive as a recognizable human being. Hanrahan submerges him so thoroughly in what he did and where he came from that who he was and *why* he behaved as he did is never wholly clear. This reader was left with the impression that perhaps there was just not enough in Bartlett’s life to merit an accounting of it.

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David Head (ed.) *The Golden Age of Piracy: The Rise, Fall, and Enduring Popularity of Pirates*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, www.uga-press.org, 2018. vii+256pp., notes, index. US \$84.95, cloth; \$29.95, paper; ISBN 978-0-82035-325-8. (E-book available.)

Most of our contemporary understanding, and often misunderstanding, of those who turned to pillaging and plundering has been derived from examinations of the upsurge in piracy which occurred between the middle of the seventeenth century and the first third of the eighteenth century. Western scholars refer to this period as ‘The Golden Age of Piracy’, when the Atlantic became a

scene of lawlessness amid contests and shifting alliances between nations, and those larger-than-life figures, such as Blackbeard and Captain Henry Morgan, roamed the seas with relative impunity. Though this age has received more consideration than any other has from scholars and popular audiences of piracy, it appears that there is still much to say. This volume certainly proves that, for its collection of essays manages to offer something new in shedding light on piracy in both the oft-studied historical period, as well as the world of today.

Editor David Head has assembled a strong selection of essays that advance our understanding of pirates and piracy during a pivotal period of the early modern world. The assemblage also affords a prism through which scholars can further probe broader questions; namely how empires clashed, how colonies took shape, and how public policy regarding crime and its suppression developed. Twelve scholars, most of whom have published widely in the field, contribute essays that speak either in part or in whole to the rise, fall and enduring popularity of Golden Age piracy. Head organizes the essays into four thematic sections, bound nicely by his effective introduction and conclusion, which usefully identify the specific events marking the birth and end of the age, as well as the many ways in which a definition of piracy must be considered fluid and expansive.

In “Pirates and Empire,” Carla Gardina Pestana suitably sets the stage by addressing how sectors of the Atlantic, specifically the Caribbean, became spheres for piracy. Those rejecting Spain’s exclusionary claims over the Americas recognized the extraordinary profits as well as the uncertain authority of the region. The ‘private seafarers’ of Jamaica, the heart of English piratical activities in the Americas following conquest of the island in 1655,

are at the heart of John Coakley's fine essay. Operating under contract, or at least with implicit authorization of colony leaders, these private seamen sailed and plundered in support of the colonial government, defended the colony, and were therefore vital to Jamaica's survival. Kevin McDonald's especially insightful essay places the heavily important logwood cutting practice at the centre of illicit activity in the Spanish Main to reveal pirates as multifaceted historical agents and piracy as a complex, multilayered historical activity and process.

Section Two is devoted to the "Suppression of Pirates." Douglas Burgess uses pirate trials to demonstrate that piracy was only effectively curbed once crown and colony shared legal clarity for what constituted piracy. David Wilson considers colonial and metropolitan responses to piracy during its most intense period and convincingly argues that its suppression in the Atlantic was due to a series of fragmented and distinctive campaigns rather than a coordinated state war on piracy by Britain. Guy Chet challenges conventional opinion that piracy all but died out by the 1720s in his comparatively shorter, yet refreshing and provocative piece. He makes a compelling case for the continued existence of piracy within the Atlantic world for well over another century, meeting its demise inadvertently as the sale of contraband became less profitable, rather than due to an overwhelming crackdown by the British Royal Navy.

Just two essays make up the third section, "Modeling Piracy." Virginia Lunsford's detailed treatment of the similarities between the buccaneers operating in the seventeenth century Caribbean and pirates operating within contemporary society reminds us that piracy's complex support system needs to be addressed and that naval solutions

are not nearly enough. Economist Peter Leeson offers an innovative way of understanding the often-contradictory nature of piracy. Considering pirates as economic beings who responded rationally to the incentives they faced in pursuit of profits allows for a clearer understanding for why they worked together, why they flew the black flag and why they resorted to torturing those who resisted.

The fourth and final section, "Images of Pirates in Their Own Time and Beyond," is the most effective at bridging the Golden Age and modern worlds through analyzing perceptions of piracy in popular culture held by pirates and non-pirates. Margarette Lincoln's excellent opening essay examining the creation of the pirate myth as swash-buckling popular hero, fixes on the figure of Henry Every. Carolyn Eastman utilizes illustrated print portrayals to locate the origin of persistent motifs emphasizing heroic and sexualized masculinity and violence with Alexandre Exquemelin's *Buccaneers of America*, while Matthew Taylor Rafferty tackles the literature of antebellum pirate confessions that reasserted women's responsibility for cultural and moral norms. Closing out this section is the superbly written essay by Adam Jortner chronicling the treasure-hunting phenomenon from its folkloric beginnings in post-Revolutionary America when it served as a morality tale for emergent American capitalism.

Stimulating and engagingly written, these essays are well cited and of manageable length. Its reasonable cost, in combination with the above assets and extensive thematic coverage will serve the scholarly community well and convince course instructors to include this volume on reading lists.

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Paul N. Hodos. *The Kaiser's Lost Kreuzer: A History of U-156 and Germany's Long-Range Submarine Campaign Against North America, 1918*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., www.mcfarlandpub.com, 2018. x+215 pp., illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. US \$35, paper; ISBN 978-1-4766-7162-8. (E-book available.)

While there have been other books written about the little-known long-range submarine campaign against North America, both from the Canadian and the American viewpoints, none of them have covered the complete U-Kreuzer war, nor was their focus completely on the campaign itself. Author Paul Hodos tells this fascinating story, while at the same time giving the reader a detailed description of career of *U-156*. He also describes this submarine campaign from the perspective of Imperial Germany.

Hodos begins by reminding readers of the British blockade of Germany, which forced the German civilian population into eating only bread and potatoes by 1916, and when the potato crop failed, they became dependent on turnips. Much of the population was malnourished and in a survival attitude. Germany's U-boat campaign was a desperate attempt to break the British blockade. He also recalls the problematic position of the United States, which though officially neutral, because of the British blockade, could only trade with Great Britain.

Early in the war, Imperial Germany used huge cargo-carrying U-boats with no weapons, and a crew with no overt ties to the German Navy, hoping to start a meaningful trade with the United States. This trade never materialized, and by February 1917, the German Navy took over the seven cargo U-boats and changed them into combat vessels.

Two 5.9-inch guns were strapped to the decks of these large submarines and two internal bow torpedo tubes with 18 torpedoes were added. Hodos describes these U-boats as versatile vessels which could cut cables, attack ships underwater with torpedoes, bombard targets with their big guns, and lay mines in Allied shipping lanes. They would also carry extra crew members to serve as a prize crew of captured vessels. By August 1918, at the height of the campaign, there would be three large U-Kreuzers off the coast of North America.

The author devotes two chapters to one of the top U-boat aces of the First World War, Konrad Gansser, who sank 41 ships. More relevant to this story, Gansser was the first commanding officer of *U-156* off the coast of West Africa. Germany regarded him as a hero, but to the Allies, he was an unscrupulous villain. *U-156*'s second commanding officer was Richard Feldt, who commanded the submarine on her cruise to North America.

Prior to *U-156*'s arrival, however, German U-boats made several attacks on the Atlantic coast of the United States, and the author gives a great description of those attacks. *U-156* didn't reach Cape Cod and New York until mid-July 1918. Within days, she sighted the USS *San Diego*, a 13,600-ton armoured cruiser heading into New York, quickly laid an underwater mine in her path. The submarine was some distance away when the *San Diego* struck and sank within a few miles of the Long Island shore near the largest port city in America, becoming the largest American warship lost during the First World War. The U-kreuzer then went on to shell the tugboat *Perth Amboy* off of Orleans, Massachusetts. One of their near misses struck a spot on Nausett Beach and exploded. Although probably unintentional, *U-156*

made the first bombardment of American soil by foreign military since the Mexican-American War in the 1840s. U.S. Navy air stations along the coast occasionally spotted these U-boats and dropped bombs on them, although most of the bombs failed to explode and the U-boats continued on.

U-156 headed north where it found few allied merchant ships off the coast of Maine. Once in Canadian waters, it fired two shots across the bow of the *Dornfontein*, less than ten miles from the shore of Grand Manan Island in New Brunswick. After the ship stopped, the U-boat took the personnel aboard and kept them prisoner while the Germans set the captured vessel on fire. They then released the crew to the *Dornfontein*'s lifeboat to make for the nearby shore. This attack on the *Dornfontein* initiated the first operational wartime experience in the history of the Royal Canadian Navy. The Canadian and U.S. Navy sent vessels to the Bay of Fundy to search for the U-Kreuzer. Meanwhile, *U-156* headed north and launched a string of attacks off Nova Scotia.

While cruising near Halifax, Feldt was wise enough not to attack a convoy with his slow U-Kreuzer. Instead, he waited for ships sailing alone. One of those ships was the Canadian tanker *Luz Blanca*, sailing for Tampico, Mexico from Halifax, which *U-156* sank. In September 1918, *U-156* was heading home to Germany, but had to pass through the Northern mine barrage to get there. Her last radio transmission was on 25 September. She was never heard from again and never made it home.

The Kaiser's Lost Kreuzer is a welcome addition to the many books that have been published during this centennial of the First World War. Paul Hodos has given us a well written and

well researched history of Germany's long-range U-boat campaign against North America. The narrative of this history is built around *U-156*. Her close calls, exciting operations, and the personal stories of her crew and victims make for great reading while still covering the overall story of Germany's first attempt at long-range submarine warfare. This book should be in the library of anyone interested in the history of the First World War, especially the American or Canadian naval history of that war.

C. Douglas Kroll
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Trent Hone. *Learning War. The Evolution of Fighting Doctrine in the U.S. Navy, 1898-1945*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, www.usni.org, 2018. 432 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-68247-293-4. (E-book available.)

Trent Hone's *Learning War* is a quasi-textbook concerned with the evolution of naval warfare and a history of naval doctrine during the early part of the twentieth century through the Second World War. This multi-faceted voyage touches on naval policy, officer education, 'weaponology', the history of critical battles, critiques of some of these events, and finally, mini-biographies of the naval leaders of the times.

Early in the book, the author sets the tone by referring to François Jacob's "*bricolage*," (DIY or "tinkering" in French.) It refers to evolutionary processes that involve two elements: constraints (rules) and historical circumstances (events). The contributions of the two disparate factors drive outcomes. Simpler objectives depend more on constraint than history, but as

complexity increases, history becomes the critical factor. Appropriate reactions to these developments are the basis of good leadership and positive outcomes in naval combat.

Naval warfare presents a multitude of challenges. The combatants bring to the combat zone a variety of complex vessels and weapons. During the Spanish American War, these included battle ships, heavy and light cruisers, and destroyers. As the U.S. Navy entered the First World War, submarines evolved from defensive to formidable offensive weapons. Aircraft carriers progressed from supportive vessels to the queens of battle in the Second World War. During that time, naval guns became much larger and far more accurate. Torpedoes were perfected and could be launched from surface ships such as destroyers, as well as submarines and finally, from torpedo bombers. Warships had to confront the enemy from pitching decks during raging storms at sea, poor visibility, and the dark of night. Added to this, communications were imperfect and logistical support had to catch up with constantly moving fleets bringing replacement parts, fuel, food, and ammunition.

In order to man the ships, it was necessary to develop a cadre of trained officers and naval tactics, but being a professional naval officer at the time, was a relatively unattractive occupation. Besides the inherent danger of being a warrior, promotion up the ranks was glacially slow. Traditionally, an officer only moved up the bureaucratic ladder when a slot became open and promotion was by seniority, not necessarily based on merit or competence. Formal training of those in command evolved as naval academy graduates and others filled the ranks once the Naval War College was instituted. The first curriculum was based upon a heu-

ristic (experiential) concept. There were war games and what they called 'conferences' at the college. There were no identified winners, but these events were followed by analyses of the practicality and innovations presented in problem-solving. When officers participated in these so-called 'conferences', rank was considered irrelevant. Over time, the Navy's learning system and curriculum triggered paradigm shifts. It redefined what it meant to be a naval officer and fundamentally altered how the U.S. Navy prepared for war. Naval officers shifted their thinking in the era of steel ships powered by steam. Line officers and engineers were considered equals, creating a new outlook. Gunnery changed from massive assault and inundation of a target to accuracy and judicious use of ammunition. The navy first engaged in exploration and then turned the discovered situation into exploitation. War College's games experimented with tactics using various types of ships, diverse battle formations and means of communication, all aspects of which led to a concise naval language that all command crewmembers and the entire fleet understood.

The explicit circumstances that promoted and permitted the navy's swift innovative measures from the Spanish American War to the end of the Second World War were ongoing but transitory. Constraints governed naval experimentation in the years leading up to Pearl Harbor. This unprecedented attack led to an increase in the size of the naval fleet, with a huge influx of new officers and men, most of whom had no naval background and experience. Insufficient ability to fully man the fleet arguably slowed the rate of readiness and disrupted the navy's heuristic based educational system. The new concept was to use emergent potential and the ability to evolve and adapt. This expe-

ditional growth changed the USN by repurposing the constraints that had fostered experimentation and innovation. Pre-war exercises had been designed to promote the development of novel approaches. With a set of established solutions to almost any given situation, even uninitiated personnel were able to perform quickly and reasonably well. Following standard operating procedures replaced experimentation as the preferred approach. These standardized processes reduced variability, but ultimately slowed the pace of learning and perhaps led to a crucial casualty—original thinking. Within this atmosphere was rapidly changing technology that altered the navy’s perception of the battle-scape. These included sonar, radar, Talk Between Ships (TBS) radio, and most important Combat Information Control (CIC) and advances in computerized plotting. By the end of the Second World War, the USN’s well-developed system of learning and application of principles ceased to exist. A new maxim came to the fore, Observe, Orient, Decide, Act (OODA).

Learning War is a complex book full of detailed technical naval information, military jargon, and acronyms. Yet, it offers a unique and important window on naval history. This is at times an ambitious read, but quite rewarding. It is not a book for everyone, but an excellent choice particularly for former naval officers, and a conduit for insight into the complexity of naval warfare for officers of sister services.

Louis Arthur Norton
West Simsbury, Connecticut

Peter Hore. *Henry Harwood—Hero of the River Plate*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Seaforth Publishing, www.seaforthpublishing.com, 2018. xii+244 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index.

UK £25.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-5267-2529-5.

Some authors are considered great historical writers because their books are literary origami, there is always more information folded into the work than can be found at first, second or even third reading. Others are considered great because their writing is so lyrical, it feels like a novel, so smooth that the reader absorbs information without being aware of it. Hore’s biography of Henry Harwood puts him most definitely among the latter group—although this work was certainly an attempt to join the former. Harwood is most well-known for his exploits in South America, but the book could also have been titled ‘*Hero of the River Plate, a life time in the making*’ – because it is Harwood’s life story. It gives an incandescently intricate insight into the life of a Royal Navy officer in the first half of the twentieth century. This service occurred before, during and between the two world wars, which for better or worse, frame much of the historical approach to the period. Harwood was part of it all, and Hore describes it, giving us such a personal sense of Harwood hobbies, his work, his hopes, his family, his strengths and his weaknesses, that we feel like we are sailing alongside him and experiencing what it meant to be a naval officer in his world.

Nevertheless, it is unsurprising that roughly one-third of the book is dedicated to the Battle of the River Plate, summed up in Harwood’s own words:

“The whole thing... was to try and make him [Langsdorff] divide his fire. We succeeded. He started with one turret on the Exeter and the other one on us. Then he shifted to the Exeter and then he came back to us. When we saw that he was going to try and finish off the Exeter we opened the A arcs [turned

to bring more guns to bear] and gave him all we had with sixteen 6in guns. So he remained undecided, but there is no doubt that he ought to have finished off one or other of the forces on his flanks. After the hits on Exeter he ought to have finished her off. Perhaps he thought he had, as we did when she disappeared in a great cloud of spray, smoke and flame. But she came out and remained in the action—her finest achievement—and so the enemy remained undecided.” (85)

Divide and conquer is an old phrase and a very simple strategy – which Harwood applied brilliantly and it worked perfectly. Simplicity was a hallmark of Harwood’s career. Rather than over-engineering a solution, he would break down the problem to its most pertinent parts and decisively engage those points in the most straightforward manner possible. This decisive simplicity originated early in Harwood’s career through his naval experience on the South America and the China Stations and developed through a career spent in these far-flung cruiser stations. In fact, it was during Harwood’s second visit to the China Station, in December 1928, that he achieved Captain’s rank and served there until March 1929. Hore reveals how well Harwood was regarded by his superiors ;

“Arthur Snagge gave him an excellent confidential report: ‘A most brilliant and efficient officer... Intellectual and technical ability are combined with a fine personal character and forceful power of command’. Trywhitt obviously agreed and would write to Harwood after the Battle of the River Plate: ‘My dear Harwood. I can’t tell you how pleased and delighted I was to hear of your glorious action... It was an additional pleasure for me to see your success as I was instrumental in your promotion to Captain which, incidentally, you earned handsomely.’” (33-4)

Occasionally, a grammatical or syntactical error arises (see 154), but it really doesn’t interrupt delivery of the content of the book, and errors, albeit rare, are almost inevitable in any long work. Hore highlights the difficulty of command in a war where every resource is at a premium, and Harwood’s plans designed for what was available on paper rarely coincided with what was actually available to him. Unfortunately, Harwood lacked the resources to achieve the high expectations of his command; meanwhile, others who seemed to be able to play the politics better, avoided blame by using him as a scapegoat.

This is a book for everyone, accessible and easy to read, and will be enjoyed by general readers, but it also has all the resources and historical precision to make it useful for students and academics. While certainly not unique in its field, it is definitely unique in its subject. Harwood, overshadowed by so many other characters of his era, has been overlooked by other biographers. While this reviewer might begrudge the fact that Hore has beaten him to the punch, *Henry Harwood—Hero of the River Plate* is an excellent book, thoroughly researched and well written. Harwood deserves fuller study because, despite his weakness in internal and domestic politics, his skills in diplomacy, influence/information operations, innovative planning and skilful command make him an officer worthy of emulation.

Alex Clarke
Epsom, Surrey

Rick James. *Don’t Never Tell Nobody Nothin’ No How. The Real Story of West Coast Rum Running*. Vancouver, BC: Harbour Publishing, www.harbourpublishing.com, 2018. 312pp., illustrations,

appendices, bibliography, index. CDN \$32.95, cloth: ISBN 978-1-55017-841-8.

Rum running and smuggling were commonplace activities during the 1920s and early 30s among the American Atlantic and Pacific coastal communities as well as along the Canadian land and lake borders. The book's enthralling title is derived from a quote of a ship's crew member. Concerning his coming and goings, he said that the less anyone knew about his activities, the better and then recalled the rum runner's motto: "Don't Never Tell Nobody Nothin' No How." (191)

On 17 January 1920, the 18th amendment to the United States Constitution, known as the National Prohibition Act or the Volstead act, officially became law. It prohibited the manufacture, sale, barter, transport, export or delivery of any intoxicating alcohol except for that authorized within the act. This so-called "Noble Experiment" lasted for 14 years until it was rescinded in 1933. While American saloon doors were nailed shut, America's northern neighbour had tried prohibition within its individual provinces several years previously. It was found to be extremely unpopular and expensive to enforce. Ironically, the failed Canadian attempt at prohibition ended about the same time that Prohibition in the United States went into effect. By chance, this was shortly after the end of the First World War in which many Canadians served. When these veterans returned from overseas, they found that their national economy had suffered from this conflict and there was a shortage of well-paying jobs. This was true throughout the Commonwealth, but the more sparsely populated, far western province of British Columbia, especially the Vancouver area, seemed notably

hard-hit. Fortunately, this province was populated by a large number of hearty mariners and boat builders. Thanks to its geographic location, it was ideally placed to distribute assorted alcoholic beverages to a large population of southern neighbours. The "Yankees" had a demand for such illegal goods, the cash to pay for them and seemed unconcerned about how they became available.

The next obvious imperative was to devise a viable business plan. First, one had to obtain a large supply of alcoholic beverages overseas. Next, it was necessary to find a way to clear foreign customs with the paperwork, but without off-loading and paying duties. Under-the-table money paid to customs officials in out-of-the-way countries resolved this problem. Afterwards, one had to establish a waterborne beverage supermarket. Entrepreneurs purchased a number of large, ocean-going vessels and stationed them in international waters, but near the onshore "markets." Once there, small, fast camouflaged boats could rendezvous with the "mother ships" in order to deliver the merchandise ashore. Finally, bootleggers would be waiting to pay a wholesale price and then pass it onto a variety of "retail" consumer outlets from the speakeasies to individuals. James points out that the supply-chain was so fragmented and complex that, although there was a decided markup on each bottle, the profit for each handler in the succession was roughly \$25 per case at sea, \$40 smuggled on the beach, \$50 for the bootlegger, and \$70 for the consumer in 1925 dollars. While profitable, it did not garner great riches.

Finding a suitable mother ship and crew presented a problem. The vessel containing a large quantity of booze had to withstand many extended months at sea, either at anchor or lethargically

cruising near a location just over the 12-mile International Limit. The ship had to be replenished at sea with food, water and fuel for a relatively bored crew. Small craft, usually well under 100 feet, interacted with the mother ship as shore boats or landing craft. Transfers of goods usually took place on moonless nights or during marginal weather, so that the ever-present Revenue Police or Coast Guard would have difficulty intercepting the fast, highly maneuverable boats when they came into legally recognized territorial waters.

James goes into great detail about the owners of the fleets ashore along with several of the colourful mother ships captains and crew members who had harrowing adventures and occasionally amusing escapades. The details of the size, capacity, speed, and history or demise of several of the ships turns them into actual supporting characters in this multifaceted rum runner's tale. The author also focuses on several of the Coast Guard commanders and the legal machinations that occurred after crews and vessels were apprehended. In one ironic story, a mother ship caught fire and a surveilling coast guard vessel was called upon to give lifesaving aid. Since this occurred outside the U.S. territorial limit, it was considered a routine rescue of seamen in distress with no legal consequences. These west coast rum running escapades that occurred from Ensenada, Mexico, north through California, Oregon and Washington state were accomplished with little violence, an outcome that might have been expected when dealing with "polite" Canadian outlaws.

It is not surprising that colourful criminal trade produced its own special vocabulary such as "fireboats," a euphemism for fire-water boats; "buck" and "buck and a quarter boats" that were 100 and 125 feet in length respectively;

"sacking," the removal of bottles from cases and placing them in burlap sacks for ease of transfer and economy of space; and "dollar matching," where a series of numbers was written on halves of dollar bills and matched up at delivery to assure that the off-loading "customer" was legitimate.

Rick James masterfully recounts how this quasi-industry came about and is perhaps best read while sipping a glass of one's favourite Canadian libation. *Don't Never Tell Nobody* is an enlightening fast-moving book about a slice of maritime history that is seldom visited. Its only minor flaw may be that there is too much information concerning the ship dimensions, horsepower, cruising at maximum speed, etc. of the many vessels involved. Still, these details reflect James' painstaking scholarship and make his book a good starting reference-work concerning the West Coast rum running trade and an entertaining, information-packed read for historians of this era.

Louis Arthur Norton
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E.R. Johnson. *United States Marine Corps Aircraft Since 1913*. Jefferson, NC; McFarland & Company, Inc., www.mcfarlandpub.com, 2018. 590 pp., photographs, illustrations, appendices, glossary, bibliography, index. US \$49.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-4766-6347-0. (E-book available. eISBN 978-4766-3065-6.)

The United States Marine Corps (USMC) is America's most storied military unit. Primarily a force meant to seize territory quickly, it has often been called, "sea soldiers." Less well known is that the USMC has had an aviation branch since the military possibilities of the aircraft were developed. In *Unit-*

ed States Marine Corps Aircraft Since 1913, E.R. Johnson continues his studies of American military aircraft with what must be the definitive guide to USMC aircraft.

USMC aviation has several roles: its primary duty is to support USMC troops in combat; then, to aid U.S. Naval aircraft in protecting the U.S. fleet; and finally, the classic role of fighter aircraft—air-to-air combat. Johnson's book tells the stories of all the USMC aircraft used from 1913 through today. A short but valuable introduction relates the formative years of USMC aviation; few are aware that USMC aircraft were active in support of the American Army in the First World War; helped develop combat-support strategies in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua conflict in the 1920s and early 1930s; played a key role in supporting USMC troops in the Second World War, Korea, Vietnam, the First Persian Gulf War, and the current conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. In short—wherever there are U.S. Marines—there will be USMC aviation to support them.

After the introduction, the meat of the book is divided into three major parts: Fixed-Wing Tactical Aircraft; Fixed-Wing Transport, Trainer, and Utility Aircraft; and Rotary Wing aircraft (e.g. helicopters and one autogiro—an early form of short-takeoff and landing aircraft which was a precursor to helicopter.) Johnson follows his usual approach by describing each aircraft used by the USMC in chronological order of its entry into USMC service—each description contains technical specifications of the aircraft, including its type, manufacturer(s), average unit cost, total naval versions built (if applicable), the aircraft's power plant, performance, armament, weights, and dimensions. Then comes a narrative of the type's USMC career, including

which squadron(s) used the type being described. Finally, a drawing of the particular type—frontal, side, and a split upper/lower view of the aircraft as well as photographs of the aircraft in USMC markings are included. There are no scales attached to each drawing, which may mislead some readers unfamiliar with the aircraft, but inclusion of a scale might have increased the price. Similarly, the only colour plates of USMC aircraft are on the cover—but again, cost must certainly have been a consideration. To include colour information on USMC aircraft since 1913 would have added to the length of the volume and certainly increased its price dramatically. While some readers may bemoan the necessarily brief coverage given to certain aircraft (such as the F-4 Phantom), the intent of this work was to give an overview of the aircraft in USMC service. Those wishing more information on any one particular aircraft can look elsewhere.

Eight appendices contain relevant information including unmanned air systems (a new concept,) aviation-related ships, installations, squadrons, and aircraft assignments, unit organizations, organization of expeditionary and amphibious operations, weapons and tactics, and aircraft designation, terms, and abbreviations. The glossary provides helpful information for those unfamiliar with USMC terms and the bibliography contains many sources for further study.

This book is valuable for those wishing to know more about USMC aviation. Following the format of Johnson's previous books, it is comprehensive and straight-forward. His writing is not "electric", but expository in nature—appropriate for a work of this type. The only caveat is that two of his prior books, *United States Naval Aviation 1919-1941* (reviewed in *TNM/LMN* in vol. 22, #1, April 2012)

and *American Military Training Aircraft* (also reviewed in *TNM/LMN* in vol. XXV, #3, July 2015) cover parts of the same ground as the present volume. Nevertheless, the student of the USMC will want this book as it is a valuable reference.

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Ben Jones (ed.). *The Fleet Air Arm in the Second World War, Volume II: 1942-1943, The Fleet Air Arm in Transition – The Mediterranean, Battle of the Atlantic, and the Indian Ocean*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge Publishing for the Navy Records Society, www.routledge.com, 2018. xxix+618 pp., bibliography, index. US \$144.95, cloth; ISBN 978-0-8153-5507-6. (E-book available.)

This work is the second volume of editor Ben Jones' compendium of surviving Second World War Fleet Air Arm documents and records, designed to "present an insight into the major planning and policy issues of concern to the Admiralty and extensive coverage of naval operations" (xxiii). Whereas the first volume, released in 2017, covered the period 1939 through 1941, Volume II focuses on the critical years of 1942 and 1943, with the zenith of fighting in the Mediterranean and the rise of the escort carrier. These two years are examined in separate sections, each with short editorial passages regarding "Planning and Policy" and "Operations." There follows a numbered arrangement of transcribed documents, with 132 pieces presented for 1942 and 103 for 1943. A "Sources and Documents" section, index, and a listing of Naval Records Society Volumes complete the book. A glossary of abbreviations is also included, but this is helpfully placed before the main introduction rather than at the

end.

As is the pattern for Naval Record Society works, scholarly analysis is largely confined to main and chapter introductory texts, with the transcribed documents presented without individual editorial discussion. The only modification to the documents is the inclusion of informational footnotes and the removal of some attachments due to space constraints and their degraded quality (xxviii). Although short in nature, with approximately twenty-five and a quarter analysis pages versus 572 document pages, these sections do an excellent job of summarizing the situation of the Fleet Air Arm and other military/political factors, using bracketed numbers as quick reference guides for various included documents relevant to specific statements. Topics such as aircraft production and the early performance of escort carriers on convoy duties can thus, be quickly and easily examined by readers without the need to rely on the index.

The documents themselves begin with a 6 January 1942 British Air Commission missive on the future supply of American fighters, and concludes with the 12 February 1944 Directorate of Naval Operational Studies' report regarding the 1943 accomplishments of escort carriers in anti-submarine operations. The first half, "1942: Climax in the Mediterranean," covers its namesake theatre as well as actions against the Japanese in the Pacific, the Vichy French in Madagascar, and the *Kreigsmarine* in the Atlantic, in addition to the Fleet Air Arm's struggles to acquire airframes, carriers, and support bases amidst the chaos of a multi-front war. Given the pivotal nature of 1942, this section offers a great deal of information on a variety of subjects. Important actions, such as attacks on the *Tirpitz*, Operation Pedestal (a Malta Convoy),

and the invasion of North Africa, have their official blow-by-blow reports transcribed in their entirety, offering wonderful insight when viewed in the larger context of the supply and logistical reports that give background to the situations that prompted certain reactions. Messages from the East temper the successes in the West, such as a 2 May 1942 report from Admiral Somerville to the Admiralty referring to the defensive strategy in the Indian Ocean as an “unattractive policy... forced on me by unattractive aircraft... It is no use disguising the fact that for daylight striking we are outclassed by the Japanese” (88). Interwoven amidst all these combat and logistical reports is also the developmental debacle of the Fairey Barracuda. Paired alongside constant requests and allocations of Martlets, Swordfish, Seafires, and other airframes, it is fascinating to see a flawed design like the Barracuda linger on despite having continual problems and official demands for “one competent man” to replace the “amateurs [who are] in no way capable of organizing the enormous effort required to design and produce a modern aircraft” (71).

The work’s second half, entitled “1943: The Escort Carrier Comes of Age,” follows the Fleet Air Arm from the reinstatement of naval aviation to the Admiralty Board via the January appointment of Rear Admiral Denis Boyd, through the various end-year reports produced by the various commands and directors associated with the Fleet Air Arm. As the section name implies, much of the records relate to the employment and operation of Escort/Auxiliary carriers by the Royal Navy. The vast majority of these vessels were Lend-Lease *Bogue*-class escort carriers, although most spent an additional ten weeks in British dockyards undergoing further modifications prior to

deployment, much to the irritation of the Americans (337). Many other documents address aircraft design and production, with somewhat barbed official correspondence trading blows about American versus British airframes. More ground-level experiences in American versus British naval aviation activities are transcribed as well, such as detailed reports on 823 Squadron’s operations aboard USS *Saratoga* in mid-1943 (487-493). Also of interest is the Royal Navy’s evaluation of the experiences gained during Operation Husky (the invasion of Sicily) and Operation Avalanche (Southern Italy), the burgeoning requests for new mobile airfields and supplies in the East following the changing tide against Japan, and many documents and reports concerning the use of escort carriers to combat the U-Boat menace in the Atlantic.

In terms of shortcomings and possible improvements, there are some suggestions that seem to be applicable to most Naval Records Society works. With documents so rife with locations and ship movements, the inclusion of maps would be appreciated, to allow for greater visualization without the need for a second reference work. For example, Document 97a, the October 1942 memorandum *Requirements for Naval Air Stations and Facilities Abroad in 1946 Programme*, discusses various locations around the world, and they would be even more starkly defined by a map denoting base locations (209-219). Another suggestion would be for an appendix of carrier and naval aircraft design blueprints, profiles, or images. With so many documents pertaining to vessels that did or did not come into existence, aircraft design problems, and the intermingling of American and British war material, such images would be immensely helpful in further contextualizing the documents, especially in

cases like the proposed conversion of the *Queen Elizabeth* and *Queen Mary* liners into carriers (138-139). The lack of these elements does not detract from the work as a whole, but their inclusion would improve Jones' solid bedrock of primary documents.

This volume of *The Fleet Air Arm in the Second World War* is a solid compendium for those seeking information on individual Fleet Air Arm actions in 1942/1943, design and production of carriers and their associated aircraft, and the global perspective of the British carrier force in these two crucial war years. Editor Ben Jones has done a commendable job of transcribing surviving documents, and the introductory texts act as efficient, quick reference guides for documents on a variety of key topics throughout the work. For those who live outside the United Kingdom and lack easy access to surviving archival materials, this work is an excellent resource for research and analysis.

Charles Ross Patterson II
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Philip Kaplan. *Building for Battle: U-Boat Pens of the Atlantic Battle*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen & Sword Military, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. 175 pp., illustrations, UK £25.00, US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-52670-544-0.

Designed as part of the publisher's Building for Battle series, Philip Kaplan's work provides an overview and study of the five important ports along the Brittany coast that became bases for Hitler's *Ubootwaffe* after the fall of France in 1940. The availability of the ports of Brest, Lorient, St Nazaire, La Pallice and Bordeaux enabled the U-boats to reduce significantly their

transit time to the hunting grounds of the Atlantic. The massive bunkers or "pens" constructed in the Brittany ports by the German *Organisation Todt*, employed thousands of construction workers, both volunteer and forced (slave) labour. Built with concrete ceilings more than three metres thick and holding as many as 12 boats, the pens were largely undamaged by Allied bombing.

Kaplan has written several dozen books on aviation, naval, and military history, and this one addresses the U-boat war and the U-boat pens. More than 150 black-and-white and colour photographs (historic and contemporary, and many full-page) significantly enhance the text and enrich the work as a whole. Viewing these photographs is a learning experience in and of itself. Anyone familiar with shipyards, waterfronts, and naval and maritime vessels, will marvel at the massive structures that protected Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz's boats. The placement of historic photographs alongside contemporary ones showing the pens and facilities as they are today is striking.

With respect to the book's title, three chapters are key: the first, "The Beginning," the second, "Early Days," and the fourth, "Brittany Bases." The remaining five chapters provide an overview of U-boats, captains and crews, and routines and battle at sea in the Atlantic. Only about a third of the book addresses the construction and use of the U-boat pens. While the focus of these chapters is the Brittany bases, there is also mention of others, such as those in Germany at Hamburg and Bremen, and in Norway at Bergen and elsewhere.

The first chapter reminds readers that Nazi Germany learned well many of the lessons of undersea warfare experienced in the First World War. Taking advantage of those lessons and ad-

vances in technology, Germany sought to create and design protective bunkers for its new boats that would be impenetrable to aerial bombardment. Such bunkers required enormous amounts of timber, concrete, and steel. Perhaps even more critical, was the need for thousands of workers, many of whom were drawn from concentration camp facilities provided by the SS.

The results were impressive. For example, the pens at St Nazaire were begun in February 1941 and not completed until June 1942. In 1943-1944, a fortified lock was built to protect the boats as they moved between the pens and the Loire River. In size, the facility is 300 metres long, 130 metres wide, and 18 metres high. It has 14 pens, each capable of holding two boats. Further, the base was equipped with 150 offices, four kitchens, a hospital, and 92 dormitories for boat crews (15).

Although the volume is enjoyable, it lacks balance. Had the author or publisher added "*U-boats and*" at the beginning of the title, the work would have been much more even. There are extensive first-hand accounts and quotes throughout the book, at least one running more than four pages. For this, the author identifies the book by title but provides no page numbers for the reference. The presentation and title leave the reader with the impression that the book's core topic was bases, yet much other information and material on U-boat operations is placed around it. The font is not easy on the eyes and the decision to print quotations in a different colour from the remainder of the text is distracting. Inconsistencies in the bibliography and typographical errors also detract from an otherwise enjoyable book. The volume ends somewhat abruptly with a lengthy quotation from *Iron Coffins* by former U-boat commander Herbert A. Werner. It is

a vivid account of leaving one of the pens at La Palllice. One is left wishing for more; perhaps a concluding section on the post-war use of the pens. Some maps, charts and diagrams of the pens placing the subject in the broader context of the Battle of the Atlantic would also enhance the work significantly.

The U-boat record and history are impressive. Kaplan's work adds to the growing literature of the U-boat war. The faces of the young sailors and the boats they crewed have been captured in enduring photographs that serve as a vivid reminder of the human cost and tragedy of war. Well worth reading.

Timothy J. Demy
Newport, Rhode Island

Bruce Kemp. *Weather Bomb 1913: Life and Death on the Great Lakes*. Merrickville, ON: Waypoint Marine Publishing, www.waypointmarinepublishing.com, 2017. Distributed by The Nautical Mind, www.nauticalmind.com. 283 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. CDN \$29.95, US \$24.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-38-950663-5.

The storm that struck the Great Lakes in mid-November 1913 has over the years acquired the nickname "The Great Storm." Certainly, in terms of loss of life and the value of the shipping lost, the Storm (Kemp tends to capitalize it, as will this reviewer) certainly qualifies. Through the nineteenth century the shipping season had wound down mid-November, and far fewer vessels of much less tonnage were out of the Lakes when those storms hit. Over the years, a number of volumes have been published on the subject. The hundredth anniversary brought out Michael Schumacher's *November's Fury* (2014) and while Paul Carroll's account of *The Wexford* (2010) came just before. Nei-

ther is cited in the 17 pages of notes in this volume.

What is evident from the notes is that the author spent a fair amount of time tracking down descendants of those affected by the Storm. It is the particular strength of this account, that a number of voices have surfaced that were otherwise lost. The author's credentials include newspaper and magazine articles, guides to cruising on the Great Lakes and Rideau Canal and a novel. The volume includes frequent accounts of the author's experiences in those waters, and his personal reactions to various interview opportunities and discoveries. One of the more curious of these (255) includes an extended account of his excitement at the discovery of a picture of the *Simon J. Murphy* at the Lambton County Reading Room. This reviewer would have liked to have seen the picture, but the only image in the entire volume is on the cover: a beautiful silhouette of a modern self-unloader on a sparking golden sea. It is about as far from the author's description of the *Murphy* as possible. Perhaps, if the volume gets to a second printing, those making decisions about covers would reconsider the artwork.

We do not often see in the review pages of this journal, volumes that combine chapters that are explicitly fiction with those that are non-fiction. Kemp, as novelist, takes an extended imagining of the last voyage of the *Regina* from the Welland Canal through to Lake Huron. (57) This "novella" rates three footnotes, but the heart of the story appears to have come from an interview with Captain McConkey's daughter in 1996 and some things she shared.

The bulk of what remains is organized into a day-by-day account of the storm. To the interviews mentioned earlier, the author has drawn much of the narrative from the contemporary

press accounts, particularly those of Toronto's *Globe* and *Daily Star*. Given that most accounts of the Storm are largely drawn from the American press, this also adds a dimension to the story.

As reviewers we are often in danger of exaggerating a particular flaw well out of proportion to its real significance. For me, it was the persistent mis-identification of the Doxford Turret ships on the lakes as "whalebacks." Different country, different yards, different inventors, different patents, different designs ... and for that matter, different experiences in the Storm as none of the true whalebacks were ashore.

Kemp, like most others who have written about the Storm tend to emphasize the vessels and the lives lost. Among the story lines that get lost is that over a hundred other vessels safely rode out the Storm at anchor, having heeded the storm warnings or the captain's barometer. Perhaps even more significant, is the fact that you survived if you were on board a steel freighter that ran aground, as most of those counted as casualties did. And most of those ashore and written off by the insurance companies as constructive total losses were over the course of the 1914 salvaged, and eventually put back into service.

Caveats aside, *The Weather Bomb 1913* was written for the general reader and will serve them well as an introduction to some of the worst weather ever experienced by sailors on the Great Lakes.

Walter Lewis
Grafton, Ontario

Sarah Kinkel. *Disciplining The Empire: Politics, Governance, and the Rise of the British Navy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, www.hup.harvard.edu, 2018. 305 pp., illustrations,

table, notes, index. US \$45.00, cloth; ISBN 978-0-67497-620-7.

Sarah Kinkel sets out to explore the development of government and Admiralty control over the British navy during the eighteenth century. Her premise is that the navy was transformed during the century from a weak, undisciplined, defensive force to a strong, controlled and offensive one. This was brought about by centralization of control in the Admiralty (with government oversight, of course), enlargement of the navy (both ashore and afloat), a tightening of discipline, and directives to exert imperial dominance within colonies. She holds that this was not a smooth, uncontested transition, but rather, proved to be a hotbed of contention among both the political elite and public discourses. The central issue was the perception of greater government control over the lives of people, both in the navy and in the colonies. Indeed, the navy was the mechanism that the government used to enforce its statutory grip over the colonies.

After laying out some background on the early navy, Kinkel discusses the Walpolean Whigs. They held a conservative position, refraining from any further changes to government (from those of the Glorious Revolution), a meek imperial view, reduction in government debt and a focus towards Europe. They saw a small navy as a defensive force, to guard English harbours and shipping, to act as a deterrent for potential enemies, and to transport the army to Europe, but nothing more. Britain's poor naval performance in the wars during the first half of the century generated much criticism for the government in power and reinforced the broader sense of the navy's weakness.

The authoritarian Whigs, who rose to prominence in the Admiralty in the

1740s, were the main opposition to the Walpolean Whigs. They wanted more order and centralized control over all facets of government, economy and society at large. Authority in the hands of the elite (read upper middle and upper classes), with compliance by the rest of the citizenry, was their basic orientation. Their navy would be more disciplined, responsive to Admiralty command, and a more robust, ambitious force that won battles rather than lost them. Over the course of the century, they worked towards this end, whenever they were in a position of power to advance the goal.

Kinkel explores the 1749 Navy Bill, which streamlined the court martial procedures and limits, and set out the offences and potential punishment for serving officers, seamen and marines. She does not refer to this by its more common name, the Articles of War. As originally proposed, the bill had applied to officers on half-pay, which received a great deal of push-back from naval officers. It also more clearly separated naval law from civil law, placing naval personnel under a unique set of laws and judicial process. This point was perhaps the greatest bone of contention for opposition to the legislation.

The central opposition group were the Patriots, who, Kinkel claims, played a role in shaping the navy during the eighteenth century. The Patriot group was concerned that the 1749 Navy Bill separated the naval officers away from civil society, something which they felt threatened not only the officers' freedom, but ultimately that of British citizens. For the Patriots, the navy itself became a weapon to enforce the centralized government's will. Their approach was less elite government and wider civic involvement, without a professional navy or army, and more reliance on individual volunteerism in time of war. What that last element looked

like was the use of letters of marque and privateers, (and on land, militias). Kinkel sees the debate over the 1749 Navy Bill as a major moment in the development of the navy, both in terms of discipline and also in its role of being more aggressive, obedient to the higher command, and well ordered.

Where Walpolean Whigs had shied away from creating colonies, or seizing those of their enemies, both the authoritarian Whigs and the Patriots wanted more colonies. The Whigs wanted a tighter centralized control over those colonies, whereas the Patriots wanted a more local determination of colonial development. The Authoritarians would use the navy to enforce Britain's tax and custom laws at the outer reaches of the empire. The Patriots opposed such activity, seeing it as representing the presence of a totalitarian regime rather than democracy.

The Seven Years War saw the exertion of central control and exercise of discipline as the navy was used to capture territory in North America and the West Indies, and to combat the French in Europe. Greater material effort and more professional officers was the navy's giant leap forward and the key to its success. Kinkel views the court martial and execution of Admiral Bing as the key moment when the authoritarian Whigs cemented their control and the discipline they desired over the navy. The wide and lively public debate around Bing's trial and death presented another opportunity to work out the issues of naval governance. In a sense, it was a test case for the Articles of War and the naval court martial process that was decided in favour of centralized authority.

Prior to the American Revolution, the authoritarian Whig government began to exert discipline and control over the colonies of the growing empire.

Here, Kinkel illustrates the contention raised by the navy's involvement in attempts to force the colonists to conform to the customs and taxes imposed on them by the authorities in London. She also notes the navy's impressment of men from the Thirteen Colonies and the suppression of smuggling, which were met with anger and, at times, violent rejection. The radical press, both in the colonies and England, had a field day criticizing the authorities for their oppression. In the chapter dealing with the years leading up to the American Revolution, Kinkel takes a short side trip to demonstrate how the navy was used to control slaves in the West Indies and exert British government control over India, subverting the East India Company.

The Patriot movements in both America and Britain shared the idea of increased involvement of the common citizen in political decisions, and a rejection of a professional navy and military. Indeed, Kinkel notes that the American rebels during the Revolutionary War were basically a militia force (though it became more trained, experienced and at least semi-professional as the revolution dragged on). Patriots also rejected a standing navy, opting for the use of privateers. The official continental navy, both during the war and afterward, remained small.

The author states that Britain failed because of military defeats ashore, and a confused strategy to deal with the revolution. She suggests that the navy did not lose the war, but had, in fact, devastated American trade. The British government's inability to use the navy effectively alongside its troops, the waning desire to wage war, and the election of the opposition party into power after the fall of Yorktown, kept the navy from realizing its full potential.

Kinkel concludes that the navy's

evolution into to a well-disciplined, combat-ready force was due, in part, to the longevity of the authoritarian Whig party's grip on the Admiralty. Over time, their power to reward, by employment, those who adopted their rules, were aggressive in battle, and diligent in completing their orders, led to a change in naval culture. That transformation made the navy a more effective tool for controlling the outlying empire, and a greater challenge to continental powers, such as Spain and France. The author clearly states that the navy was not totally modern by 1800, for there was plenty of room for development, and more political debate to be heard. But, the professional culture of the British officers at Trafalgar, and the orientation to their task on that day, had been first set out in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

This book presents an interesting perspective on the development of the British navy. On the level of political and public discourse, Kinkel makes a solid case for a contentious debate over how tightly the navy should be structured, and to what end it would be employed. The evidence from public and private comments by politicians and the elite, and the numerous quoted public journal articles, and illustrations, demonstrate the point. Ultimately, of course, the side supporting more professionalization, tighter control, and the use of the navy as an offensive force won.

But what about the disciplining of the navy itself? Here the case is not as thoroughly made. The author covers the 1749 revisions to the Articles of War more from the debate around the content of the Navy Bill than its application as a means of increasing discipline aboard ship. Admiral Bing's court martial and execution is the major evidence for its impact, at least on senior officers.

There are a few other minor references to captains being disciplined, but what of the rest of the shipboard complement? The navy is more than just officers; the crew also needed discipline to make them a tighter working and fighting unit, obedient to commands from their officers. The Articles of War were meant for the sailors and marines, as well. A deeper discussion of how these rules were applied aboard ship is missing. Kinkel does acknowledge their importance through a quote from Admiral Kempenfeldt on the need to train, discipline, and watch the seamen so they become better than the enemy's (202). Likewise absent is a discussion of the various editions of the *Regulations and Instructions for His Majesty's Service at Sea*, and how they fitted in with efforts to structure and discipline the navy.

This book examines the upper echelons of power, and how they wrestled over shaping the navy as a tool for state policy, making the navy (as an institution) more compliant, and capable of doing the state's bidding. It is not really about discipline within the navy's ships. Interestingly, Kinkel demonstrates how the navy was used to control others, but omits how it exerted control over the lower decks.

The index contains the names of individuals repeatedly mentioned within the text, but not those who make briefer appearances. Only one ship name appears in the index, though more are mentioned in the book.

Disciplining the Empire will appeal to those studying the governance of Britain during the eighteenth century, in particular the opposing political camps, and the development of naval policy in relation to empire building.

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Beverly Lemire. *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures. The Material World Remade, c.1500-18200*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, www.cambridge.org, 2018. xviii+351pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. CDN \$125.36, cloth; ISBN 978-0-521-19256-9. (E-book available.)

Do global commodities create global consumers, or do global consumers create a global economy? A scholar of fashion and textiles, Beverly Lemire examines a selection of products of early international exchange that were once considered luxurious and valuable or newly introduced to the world economy. She exhibits how these articles were absorbed, adapted and/or adopted by distant consuming cultures. Lemire also illuminates motivations to produce these goods in the synergy that is trade. Her survey of these early global commodities is viewed through the lens of consumerism. This can be interpreted as the enhanced desire and opportunity to indulge in the once expensive, but through time commonplace, articles of worldwide trade.

Food, clothing and shelter are considered essential requirements for human existence. Since the rise of humanity, the acquisition of furs has been used to provide all three basic needs. All world civilizations were well acquainted with the feel of furs at the inauguration of the period under study. This familiarity led to many fur-bearing animals being extirpated or made rare in most parts of densely populated Europe and Asia. Thus, faraway Russian furs could command high prices in both regions. Post-Columbian interactions with the New World dramatically shifted this paradigm, increasing the supply of furs to both areas and changing the

economic balance of the third. Viewed from the perspective of consumer desire, on both the production and consumption sides of the equation, Lemire adds interesting facets to this well-known trade.

In contrast to the globally recognized furs, tobacco, a New World product, experienced a vastly different trajectory. Prior to the Columbus voyages, the weed was a non-good in world-wide commerce, which rapidly became globalized after contact. This new product was beloved by both governments for revenue and governed for relaxation. From the spiritual and pleasures of the indigenous populations of the Americas, through Europe and Africa and throughout Asia, tobacco spread like the weed it was. Lemire relates cultural vignettes that connect the use in disparate communities as varied as North American Natives and African slaves to Indian moguls and Japanese samurai.

A commodity that receives treatment counter to the orthodox east-west trade flow is European woollens. In general, it is accepted that westerners were driven to acquire Asian silks, spices and porcelains with little other than specie flowing out of Europe and the Americas. Lemire, a noted historian of textiles, illustrates that woolen goods were a huge export product from Europe and highly desired in Asia, again adding a facet to early global trade. Whether considering such globally known commodities as furs, new introductions to world-wide trade such as tobacco, or recasting traditional thoughts on east-west trade patterns, Lemire generally creates an interesting argument relative to the consumption and consumers of the goods during dynamic period that was the first real integration that created global consumerism. Other commodities, items and skills are treated within

various chapters and assist in creating a more texturized image of global trade beyond the raw numbers of commerce that many economic historians present. A number of coloured plates and figures exhibit the fashion and iconography associated with the commodities under study.

This reader found the book a paean to the capitalist spirit. The shadow of Adam Smith's "invisible hand", even in the face of government edict, law, sanction and dictate, is apparent throughout. Much is made of the alternate economy and the plebes who eschewed sumptuary laws, avoided taxes, defied sartorial norms, participated in the underground economy and smuggled. These activities were to deliver or procure goods to satisfy their desires despite the wishes of colonial or imperial administrations. Lemire highlights the activities of groups such as European women and children who entered into wage work to attain material advantage, as well as South Indian weavers migrating to different regions of European influence along their coast for better wages and cheaper access to stimulants. Also highlighted are Native American artisans creating indigenous crafts that were avidly consumed by European collectors. The consumption and production of global commodities was at its base, spurred on by a new and growing class of wage-making consumers. Resistance was futile in the face of the aspirations of the people.

This book is not for the timid reader or merely curious. *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures* is not a light read and most likely will not find a market with a broad general readership. The publisher, Cambridge, suggests strongly that the volume is academically oriented or for the specialist in early modern global trade. Frequent footnotes and references, and

excerpts from other scholars throughout the book again reinforce the academic tenor of the volume. This monograph is highly suitable for the academic market, an upper level or graduate course in the appropriate history, economics, or other globally oriented studies perhaps. Although little ground-breaking information was presented, the copious citations will allow the student or devoted researcher to further delve into the theory and practice of early global consumerism.

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Alexandra Lohse and Jon Middaugh. *Operation Torch: The American Amphibious Assault on French Morocco 1942*. Washington, DC: Naval History and Heritage Command, www.history.navy.mil, 2018. v+55 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, US \$19.60, paper; ISBN 978-1-943-604-29-6.

Operation Torch was the Second World War Anglo-American invasion of North Africa in November 1942. It was also the first Allied amphibious landing and a key step towards the ultimate victory. In a slim 60-page booklet, authors Alexandra Lohse and Jon Middaugh present a good account of one facet of this critical military operation.

Operation Torch was the result of discussions between the British and American military Chiefs of Staff. Both nations' military leaders had decided that priority should be given to defeating the Germans in Europe. There agreement ended. The American military leaders wanted to attack mainland Europe in 1942; the British, remembering their casualties in the First World War, and also well aware of both German military prowess and the American military's complete lack

of experience against the German army, pushed for American intervention on the North African front, where British and Commonwealth forces had been fighting since 1940. It must be said that the American military leaders, for all their good intentions, were in command of military forces that had not been combat-tested. It was, therefore, necessary to find a theatre of war where both amphibious landing techniques and the American military could be tested. Further, a landing in French North Africa would force the German and Italian forces in North Africa to defend against an attack from the rear, threaten the German-Italian supply line, and help the Allies to control the Mediterranean—which would enable use of the Suez Canal to supply the Soviet Union with military materials through Iran, and also further supply of military materials to the Far East.

Amphibious landings occurred in Vichy French-held Morocco and Algeria. Since the French surrender to the Germans in June 1940, a myth arose that the Vichy French forces would not fight; previous British military operations at Dakar and in Syria showed that the Vichy French forces could be dangerous foes. The Operation Torch planners hoped in part that, given the long, positive relations between France and the United States, the Vichy forces would not offer significant, if any, resistance to the invasion forces.

This notion was quickly disabused on 8 November 1942, the date of the Torch landing. Though the Vichy French forces had older but still effective aircraft and ground equipment, the French Navy had several powerful units present. All three arms of the Vichy French forces — army, navy, and air force — put up fairly stout resistance. Opposing them were the US Navy, Army, and Army Air Force — all with

the latest American equipment. The Morocco landings for Torch are one of the few battles in the Second World War where significant air, ground and naval combat occurred contemporaneously.

In the end, the landings in Morocco and Algeria were successful. Operation Torch contributed to the fall of Vichy France; the Germans invaded the previously-unoccupied area of mainland France. Most Vichy forces swung to the Allied cause; the Americans gained military experience, and the German-Italian forces in North Africa suddenly faced a two-front theatre of war. Torch was the first step to the final Allied victory in 1945.

This booklet provides a useful introduction to this critical military operation. The chapters are laid out logically, starting with an introduction, then the strategic setting, French North Africa in 1942, Planning Torch, Torch logistics, Joint Planning and Preparations, the Commanders' Call before crossing, the Atlantic Crossing; and a further three chapters, detailing each of the landings at various points on the Moroccan coast; ending with a summary, and analysis. The authors write well and the maps and photographs bring perspective to the narrative. Sidebars detail the careers of the principals involved. The authors used excellent primary sources — Eisenhower's Second World War memoir, *Crusade in Europe*, the memoir of Admiral H. Kent Hewitt (commander of the Torch naval forces), the official U.S. Navy history of Operation Torch written by the historian Samuel Eliot Morison, and excellent secondary sources such as Rick Atkinson's *Army at Dawn* and Vincent O'Hara's *Torch: North Africa and the Allied Path to Victory* (reviewed in *TNM/LNM*, XXVII:2.)

The ultimate test of any publication is: Is it worth obtaining? The answer

in this instance must be a qualified yes. The booklet covers the Allied landings in Morocco very well and is a useful introduction to this subject. The expert in this field can use this as a readily-available reference, while the reader unfamiliar with this topic will find it a good introduction. But alternative accounts of Torch can be found in the many works on the Second World War, especially the books listed above.

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John McAleer and Nigel Rigby. *Captain Cook and the Pacific: Art, Exploration & Empire*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, National Maritime Museum Greenwich, www.yalebooks.yale.edu, 2017. 252 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US \$45.00, cloth; ISBN 978-0-300-207248.

The burden of history weighs heavily on any reviewer approaching and appraising this volume. The reasons are clear: the bibliography of works on the famed mariner continues to increase rather exponentially; the subject of exploration by voyaging retains a popularity that cannot be stayed; and the life of Captain Cook has universal attraction in the British Empire-Commonwealth nations and in others besides, notably the United States and France. The subject forms a foundational chapter in the history of oceanic voyaging and navigation: it established littoral limits of oceanic spaces and determined many islands—and it opened new trade possibilities. British scientific preeminence benefitted from Cook's naturalists, chart makers, and statistical gatherers. Further the subject forms a chapter, or rather chapters, in cross-cultural interaction. It did not form a chapter in colonization: rather, it

was one of reconnaissance and of making friends. For all of these reasons, the James Cook voyages to the Pacific had a universality of appeal at the time in learned and political circles, and this story, told again here in this book, is one for the ages. In short, the reviewing of such a book as this both a pleasant task and a subject for uncertainly—uncertainty by virtue of the fact that so much is left out of this book, as such books necessarily must. What is new to say? Treasures of Greenwich hold the secret answer.

This handsome work, complete as it is with illustrations produced in highest definition on finest paper, and buttressed also by scholarly narratives by the two authors in happy and balanced partnership, now comes forward to take its rightful place as an essential book for those who read and collect such books, or indeed, treatises and articles on James Cook. This publication was produced to mark the 250th anniversary of the departure of the explorer's first voyage and, commensurate with that, the exhibition at the National Maritime Museum Greenwich, Fall 2018. This book confirms what Cook's patron, Captain Hugh Palliser, Royal Navy, proclaimed (in the inscription on the monument to Cook at Palliser's estate in Chalfont St. Giles) as "The ablest and most renowned Navigator this or any other country hath produced."

Writing shortly after Cook's murder in Hawaii, Andrew Kippis, his earliest biographer, said something similar to what Palliser had proclaimed. Cook, indeed, was unequalled as a mariner. Perhaps in British naval history only Horatio Lord Nelson has gained such deserved attention as Cook. Sir Francis Drake runs a distant third. We need to keep in mind that the tradition of greatness—the glory of achievement gained by industrious application under the

King's Regulations—did not die with these early figures, and Admiral of the Fleet Andrew Cunningham ranks as the most recent claim to ultimate greatness in a tradition that has given the world unbounded examples of British mastery on and over the seas in times past, that is, times within recent memory of this reviewer.

Just as Columbus's voyages to the "New World" and Vasco da Gama's passage beyond the Cape of Good Hope and across the Indian Ocean to Calicut both quickened the imagination and broadened human knowledge, so too did James Cook's voyages to the Pacific in the Age of Enlightenment. Astronomy, ethnology and geography acquired unheard of stores of new data, thereby correcting previous misinformation. Empirical science learned of new natural worlds, and distant peoples were encountered, and notes taken of them for which we are now so grateful, as these peoples were illiterate and left no record of their own. New fields were open to European navigation and thus to commercial enterprise and, in some cases for the future, colonial enterprise. From our cynical and smug age it is hard to imagine how the raw data from Cook's voyages transformed European knowledge of the world beyond the great Capes, but indeed we must not forget to credit the Board of Admiralty, the leaders of science at the Royal Society of London (notably Sir Joseph Banks), and the entrepreneurial British government for what began, most simply enough it seems, as a necessary observation of a scheduled Transit of Venus at Tahiti 3-4 June 1769. Thus was the Pacific fully opened to British exploration, science and art by James Cook's first voyage. Not least, these voyages were triumphs of seamanship and shipboard management, "moon-shots" in the days of the age of fighting sail, and all carried on

in the early years of the Industrial Revolution. The entrepreneurial state was the agency of scientific discovery, and Cook did its bidding.

The authors and publishers have wisely, and in the main, restricted themselves to showcasing the best and the brightest of the treasures of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, that bear on the subject. It might be imagined that the authors had a most difficult job picking and choosing from such an abundant collection. Navigational instruments, ship plans, globes, charts and maps, rare books and manuscripts, coins and medals, ethnographic material, and personal effects are represented. From among the illustrations the curators have chosen wisely, I found particularly appealing Des Barres's two charming views of Cape Breton Island, 1777, for these are two vignettes showing the everyday work of a surveyor taking sights using a plane table and theodolite, and taking soundings and bearings from a small boat. Such was the work-a-day activity of the hydrographic explorer—methodically building up day-by-day that vast store of statistical data upon which charts were set down for mariners so as to make navigation safer. Here in miniature was one contribution to navigation, and in larger measure, this was probably the most substantial and lasting legacy of the British Empire. The views themselves also are representative of Canadian and British North American subjects that bear on Cook's preliminary years as a surveyor and explorer. They are reminiscent of the fact that the full Canadian story of James Cook in Canadian waters—from Cape Breton to Newfoundland and Labrador, the River St. Lawrence, Nootka Sound, and even to Icy Cape, Alaska (at the western entrance to the North West Passage)—awaits many future scholars and generalists. We await

more competent appraisals of this chapter in the role of sea power in the history of the northern Dominion. In this connection, it is disappointing to report that the Government of Canada refused recent funding application by a powerful of Canadian scholars who wanted to be part of the international celebration Cook 250, marking and honouring the birth of the internationally-famous mariner who was so significant in Canada's history.

In this connection, too, we find a lovely painting, presumably in oil, of Captain Nathaniel Portlock, based partly on John Webber's engraving of *A Man of Nootka Sound*. The artist's name has escaped collectors, but the date given is c. 1788. The Portlock and Dixon voyages to the Pacific, undertaken by vessels owned and managed by the King George's Sound Company, a London firm, related directly to what James Cook had stated about the Northwest Coast of North America and the North Pacific: that it offered a great prospect for commercial development, in what became known as the maritime fur trade. This line of commerce, the first trans-Pacific link in higher Pacific latitudes, brought Nootka and Cook's Inlet into connection with Russian and Chinese ports, and in so doing, stimulated a whole chapter in the "swing to the East," that Professor Vincent Harlow proclaimed as the great evolution of British oceanic trade during the reigns of the Hanoverian kings, the four Georges, and as such, actuated older Tudor ambitions for trade in distant seas. This reminds us that James Cook never went as a representative of the Crown to carve out empires. His duty, as his contemporary William Bligh correctly said, was to undertake voyages to the Pacific during the reign of George III, with these intentions: "the advancement of science, and the increase of knowl-

edge." Bligh may be characteristically blunt on this point, but undoubtedly correct in his evaluation. And yet writers such as Alan Moorhead in *The Fatal Impact* saw in Cook the forerunner of a darker and more ominous change.

There is no denying that the authors have sought to keep pace with existing scholarship, the sort of thing that is so popular, even fashionable, nowadays that leans to "the other" in history, to the examination of deconstruction, to the other side of the frontier, and much else. They have not kept clear of the arguments about the death of Cook and the raising of the whole to Olympian heights. This was, perhaps, a scuffle on the beach that went badly wrong, and negligent even indolent naval onlookers Williamson and Phillips may be blamed for giving insufficient protection to their commanding officer in what was bound to be a tight scrape on a difficult beach. Little more need be said about this unfortunate fracas. Gavin Kennedy unravelled it all long ago. Too much has probably been read into it already.

As to the segments of the book that show originality, the reader will be charmed with Nigel Rigby's reconstruction of how, over so many years, James Cook has been featured in exhibitions at Greenwich—from the very opening of the National Maritime Museum. The recounting of the work of directors and heads of department is brilliant "behind the scenes" material, and as someone old enough to remember the dedicated and skilled work of those who were specialists in navigation, astronomy, ships' plans, dress and costume, charts and views, and archival collections and library science it is pleasant to see tribute duly paid to the work of staff who knew their assignments and ran their departments or sub-departments. All museums are subject to unwelcome winds of change and to financial ill for-

tunes that beset such institutions, but here is the telling point: with subjects such as James Cook, Horatio Lord Nelson, and Sir Francis Drake to showcase, a museum such as the National Maritime Museum Greenwich has a duty to place on public display and advertise its treasures. And, oh yes, it happily does the same for many another subject of interest and importance: Captain William Bligh of *Bounty* fame, and not least, that most significant “woman behind the fleet,” Emma Lady Hamilton.

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Dennis McCann. *This Storied River. Legend & Lore of the Upper Mississippi*. Milwaukee, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, available from Boswell Books, www.boswellbooks.com, 2017. 200 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. US \$20.00, paper; ISBN 978-0-87020-784-6.

The story of a river is the story of the people who plied its waters and lived on its banks, and few are more storied than the Mississippi. *This Storied River* is a fascinating collection of legends and lore drawn from a travel journalist's career of exploration of the Upper Mississippi. Its 24 chapters tell the stories of ancient mysteries, explorers, excursions, industrial cities, mines, fisheries and a smattering of interesting characters and each concludes with places of interest related to the topic.

This tome begins with the 1854 Grand Excursion of more than a thousand participants—investors, bankers, politicians, scholars, journalists and others. After boarding the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad in Chicago and riding to Rock Island, they ferried across the Mississippi to Davenport, Iowa, where they boarded a flotilla of

steamboats heading up river past “over 150 miles of unimaginable fairyland, genie-land and world of vision.” The national attention the excursion attracted is evidenced by the description in the *New Haven Register* of traveling party as “the largest, longest and most respectable ever ‘got up’ since the days of Moses and the Children of Israel.” Among the travelers was former President Millard Fillmore. Great events call for commemorations and author McCann was among the participants in the Sesquicentennial reenactment of the Great Excursion. Though high waters trapped two scheduled vessels south of bridges, which was not a problem in 1854, five smaller craft carried the reenactors past farms and cities of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. So what did this tardy explorer report in comparing his journey to the original? Snags have been cleared and a free-flowing river has been converted into a series of more than two dozen pools—a stairway of river. Still, the Mississippi runs untamed in our imaginations. It remains the home of millions of wild fauna and flora, scenic bluffs and flood plains and a route for migratory birds.

Before the Mississippi divided states, it was the wide river that united the wide land. It served, and serves, as a highway for freight and passengers on canoes, flat-boats, keelboats, rafts, and barges, but its Golden Age was the day of the steamboats. The first steamboat on the Upper Mississippi was the *Virginia* in the spring of 1823. It took this primitive, miniature boat 20 days to make its 700-mile trek, including five days stuck on sandbars. Between 1830 and 1840 over 700 steamboats joined the river fleet and by 1880, over 1,800 paddle wheelers had been built. For all their modern aura of romance, early boats were frequently crude and dirty and their crews “of the lowest or-

der". Their limitations notwithstanding, they enabled commerce to flourish, the West to grow and, with improvements, introduced a touch of elegance into an otherwise rustic region. As their most famous pilot, Mark Twain, put it, "Steamboats are like wedding cakes without the complications." Though Mississippi steamboating rose and died in about six decades, echoes of its glory linger aboard modern cruisers such as the *American Queen*.

Other chapters highlight ancient Indian mounds, shore-based lead mines, Zebulon Pike's Peak at McGregor, Iowa (smaller than the one in Colorado), buttons from mussels, one of the many tragic fires that began in exploding steamboat boilers, the father of water-skiing and several towns with interesting pasts.

This work is a collection of stories woven together by the river on which they are set. Running between six and ten pages they make for an easy, quick read that is entertaining, informative and full of travel tips for readers traveling in the area. Each chapter has a map to situate its action. Black and white historic and modern pictures supplement the text. *This Storied River* is a worthwhile read for anyone interested in the legends of the mighty river of the Upper Midwest.

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Martin Mace. *The Royal Navy at Dunkirk: Commanding Officers' Reports of British Warships In Action During Operation Dynamo*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Frontline Books, www.frontline-books.com, 2017. xix+428 pp., illustrations, maps, glossary, ship list, index. UK £30.00, US \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-47388-672-8.

This work is a compendium of official and personal accounts of the Dunkirk evacuation of 1940, grouped by Royal Navy ship types and classes. Drawing mainly from six files of reports held by the British National Archives at Kew, Mace largely allows the accounts to speak for themselves, utilizing a standardized entry format for ease of reference and comparison. Prior to the main text is a list of ships by type, list of quoted personnel, glossary and abbreviations guide, and map of the primary naval evacuation routes from Dunkirk. The ship accounts are grouped in chapters based on vessel type, and arranged alphabetically within. Midway through the work is a photograph section, offering views of some of the involved vessels, personnel, and the evacuation itself. The final chapter covers the reports of shore personnel assigned to Dunkirk, and is followed by the work's index.

Mace begins with the accounts of the destroyers, the most numerous ship type at Dunkirk. This is followed by Warships, Auxiliary Craft, Personal Vessels, and a mix of Dutch Schuits, Trawlers, and Coastal Craft. Each entry is preceded with an information block listing the ship name, type/class of vessel, pennant number (if applicable), and official rescue total. A few italicized sentences then provide the background of the ship's construction and who authored the transcribed report, sometimes augmented with more information regarding the ship's activities immediately prior to Dunkirk. Following these preliminary features are the ship record entries. Due to differences in authorship and whether or not the vessel and her records were lost prior to the issuance of the report, there are several different formats used. The most formulaic accounts follow a "bullet point" approach, with time

codes indicating the step-by-step summary of the ship's actions. These are sometimes followed by additional remarks, often numbered and of a more detailed nature. Other entries forgo the minute-by-minute format, with some based around an expanded version of the numbered remarks style, and others written more as a fully realized narrative log. Ships that were lost have after action reports most akin to this latter style, with a large focus on the producing officer's recollections regarding the damage, sinking, and evacuation of his ship more than its preceding actions. Mixed in with some of the officer reports are additions and recollections of other personnel involved with the discussed ships actions, gathered by the author from various sources. Examples of these include a medical orderly's remembrance of offloading the wounded from HMS *Ivanhoe*, a personal account of the HMS *Pangbourne* written by a convalescing sub-lieutenant to his friend, and an interview with an Ordnance Corps man who survived the torpedoing of HMS *Grafton* (39-40, 161-169, 262-263). Mace occasionally adds italicized notes within the text to help expand upon the narrative, such as providing the name of a Captain forgotten by the original author, and offering a short history of said captain's ship (9). The final chapter consists of accounts written by twelve shore personnel, ranging from the highly detailed, such as the 33-page report from Rear-Admiral Wake-Walker, to several one-page summaries produced by several Beach Officers. All of these offer interesting perspectives on the Dunkirk evacuation, as they showcase the efforts to get the men safely aboard outbound ships, and how various engagements looked from land. Immediately following the final shore account is the work's index, which helpfully bolds the main ship ac-

count page number to delineate them from the other mentions of the vessel's name for quicker reference.

In terms of possible improvements, there are only two that come to mind. The first is that the evacuation route map could be improved with the inclusion of a scale, as only the total distance of the winding evacuation routes is currently noted. The second, more a suggestion, is that the work could be improved with the addition of a ship information index. While basic data is given at the start of each entry, a compilation of technical data at the end, with information such as date of manufacture, tonnage, loadout, crew compliment, rescue numbers, and final disposition would further increase the work's value as a research tool by eliminating the need to search for that data elsewhere. A one- or two-page scale profile compilation of the discussed ships would also be a helpful addition, so as to give readers an idea of vessel sizes and the difficulty of transporting troops aboard the smaller ships. As stated above, these are merely suggestions for future improvement, and the lack thereof in no way detracts from this edition of Mace's work.

All in all, *The Royal Navy at Dunkirk* is a useful compendium of both official and personal accounts of the evacuation of Dunkirk, offering perspectives from all Royal Navy ships involved and related personnel on the beachhead itself. Mace's consistent entry format and helpful editorial insertions make for an easy read, with proper illumination shed on points either glossed over or unavailable to the original 1940 authors. For those interested in the ground level execution of the Dunkirk evacuation, this is an excellent primary source collection.

Charles Ross Patterson II
Yorktown, Virginia

Raoul McLaughlin. *The Roman Empire and the Indian Ocean: The Ancient World Economy and the Kingdoms of Africa, Arabia and India*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen & Sword Maritime, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. xix + 276 pp., illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. UK £14.99, US \$25.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-52673-807-3.

To more fully appreciate the story of Rome, its rise and its fall, its glorious achievements and its spectacular failures, one must consider the ebb and flow of its international commercial and maritime trading networks that lay largely outside of the Mediterranean Sea. An obvious departure from traditional treatments of Imperial Rome by Classical historians, particularly those studies available in the English language, this splendid examination contends that the economy of the Roman Empire was heavily dependent upon the continued expansion and health of its trading system, increasingly with parts of the world not within its immediate sphere of influence. As convincingly related in this book, the cultivation and maintenance of secure trading relationships with regimes and kingdoms situated in Africa, Arabia, India and China became integral to Rome's success in financing its increasingly expensive military apparatus and, therefore, the ability to sustain its Empire. These costs were especially weighty in vulnerable frontier provinces such as Britain, exacerbated by the size of these areas' revenues and productivity which were comparatively wanting.

The author is well at home here as he produces his second major study to examine the trading patterns of the Roman Empire beyond its eastern frontiers. McLaughlin skillfully reveals how the Empire could only withstand

its mounting military expenditures so long as it could derive sufficiently large and cost-effective revenues through taxes on international trade, the vast bulk of which was conducted by Roman trading vessels. The Egyptian grain dole, for instance, was the ideal arrangement, whereby half of the Empire's revenues came at the expense of committing just two Legions to the region. Rome's annexation of Egypt in the first century opened the way for Roman trading vessels to access the lands bordering the lucrative Red Sea shipping lanes and beyond. Merging several key sites and their connecting routes, Rome experienced enormous profit in exchange for a very limited investment of troops, administration and bureaucracy. Goods from the eastern world flooded into Mediterranean markets and import taxes on those goods collectively accounted for about a third of the income required to finance the entire Empire. Profits from the eastern trade were redirected into underdeveloped resource-rich territories through the enormous payments Rome made to its large frontier professional armies.

As McLaughlin demonstrates, however, the system's finite nature, that is of exchanging bullion and other precious metals derived from Roman mines for the renewable eastern commodities, meant that decline was inevitable once the imperial mines became unproductive. During the third century, the economic and political turmoil encountered in China, Persia and India triggered collapsing markets and decline for Rome. As military funds deteriorated, and inter-tribal violence escalated, Rome expanded its bureaucratic tax structure which served to further increase imperial costs and instability of the entire system.

Through 16 chapters, McLaughlin reveals an international economy of

tremendous diversity in terms of goods, cultures and trading relationships. From Egypt and the African Aksumite and Meroe Kingdoms to the Nabataeans and Kingdoms of Southern Arabia, the Indo-Parthians, and the Tamil Kingdoms of India, to Sri Lanka and China, Rome's eastern trading system allowed the Empire to acquire and control a greater range of world resources than ever would have been possible through military means alone. Though not as pronounced as it should be throughout the book, the system's absolute reliance upon Rome's maritime capability is certainly evident here. In fact, maritime historians will find much value in McLaughlin's attention to the conduct of trade and commerce at sea in these various parts of the eastern world. The vessels, ports of call, crews, routes, sailing schedules, and of course ships' cargoes receive serious examination, as do the continued threats to Roman maritime trade including piracy, the vagaries of weather and hazards to navigation. "Chapter Eight: International Business", despite its generic title, is particularly informative. The design, construction and manning of Roman vessels sailing to India, as well as the precautions taken to resist Arabian pirates, are well-described therein. The author also usefully underlines the best available evidence, including the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a Roman merchant guidebook, which provides scholars tremendous insight into the scope and significance of international maritime commerce within the ancient period.

A selection of illustrations and maps provide useful aids, as do the appendices, which attempt to provide reasonable estimates of the Roman economy's scale, export and import values, regional revenues, and the military costs of preserving its Empire. McLaughlin

draws on the full range, albeit limited, of available English language sources, as well as a wealth of primary materials that unfortunately do not appear in the bibliography, the abbreviated endnotes making it more challenging for researchers than should be necessary. Nitpicks aside, this book is an important and welcome contribution to the scholarly community, whether they be specialists or students of Roman history or the maritime economy of the Ancient World.

Michael F. Dove
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Allan R. Millett. *In Many a Strife: General Gerald C. Thomas and the U.S. Marine Corps 1917-1956*. MD: Naval Institute Press, www.usni.org, 2018. xxiv+456 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$29.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-68247.

Allan R. Millett's examination of the career of General Gerald C. Thomas goes far beyond biography to describe the lengthy and difficult process of transforming the United States Marine Corps (USMC) into the combined-arms expeditionary and amphibious warfare specialists of the modern era. Thomas joined the USMC in the First World War, served in the formative interwar period and held important field and headquarters commands during the Second World War and the Korean War. Millett's analysis uses the career of Thomas to illuminate both the wartime experience of marines on the ground and the knotty, politically charged process of reforming large institutions to cope with technological and strategic transformation.

Millett's acknowledged aim is to "demonstrate how the career of a single

officer reflected fundamental changes” in his respective branch of the service, while avoiding an overly teleological approach that minimizes the formative years of an individual’s career (xvii). Less than a third of the book focuses on the Second World War. The interwar and post-war/Korean War periods take approximately a quarter each, with the First World War filling out the difference. The result is a work that properly balances the experience of combat with the important intellectual and policy-related work that occurred in times of relative peace.

As a retired USMC Reserve officer and a military historian with an extensive interest in military command and leadership, Millett is well-placed to offer a thorough analysis of Thomas’s career without undue hagiography. Thomas played an important part in the USMC’s development, and Millett balances praise for Thomas’s judgment and progressiveness without diminishing the role of other leaders in the Corps. For instance, he is somewhat critical of the leadership of Alexander Archer Vandegrift on Guadalcanal, arguing that his reliance on Thomas was critical to the success of the operation (184).

Military history enthusiasts and academics will find that Millett’s account of Thomas’s wartime service illuminates valuable aspects of well-known campaigns. Thomas was one of the key officers planning operations on Guadalcanal, and the chapter on Operation CACTUS is an excellent window into the intricacies and complexities inherent in military planning, particularly for demanding amphibious operations (160-71). Unsurprisingly, interservice rivalries shaped these operations. Millett offers judicious criticism of those, like Rear-Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, who tried to micro-manage USMC operations, while also accepting

that each party was honestly striving for victory.

Scholars of defence policy will find that the chapters dealing with Thomas’s service as a USMC senior officer in Washington function as an excellent case study into departmental politics and grand strategy. The Korean War and post-war years were vital for the development of the modern Fleet Marine Force, but were also a time when the USMC faced its greatest threats to existence, such as the 1946 effort by the US Army, including General Dwight D. Eisenhower, to have the FMF organized for small-scale raids, landings and ship-board duties (249). Thomas was at the heart of these debates during two tours of duty at Headquarters, 1945-47 and 1952-54. For example, as the USMC was working to develop its distinct strategic role, Thomas contributed to the shift toward ‘vertical envelopment’ using helicopters and close air support. Thomas did not create the operational concept, but as commander of the First Marine Division in the Korean conflict, he employed the new technology, pressed hard for more control over close air support, and supported the re-orientation of the USMC to helicopter-based combat (250-1, 311-3).

Readers will be both impressed and intimidated by Millett’s extensive record of all the individuals that interacted with Thomas. The lengthy list of individuals named and described in the book might deter idle readers, but even non-experts will find a close reading of the text very rewarding in its richness and specificity. Unfortunately, the maps included in the work have mediocre image resolution.

Millett’s work is founded on extensive primary source evidence, both the personal records of Thomas and interviews with colleagues, as well as copious official Marine Corps’ docu-

ments. There is an absence of secondary sources from post-1991, possibly because Millett's study of the Marine Corps, *Semper Fidelis: The History of the U.S. Marine Corps* (1980, 1991) had been revised to that date. The book would be strengthened by references to recent scholarship, such as Aaron B. O'Connell's *Underdogs: The making of the modern Marine Corps*, (Harvard University Press, 2012). This would provide support and elaborate on the use of public and political activism that Millett frequently touches on in the career of Thomas, particularly in his Headquarters service in the post-Second World War decade. Additional scholarly sources would not undermine Millett's impressive scholarly achievement, but they would confirm and develop the patterns that Millett identifies in Thomas's distinguished career.

General Thomas proves to be an excellent subject for an institutional biography, combining battlefield service in key USMC campaigns with headquarters service during some of the most contentious policy-making episodes. Through understanding the course of Thomas's career, Millett navigates his readers through the broader transformation of the USMC from shipboard detachments to combined-arms expeditionary force. Besides USMC enthusiasts and those interested in the details of marines in combat, this book provides valuable insight into institutional culture and reform in the face of technological, strategic and financial pressure.

Iain O'Shea
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Joseph Moretz. *Thinking Wisely, Planning Boldly: The Higher Education and Training of Royal Navy Officers, 1919-39*. Solihull, UK: Helion & Company, www.helion.co.uk, 2015. 528 pp., ap-

pendices, notes, bibliography, index. UK £45, cloth; ISBN 978-1-90998-290-1.

If the axiom is true that wars are won by the preparation that takes place even before they begin, then the fact that Joseph Moretz's book is the first book-length study of the Royal Navy's interwar education and training efforts for its senior officers is a negative judgment on the historical profession. For in addressing this seemingly mundane topic, the author has shed light upon an aspect of the Second World War that was vital to the Allied victory. During the two decades that preceded that war, the Royal Navy sought to process the lessons of the First World War and convey them to a generation of men who led the service throughout the subsequent conflict. These intellectual labours may have been undramatic, but as Moretz demonstrates, they refined the leadership that emerged triumphant in 1945.

Adopting such a focus would be overly deterministic, however, and it is to Moretz's credit that he does not. What he has written instead, is a wide-ranging examination of the types of officer education available during the interwar years and its value to both the officers themselves and the navy overall. His focus is on the Staff Course and the Senior Officers' War Course (SOWC) offered at the Royal Naval College Greenwich, the Senior Officers' Technical Course (SOTC) and the Tactical Course at Portsmouth, and the Imperial Defence College (IDC) in London. All of these programs were relatively recent in origin (with the last of them, the IDC, founded only in 1927), and it was still possible in the interwar era for officers to attain flag rank without attending any one of the available courses. Contrary to popular belief at the time, these officers were increasingly the exception

rather than the rule, as attendance and receipt of the *psc* designation became the norm.

For all of the value gradually assigned to higher education, numerous obstacles had to be surmounted to provide it. Foremost among them was financing such education at a time of fiscal austerity. Cuts in defence spending from its wartime peak forced reductions in the number of slots available, while enrollment in the courses was seen as a way of employing officers in an era of reduced opportunities for postings elsewhere. This not only allowed such officers to continue their careers and retained them for any future service expansion down the road (provided postings became available for them after participation), but it also gave them valuable instruction in advanced topics. The experience of the First World War was a dominant topic in naval education, with many of the students not only able to learn from its lessons but also to apply their own firsthand experiences in the conflict. Here, however, lay the complicating factor of the post-war battles over credit, blame, and reputation waged by the senior officers involved, which shaped the interpretation of such controversial episodes as Jutland and the Dardanelles. Moretz describes the influence these clashes had on shaping the writing of the Royal Navy's official history of the war, but he downplays its impact on officer education by emphasizing the diversity of subjects addressed in the programs. While Jutland may have loomed large in the popular imagination, Moretz makes clear that it did not dominate the curriculum of the various courses.

This is part of Moretz's generally favourable assessment of the education senior officers received. Though not uncritical—he notes the flawed deprecation of logistics in their training and broadly

agrees with Peter Gretton's judgment that the tactical courses placed too much doctrinal emphasis on fleet action—but he also describes instructional programs that engaged with contemporary issues to a considerable extent. His description of inter-service education is one of the best embodiments of this, as attending the IDC gave officers valuable exposure to broader defence issues and a better understanding of the problems facing the other services. In terms of promotion, such an education was no substitute for performance in their postings at sea, but Moretz concludes that, for the most part, it provided officers with valuable training for the demands of the war that followed, as best demonstrated by the ultimate result.

Moretz presents all of this in a series of chapters dense with details. He assumes that his readers have a degree of familiarity with the interwar Royal Navy that makes his book better suited for scholars than novices to his subject. Yet anyone who reads it will find it rich in insights from Moretz's extensive archival labours, all of which are detailed in extensive notes located where they belong at the bottom of the page. It is a book that nobody interested in the history of the interwar Royal Navy or the history of officer training can afford to ignore, with the quality of its analysis and its underlying research suggesting that it may not be just the first book on its subject, but the last one we will need as well.

Mark Klobas
Phoenix, Arizona

Wes Olson. *The Last Cruise of a German Raider—The Destruction of SMS Emden*. Barnsley, S. Yorks.: Seaforth Publishing, Pen and Sword Books, www.seaforthpublishing.com, 2018. (Distributed by US Naval Institute

Press.) 274 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$65.99, cloth; ISBN 978-1-68247-373-3.

Finally, after 104 years, the definitive history of the action between HMAS *Sydney* and SMS *Emden* has been written. The first known published account of the action, in a book, appeared in July 1918 as a chapter titled 'How the Sydney met the Emden' in Bennet Coplestone's *The Secret of the Navy*. Over the next century, books on the action have appeared regularly, ranging from the quite good, such as Mike Carlton's *First Victory 1914–HMAS Sydney's Hunt for the German Raider Emden* published in 2014 through to the barely readable and often incorrect *Guns in Paradise–The saga of the cruiser Emden* by Fred McClement published in 1968.

Wes Olson has done an outstanding job in detailing *Emden's* history from her construction during 1906–1908 to her final action with HMAS *Sydney* on 9 November 1914 off the Cocos Islands. The final action is dealt with in great depth with several first-hand recollections from both sides—but the story does not end there. Olson details the extensive activity to recover *Emden* survivors and the subsequent medical work done by both RAN and German medical staff to keep the numerous badly wounded and dehydrated men alive. *Emden's* landing party under Kapitänleutnant Helmuth von Mücke and their epic journey in the schooner *Ayesha* to the neutral Dutch East Indies and then via steamer to the Red Sea, and afterwards, overland to Constantinople also receives a thorough analysis.

The story of the wreck of *Emden* finalises the history of this famous ship. Several of her guns were recovered and, along with other artefacts, brought to Australia for display with

many still visible today in Sydney and Canberra. In a little-known event in 1933, the Australian Government returned *Emden's* name plate to Germany where it was formally presented to the German President, Paul von Hindenburg, in recognition of the bravery of *Emden's* ship's company and the chivalry of her commanding officer, Karl von Müller.

The book is well illustrated and contains the complete nominal rolls of both ships including the often-forgotten civilian canteen staff in *Sydney*. The German nominal roll also details the 47 *Emden* prisoners of war who were held captive in Australia during the war.

If you want to read the complete history of the *Sydney–Emden* action, then this is it!

Greg Swinden
Canberra, Australia

Lincoln Paine. *Down East: An Illustrated History of Maritime Maine*. Thomaston, ME: Tillbury House, www.tillburyhouse.com, 2018. (Second edition, originally published 2000.) xxii+262 pp., illustrations, maps, chronology, notes, bibliography, index. US \$27.95, paper; ISBN 978-088448-565-0.

Maine has a unique topography, history, socioeconomic importance, and scenery beloved by countless visitors from around the world. Lincoln Paine, a meticulous raconteur, weaves a host of facts into a rich tapestry of this enchanting, ever-changing place that is *Down East*. Using the cliché "a picture is worth a thousand words," the author includes an abundance of carefully selected images of paintings, maps, prints and photographs to supplement his narrative, making this book seem much larger than it actually is. This appealing work is an exceptionally well-illustrat-

ed scholarly chronicle of the history of Maine.

The author initially hopscotches around the most northeasterly corner of the United States, first focusing on how the geography, ecology and natural conditions of place played such an important role in the history of the people who first inhabited this land twelve thousand years ago and those who immigrated there a mere four hundred years ago. The latter were Europeans who originally dreamed of finding gold, silver and spices, but learned that coastal Maine's real treasures would emanate from the labour of trappers, fishermen and loggers. The population evolved from the indigenous Abenaki, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq, Passamaquoddy and Wabanaki to the English and the French who traded with England, western Europe and the West Indies as well as the other more southerly colonies. England and its European neighbours seemed constantly at war and they realized that control of the sea was essential for victory. This meant that shipbuilding was strategically important. Their wooden-walled vessels consumed vast amounts of timber, but arguably the most important sailing ship "engine" were masts from which their sails were rigged and suspended. As the shipwrights demanded trees once easily harvested, it became obvious that it would take many years if not centuries to replace them. It also became evident that Maine, the most forested colony of North America (then known as the Eastern District of Massachusetts), had an abundance of exceptionally straight grained tall pine trees in close proximity to the coast or its many river waterways. Therefore, logging and shipbuilding became essential industries and, to a lesser and different degree, continue through today.

Shipbuilding became a commercial

mainstay of coastal Maine. It spawned vast varieties of crafts from fishing, lumber and granite schooners, commodious Down-Easters, classic lobster boats, luxury and racing yachts, to the highly regarded naval vessels from Bath Ironworks. Perhaps the most unusual navy ship was the USS *Katahdin*, a 251-foot wrought steel defensive ram, a resurrection of an archaic maritime weapon, with an extremely low freeboard that could be flooded when going into battle. Unfortunately, it had the reputation of being the most uncomfortable warship ever built. When its hatches were closed to protect it from the sea only inches away, the temperature below deck could easily exceed 100 or more degrees.

Politics and socioeconomic opportunity shaped the state. The first naval battle of the Revolutionary War took place off Machias, Maine, and the war's worst naval defeat occurred near what was then Bagaduce and now renamed Castine. Maine became an independent state as part of the Missouri Compromise in 1820. Maine's long winters gave birth to another industry. The state became the centre of transporting ice harvested from its rivers to nations all over the world before refrigeration became ubiquitous. Paine points out that Maine, tucked way up in the corner of the United States, has had an influence on international business that may not be well-known. He quotes a magical piece written by Harriet Beecher Stowe when she lived in Brunswick, Maine, with her husband Calvin, then a professor at Bowdoin College, Maine's oldest higher educational institution. The article begins with Mrs. Stowe stopping by a bay and noticing from behind a hill, "swan-like, with wings all spread, glides a ship from India or China and wakes up the silence, by tumbling her great anchor into the water . . . and

that ship connects these piney hills and rocky shores, these spruces and firs, with distant lands of palm and spice, and speaks to you, in these solitudes, of groves of citron and olive.” (178) One can only imagine that this fictional vessel may have passed by Mount Desert Rock lighthouse precariously perched on “a shard of dirtless granite 15 miles offshore, . . . the most exposed lighthouse in the United States.” (128)

Maine’s fishing industry was an economic bulwark for many years, but over-fishing coupled by climate change decimated the valuable cod, haddock, herring and sardine stocks. The lobster industry temporarily prospered with the loss of cod that thrived by consuming lobster fry. Sadly, even these ubiquitous shellfish, a Maine icon, are now in decline. The key to survival was diversification. Tourism has become a mainstay along its picturesque coast, inland lakes and forests. Many wealthy Americans from more populous states built summer homes in picturesque places such as Bar Harbor or in the many lake districts. Also, some of its ports have become important cruise ship destinations during the warmer months. Finally, the state has also become the home of many of the nation’s most renowned artists, especially in the summer. The nation’s most prestigious art museums feature countless samples of their works.

All of the above are documented by Lincoln Paine and in far greater detail thanks to his penchant for loading his readers with facts and unusual bits of minutia. This reviewer, with many personal connections with Maine, delights in learning new facts about the place that I, like so many others, have watched change. If the reader intends to travel to this idyllic location and wants to learn more about it before making a visit, Lincoln Paine’s *Down East* is an excellent place to start. For the cogno-

scenti, we can only express our thanks for a job well done.

Louis Arthur Norton
West Simsbury, Connecticut

Lawrence Paterson. *Otto Kretschmer: The Life of the Third Reich’s Highest Scoring U-Boat Commander*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Greenhill Books, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. xix+268 pp., illustrations, maps, glossary, notes, appendix. UK £25.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-78438-192-9.

This work is a biography of famed U-boat commander, Otto Kretschmer, as well as an operational history of his two wartime submarines, *U-23* and *U-99*, mostly between 1939 to 1941. Using official records and verifiable anecdotes, interviews, and secondary materials, while leaving out often-repeated legends, apocryphal tales, and other questionable sources so, Paterson offers what he feels would be the most accurate portrayal of Kretschmer and his commands. The fore matter includes a glossary of terms and abbreviations, a Kriegsmarine map of the Atlantic, and Paterson’s foreword. Chapters are arranged chronologically based on key turning points in Kretschmer’s career. A central photographic section showcasing largely wartime images, illustrates ships and personnel. The final chapter, entitled “Canada,” offers an account of his incarceration in North America, followed by a brief summary of his post-war life.

The first chapter, “Between the Wars,” briefly covers Kretschmer’s pre-navy days, including his childhood and schooling in both England and Germany, before documenting his 1930s naval career. It details his service on cramped Type IIB U-Boats, whose lacklustre torpedo capacity inspired

Kretschmer's ideas regarding submarine tactics involving single torpedo firings carried out on the surface. His performance in Baltic drills earned him a reputation as the best torpedo shot in the fleet, and his actions on and off ship sparked the beginnings of his reputation among the public and his peers. The second chapter begins the chronicle of Kretschmer's wartime career and constitutes roughly eighty percent of the biography. Paterson describes each of his patrols in detail, discussing each ship targeted and often including firsthand accounts from crewmen about those vessels that were successfully sunk. Other submariners and their crews are occasionally cited as comparative foils to give additional perspectives on Kretschmer. Captain Günther Prien is the primary example, as his success record is similar to Kretschmer's. Prien, however, was a more cynical and hard bitten commander, initially reveling in the fame and attention garnered by his U-boat's actions. (183-184). Almost the opposite in every regard, Kretschmer earned his crews' respect through his calm and methodical command, constantly working to assuage their fears by giving the appearance of implacability even under extreme conditions, and shunning the spotlight to the extent that he had a crewmember assigned to deal with the press on his behalf (84, 105-106). Contrary to popular belief, Kretschmer's aversion to media appearances was not the origin of the nickname "Silent Otto." Rather, he believed that the Kriegsmarine's demand for radio transmissions from patrolling U-boats would reveal their positions to the enemy and lead to less successful attack runs. Hence, his practice of largely maintaining radio silence while at sea (40).

Paterson traces Kretschmer's final patrol, in which the *U-99* was sunk

with the loss of three men, in extensive detail. The last two chapters cover his time as a Prisoner of War. Interrogation transcripts provide yet another interesting insight into Kretschmer and how his British opponents viewed both him and his crew. He left a strong positive impression on many, which would unfortunately be marred by the later "Council of Honor" controversy after the capture of *U-570*. Given that this Council can be seen as a direct link to the death of *U-570*'s Bernhard Berndt in a failed attempt to regain his honour and possibly led to the post-war suicide of *U-501*'s Captain Hugo Förster, it is an unfortunate mark on Kretschmer's otherwise clean record, with the British labeling him an "ardent militarist" (221, 225-229). The final chapter covers Kretschmer's imprisonment in Canada, which was most notable for the 1942 extended POW riot known as "the Battle of Bowmanville" and its description of Kretschmer's intricate, but failed, Operation *Kiebitz* escape plan. The chapter concludes with a recounting of Kretschmer's slow repatriation to Germany, and a brief summary of Kretschmer's post-war life and reputation.

One possible improvement would be the inclusion of scaled cross-section drawings for a Type IIB and a Type VIIB U-Boat. Paterson describes the internal layout of Kretschmer's submarines, but an accompanying drawing would greatly help with comprehension and quick reference, especially given how central the two submarine designs are to the narrative. A second, would be more coverage of Kretschmer's post-war life. As this is billed as a full biography, the period of 1947 to 1998 should warrant more than roughly five pages. His 23 years in the West German Bundesmarine alone would provide ample data for expansion, and could act as a foil to his wartime service. A future edition might

include these suggestions, and further increase the strength of this work.

Otto Kretschmer is a solid retelling of its namesake's wartime career. Patterson offers blow-by-blow accounts of each Atlantic patrol, interesting anecdotes of the man and his crew, and a solid account of his capture and actions while a prisoner. The book flows smoothly from statements of fact to first-person accounts of both U-boat crewmen and victims with ease, making this work both a useful scholarly resource and an enjoyable read. With the expansion of Kretschmer's post-war activities, this book could become one of the go-to works regarding Otto Kretschmer, the man, as well as the U-boat commander.

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Reinhard Paulsen. *Schiffahrt, Hanse und Europa im Mittelalter. Schiffe am Beispiel Hamburgs, europäische Entwicklungslinien und die Forschung in Deutschland*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, www.boehrlau-verlag, 2016. 1079 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Euro 135€, cloth: ISBN 978-3-412-50328-4.

Northern European history—and especially maritime history during the Middle Ages, is entwined with the history of the Hanseatic League, a confederation of merchant cities and city states that dominated trade during the period. There has been a wealth of study on the topic and Reinhard Paulsen's work seeks out to add to the discourse by focusing on Hamburg and the historiography within Germany.

Paulsen sets out to cover a lot of ground. The lengthy time period, from 1350 to 1500, makes one realize the depth and time covered within the ar-

chival materials. His focus on Hamburg has much to do with his primary source material which is heavily focused on a massive collection of *kammerrechnungen*—loosely translated as financial statements/records or transaction records beginning 1350.

It is from these records that the author presents a very interesting portrait of the period. What stands out immediately is the fact that these types of records cared little about the details of ships, probably because the transaction was more important than the mode of transport, but even the listed ship type did not necessarily mean much. In fact, Paulsen shows how little we actually know about what ships of the period looked like. The examples of the *snaikka* and *crayer*, both suspected to be smaller vessels, but of the former the discussion is whether these were small packets or a light escort while the latter we have no clear idea at all (106-115).

The one ship anyone familiar with the topic thinks of immediately, the cog, is surprisingly not as common within the primary sources as expected. Although there is significant mention of the type, due to the nature of the coastal trade, Paulsen argues there was no need for a vessel of this type to be the most numerous. He seriously considers how this ship and its successor, the hulk or holk, may have co-existed, or evolved from the former, or even have been the same vessel (187). In terms of our physical knowledge, aside from the few archaeological findings, there is much interpretation from repair orders, material orders, etc. to build an image. Interestingly, even though many of the towns had cogs depicted in their seals, the majority are more artistic than seaworthy and scholars must take a very critical view of these as well.

The size of these ships is also hard to establish. Given that the physical

area where the trade occurred can largely be defined as littoral, large and small as well as ‘ocean-going’ and coasters were still being defined during the period, and long-range voyages for trade and exploration had not yet become common. Nor does price comparison between the same listed type take us farther. Then as now, Paulsen finds that when it comes to shipbuilding protectionism, jealousy and rackets all have an impact.

After what this reviewer felt was a successful first part of the work, the author rather strangely disconnects when he grapples with the historiography in the second half. In effect, Paulsen states that previous research into the Hanseatic League—specifically from the German-speaking point of view—is highly problematic and requires a paradigm shift (664). Paulsen launches into the argument that German nationalism has heavily biased research and that the idea of a *Hansekokge* or Hanseatic cog was a National Socialist invention. (469). He particularly blames historian Fritz Rörig for completely obeying NS ideology.

To an extent, the reader accepts this argument. We know that disconnecting research from national bias can be difficult, especially during times when published research had to fall politically into line. The difficulty is that Paulsen seems to paint all the history since with the same brush and his carefully constructed historical argument comes a bit undone. In fact, the author even states that due to the strength of his argument it could be misrepresented as a polemic. Perhaps the strength in an argument should be its evidence and not necessarily the tone, and while this reviewer would not go so far as to call it a polemic, it has a completely different feel. This detracts significantly from the work since the second part leaves

one to wonder about the arguments of the first.

The book is big, totalling almost 1100 pages between covers. Constituting Paulsen’s PhD thesis published as was, a more refined version of the book would have more appropriate for general consumption. In its current form, it remains a bit daunting and suitable for an interested specialist only. This is especially true for the first part, the product of extensive research, and containing many important findings that add knowledge to the field. Indeed, the sources provided within the book carry enough material to be interesting in their own regard. This section alone, refined and polished for publication, would be a fine scholarly work.

The latter section, however, is not only problematic but does not fit well with the rest of the book. Nor is the reader, in the end, entirely convinced that the state of the historical writing on the topic is that poor or misrepresented.

The strength in the work is the decades-long research and its findings which, aside from the text, account for over 200 pages of sources, tables, charts filled with all sorts of details that the specialist or interested reader in the topic will guaranteed find useful.

Christopher Kretzschmar
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Nathaniel Philbrick. *In the Hurricane’s Eye: The Genius of George Washington and the Victory at Yorktown*. New York, NY: Viking-Penguin Random House, www.penguinrandomhouse.com, 2018. xv+366 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$ 30.00, cloth; ISBN 978-052542-676-9.

Nathaniel Philbrick has spent much of his life on and by the sea. Currently, he lives on Nantucket and has written

many highly acclaimed books related to maritime history. *In the Hurricane's Eye* is a worthy addition to this panoply in which the author deftly describes an aspect of the Revolutionary War that has received little attention.

General George Washington owned a schooner, was an accomplished sailor and spent much of his youth in Virginia's Tidewater region where transportation by water was a way of life, largely out of necessity. Therefore, it is not surprising that command of the sea was such an important factor in Washington's strategic plans for defeating the British. His understanding of how maritime strategies could possibly affect the outcome of the Revolutionary War would shape American history.

For most of the American Revolution, Britain realized the importance of the navy supporting the army and exploited their dominance of the sea to their advantage. They controlled the coastal regions where they could easily reinforce or rescue their troops by sea. In 1780, nature unexpectedly interceded in the guise of three massive hurricanes that devastated the West Indies. The third storm, with estimated winds in excess of 200 miles per hour, nearly destroyed the Spanish fleet while at sea, badly damaged the French fleet based in the Caribbean and foundered a British frigate that was blown ashore on Cuba. After these catastrophic storms, the French opted to move their fleet North for the summer and early fall to avoid further destruction. That operational shift greatly benefitted George Washington who had solicited the French for naval support in his struggle to take on a formidable, better-equipped and well-trained enemy. The French, however, were more concerned with protecting their valuable Caribbean sugar plantations and other possessions in the West Indies. The crippling storms that forced

the French naval fleet to sail northward became a deciding factor in the outcome of the American Revolution and the metaphor for the book's title.

Washington began a series of negotiations with French General Jean-Baptiste Rochambeau and Admirals François de Grasse and Charles Destouches to support his overall strategic goal, taking back New York. When that became unfeasible, Washington looked south to Virginia. Two important clashes preceded the maneuvering that would lead to the siege at Yorktown, and the battles of Cape Henry and the Chesapeake. American traitor Benedict Arnold, now a British general, had landed in Virginia and was wreaking havoc on Richmond. Washington convinced Admiral Destouches to sail his fleet from Newport, Rhode Island, to assist the Marquis de Lafayette in his attempt to defeat Arnold. The French encountered a British fleet in the Chesapeake Bay near the mouth of the James River. After several hours of fighting, the British ships gained an advantageous position inside the bay and the French withdrew, allowing Arnold to retreat down the James River peninsula. Though the outcome disappointed Washington, the Battle of Cape Henry spurred the French to further action. Washington and Rochambeau moved their combined land forces south, after first feinting toward New York to fool the British. Meanwhile, Admiral de Grasse began moving his ships north from the West Indies into position near the Chesapeake for the conclusive clash between both fleets.

Surmising that his adversaries were plotting to reposition their troops to the south, British General Charles Cornwallis moved his army toward Yorktown, where he could easily escape across the James River with assistance from British Admiral Thomas Graves,

a strategy that had worked many times and no doubt would once again. During these prior conflicts, however, there was no French fleet with which to contend. When Graves arrived at the Chesapeake on 5 September 1781, the British admiral discovered the enemy fleet had a commanding presence in the bay. Both fleets maneuvered for position and the battle soon began, largely confined to the vanguards of the two flotillas. The French made a critical tactical error upon which the British failed to capitalize and suffered a humiliating defeat. Ships on both sides were heavily damaged, but the British surrendered control of the Chesapeake to the French and ultimately enabled Washington to obtain his crucial land victory at Yorktown.

Philbrick recounts many beguiling little-known background stories: Hamilton and Washington became estranged for a long time over an inconsequential personal slighting incident; Rochambeau and Washington had their differences, but the proud self-reliant American acquiesced to the French general because Washington needed the French troops to win the war; a Spanish emissary in Cuba, Francisco Saavedra, financed the almost destitute American troops for the Battle at Yorktown with 500,000 Spanish pesos collected in Havana. There are many more fascinating details of the events in these closing months of the Revolutionary War that I leave for the potential reader.

The author provides a detailed description of the Chesapeake and Yorktown battles giving the reader a deeper appreciation of the particulars of these two iconic events. Philbrick notes, "The way to win a naval battle in the eighteenth century was to isolate a portion of the enemy's fleet and attack it with a greater number of your own ships . . . [until] the opponent was defeated

piece by piece or [they] decided to end the battle by sailing away." (186) This is an apt description of the Destouches/Cape Henry mêlée and the subsequent de Grasse/Chesapeake engagement. Among the author's personal observations: "The bitter truth was that by the summer of 1781 the American revolution had failed. With thousands of able-bodied citizens refusing to serve, with the thirteen states refusing to fund the meager army . . . and with the Continental Congress helpless to effect any constructive change, the very existence of the United States now rested with the soldiers of another nation." (153) "George Washington [evolved] from the brash, forty-three-year-old commander in chief who yearned to burn Boston to the ground in the winter of 1775-1776 to the careful yet cunning strategist capable of holding both the army and the country together through six years of war." (239)

Philbrick, an excellent historian and narrator, includes abundant small anecdotes in his work that colourfully chronicle events, but a few alluded to, but excluded, could have added to the story. For example, when Washington decided to move his troops south, General Clinton's spies were hard at work. The general wanted the Tory eavesdropper to think that the French troops were still in the Hudson valley encampment planning an assault on New York. The British knew that French soldiers insisted on having fresh bread each morning, so to ensure there was that unmistakable aroma, Washington kept the bakeries busy, even though Rochambeau's army had marched on some days before—a clever ploy. Second, Admiral George Rodney invaded the Caribbean Island of St. Eustatius to stem the flow of arms to the Continental Army. Philbrick mentions that the admiral was deeply in debt at that point and spent much of his

time pilfering the Dutch colony. While trying to locate any concealed treasure, he engaged in an anti-Semitic act by exiling all the Dutch colony's Sephardic Jewish men (as opposed to women and children) employed as the island's warehouse keepers and magistrates. Rodney was later rebuked in Parliament for his actions by Edmund Burke. Preoccupied with this and other issues, Rodney failed to challenge de Grasse's fleet that was in the area. Arguably, this might have changed the outcome of the Yorktown event and the Revolutionary War.

In summary, Nathaniel Philbrick's latest work illuminates a crucial, but rarely visited historic event. A brilliant and clearly written narrative, *In the Hurricane's Eye* is a not-to-be-missed work for any maritime historian and a broad audience to enjoy.

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Dag Pike. *Taming the Atlantic. The History of Man's Battle with the World's Toughest Ocean*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen & Sword Books Ltd., www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2017. vi+222 pp., illustrations, map, bibliography, index. UK £25.00, US \$ 39.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-52670-083-4.

As if the Atlantic Ocean had a mind of its own, in his first chapter Dag Pike portrays the elements as intent on the destruction of cargo ship *Marjata*. The vessel's cargo had shifted in bad weather, causing the ship to list, although the crew eventually managed to get the ship safely into the Liverpool Docks. That experience taught the author to respect the ocean. Two shipwrecks, numerous books and a job as Inspector of Lifeboats for 50 Royal National Lifeboat Institute (RNLI) stations add to his

credibility.

In telling the story of various attempts to cross the Atlantic Ocean throughout history, Pike describes its changing moods in terms of almost human characteristics; calm, rough, friendly, hostile and deadly. Ever since the early explorers first crossed the Atlantic, man has experienced the ocean in all its forms, shapes, moods and dangers. To any ship, small sailing boat, super tanker, cargo ship or passenger liner, crossing the North Atlantic in particular, is always a challenge. Once Western seafarers had set foot in the New World, an exchange of people, goods and ideas crossed the Atlantic to settle a new society. Pike recounts how, with the newly-founded colonies, immigration slowly began to bring in new inhabitants, some eager to make something of their new lives, others forced to work in the Americas as slaves.

The author follows the trail of navigational advances as trade began to flourish, colonial wars were fought, architecture developed, and sail made way for steam. Through each new era, the Atlantic served as a testing ground for maritime developments and technology. The need for speed was apparent in commercial sailing—time was money, the faster cargo and passengers crossed the ocean, the better. The contest continued well in to the twentieth century. Nor does the author forget the failures. From fishing vessels to passenger liners to battle ships, the bottom of the ocean is littered with those that failed to make the crossing. The Atlantic remains a challenge to mankind.

Jacob Bart Hak
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Phillip J. Potter. *Explorers and Their Quest For North America*. Barnsley, S. Yorks.: Pen & Sword, www.pen-and-

sword.co.uk, 2018. 280 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. UK £25.00, US \$32.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-52672-053-5. (E-book available.)

Explorers and Their Quest For North America provides quick overviews of the European exploration of North America carried out by adventurers from Spain, France, Britain, Russia, the United States and a nascent Canada. It provides introductions to the facts and careers of 14 explorers and permits readers to identify their similarities and distinctiveness in 17 to 24 pages. Spain sponsored Christopher Columbus, Hernan Cortes, Hernando de Soto and Francisco Coronado; Britain, John Cabot, Captain John Smith, Henry Hudson; and France, Samuel de Champlain and René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle; Russia, Vitus Bering; the United States, Daniel Boone and Meriwether Lewis; while the northwest of a Canada aborning was explored by Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

Readers will see commonalities as all these men sought to extend their sovereigns' realms and struggled with inconsistent support from their home countries. Many searched for a route to the Orient or gold, but, like most gold prospectors, few were successful, and we know that the water route was not practicable. Others promoted the gospel to native peoples they encountered. Distinctions can be discerned between those who were primarily explorers, such as Jacques Cartier, and those whose contributions are more truly described as colonial founders, such as Samuel de Champlain.

For those with a survey knowledge of history, most of the featured explorers will just be names. Although some explorers may be more familiar, only experts will have thorough acquaintances

with most of them. I consider myself to be in the survey category with more detailed understanding in limited spheres that do not include North American exploration. I value this book for broadening my knowledge of the characters of the Age of Exploration and deepening my appreciation of the milieu in which they operated. Unlike the government sponsorship of early stages of space exploration where the goal was primarily scientific knowledge, the North American explorers were mostly commercial ventures, seeking a return for their investors. I enjoyed learning about people who had long sparked my curiosity, such as Henry Hudson, Vitus Bering and Sir Alexander Mackenzie. It is eye-opening to realize how many of them sailed under foreign flags, such as Christopher Columbus (an Italian sailing for Spain), John Cabot (an Italian sailing for Britain) and Vitus Bering (a Dane sailing for Russia). Having read and learned about the tradition of United Empire Loyalists during visits to New Brunswick, I regarded with chagrin that Scottish native, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, lived with his family in New York until they joined other Loyalists in relocating to Canada. Despite the brevity of each chapter, Potter has done an excellent job of placing the quests associated with each name in the context of their careers, which often were interesting in themselves.

Rather than offering snippets of each explorer, I will summarize the career of one of particular interest to me and, I suppose, to many readers of *The Northern Mariner*, Samuel de Champlain. My personal preference for him is grounded in the fact that he greeted the boat that brought my earliest ancestors to Canada. A native of southwestern France, Champlain was introduced to sailing at an early age by his father. During the sectarian wars of the

sixteenth century in France and Spain, Champlain employed his nautical talents in the quartermasters and learned leadership skills as an infantry officer. During his service, he acquired a fluency in Spanish and traveled to Spain's possessions in the New World. An inheritance from an uncle in La Rochelle brought him home to France and into his king's service. Interviews of mariners returning from America prepared him for inclusion in the expedition to establish a French colony in Canada. His 1603 voyage returned home with fur pelts and cod fish and reports of deposits of copper, iron and silver. The 1604 voyage brought 100 settlers and workers who set out in search of a suitable site for a settlement and, after trying Cape Cod and Maine, eventually selected Quebec in 1607. Trading relations were established with Indians and return trips brought more supplies and reinforcements. Repeated voyages across the Atlantic facilitated communications between the Quebec colony and the mother country. Cordial trading with local indigenous people degenerated into warfare as the settlers established alliances with competing tribes and stirred up native rivalries. Dividing time between Paris and Quebec, Champlain and his wife H el ene enjoyed the life of capital courtiers and contended with challenges arising out of shifting sponsorship of the settlement, food shortages, troubled native relations, the institution of the seigneurie system to lure more farmers to New France and harsh winters, to name just a few. In 1635, in Quebec, Champlain suffered a stroke and died in the colony he had founded.

The author has crafted a collection of narratives that both inform and entertain. Each story is as fascinating as Champlain's. Pick the one of greatest interest to you, but do not neglect the

others. I recommend this for anyone seeking an introduction to the explorers of North America. If it whets your appetite, as it did mine, select more detailed and focused works for further reading.

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Russell A. Potter. *Finding Franklin. The Untold Story of a 165-Year Search*. Montreal, QC: McGill/Queen's University Press, www.mgqup.org, 2016. xvi+262 pp., illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. CDN \$ 39.95, cloth; ISBN 987-0-7735-4784-1.

The saga of the lost Franklin expedition has become embedded in the historical narrative shared by Canadians. *Finding Franklin* is an elegant summary of 65 searches in the area where the expedition disappeared to determine what had happened. The venture had been a well-equipped Royal Navy venture of scientific discovery. It was manned by competent and seasoned mariners in what were, for the time, stout vessels that had operated in ice infested waters previously. Russell Potter is a professor of literature in Rhode Island who has followed the Franklin searches for decades and edits a website devoted to reviews of books about the Arctic. He is a respected expert on Franklin lore and has visited the area where the explorers perished.

Finding Franklin went to press between the finding of the hulls of *Erebus* in 2014 and that of *Terror* in 2016. These developments, exciting as they are, do not lessen the value of Russell Potter's well-written narrative. It will be years before items recovered from the two wrecks are analysed in sufficient detail to add to the story of how the expedition ended. Meanwhile this

book describes what successive searches found.

Potter covers the well-known early searches for Franklin's lost expedition but his comprehensive coverage of twentieth-century investigators is particularly welcome. He devotes an entire chapter to David Woodman, the modest former naval officer, naval diver and BC ferries master, who over a 35-year period, made several visits to the area where Franklin's ships vanished. His ground-breaking analysis of Inuit oral tradition played a key role in unravelling the mystery of where the lost ships might be found.

There is a truly rewarding chapter on maps. It begins with a discussion of the sorts of charts supplied to the Franklin expedition and moves on to a fascinating examination of Inuit sketch maps collected by various search and exploration expeditions. This is followed by a marvellous section on Rupert Thomas Gould, an early-twentieth-century hydrographer with a deep interest in the Franklin mystery. Gould produced the celebrated 1927 Admiralty chart which crams virtually all that was then understood about where the expedition might have gone onto a map. He followed this marvellous visual guide with imaginative maps representing how much of the Canadian Arctic was known when Franklin sailed and how much was uncovered by the several search expeditions. These were produced for R.J. Cyriax's book *Sir John Franklin's Last Arctic Expedition* (1939), which Russell Potter describes as "magisterial" (79).

Unfortunately, the maps reproduced in this chapter are the only ones in the book and fall short of helping a reader trying to work out where the various search expeditions looked. This is a real weakness in a book which describes events in locations whose names will be new to all but Arctic aficionados. In

all other respects, *Finding Franklin* has been meticulously produced—well-chosen photographs clearly reproduced on good paper, clear typeface, sturdy binding, and a size and weight that make it a pleasure to handle—all a credit to McGill-Queen's University Press. A very useful appendix succinctly covers all the searches between 1854 and 2015.

The author is a professor of English, which may explain his elegant writing style, and which makes this book a pleasure for his readers. *Finding Franklin* is an authoritative and lucid account of the searches for the Franklin expedition. Recommended.

Jan Drent
Victoria, British Columbia

Warren C. Riess with Sheli O. Smith. *The Ship that Held Up Wall Street*. College Station, TX; Texas A&M Press, www.tamupress.com, 2014. xi+100 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, glossary, index. US \$29.00, hardback; ISBN 978-1-62349-188-8.

Contrary to popular imagination, not all sunken ships are avatars of naval heroism, technological innovation, maritime lawlessness, or the romance of the sea. Some just end up as landfill along the Manhattan waterfront. That doesn't mean they don't have a story worth telling, however, and archaeologists Riess and Smith have taken on that challenge with *The Ship that Held Up Wall Street*. While excavating the construction site for a Financial District high-rise in 1982, the ground crew stumbled into an unexpected discovery—the intact hull of an eighteenth-century colonial merchantman buried under several feet of mud and debris. What followed was a month of extensive and labour-intensive site documentation, and three decades of subsequent research into the physical remains of the ship, its historic

context, and possible identification.

This slim volume presents a brief, but engaging account of the so-called Ronson ship (named after the project's benefactor), both of the ship itself and of the lived experience of the archaeological team as they undertook the grueling excavation and tenacious, years-long work of piecing together the archaeological and archival clues. The book begins with an introductory chapter outlining the vessel's discovery and early determination of its significance, the initial reconnaissance excavation, and the formulation of the plan to fully document the site ahead of its pending demolition. Next is a brief history of Manhattan Island and its early development as a colonial entrepôt, followed by a chapter dedicated to a detailed description of the methods employed to record and excavate the hull remains. Subsequent chapters document the conservation of the Ronson ship's remains, its hull construction characteristics, the research into determining the ship's identity, and a historical sketch of Riess's leading candidate for that identification. The final chapter traces the development history of the waterfront block where the ship was found, placing both the vessel hull and the landfill material excavated from within it in their proper archaeological context.

The Ship that Held Up Wall Street is as much about the hard and professional work put in behind the scenes by the research team as it is about the ship itself. Much of the first half of the book reads as a day-in-the-archaeologists'-life anecdotal narrative documenting how the project came together (complete with Molotov cocktails and marauding street gangs!), combined with detailed descriptions about methods used and decisions made in the field and in the conservation lab. To their credit, the authors are frank about identifying their

mistakes and mishaps, and how the consequences affected the long-term analysis of the site. Taken together, this material provides a useful roadmap for other archaeologists undertaking a challenging shipwreck excavation and reconstruction. It also provides a window into the painstaking effort and dedication required at all stages to see a project of this scale to its completion—from the initial excavation through to the conservation, research, and analysis of the combined, and sometimes conflicting, data.

Those looking for a more technical examination of ship construction, naval architecture, artifact analysis, and even shipworm biology, however, will also find plenty of interest in these pages. After a detailed description of the ship's hull remains and construction characteristics, particularly of the bow (the only section of the ship that was preserved), Riess presents a convincing geometric analysis of how the ship was designed, using several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century shipwright treatises as his guides. The authors also provide an informative discussion on design variations in eighteenth-century European merchantmen, ultimately concluding that the Ronson ship is an American-built hybrid—possibly unique—that blended the sailing capabilities of a British frigate with the increased cargo capacity of a Dutch flyboat. They further deduce from the archaeological evidence that the ship last sailed with a British crew, visited a warm water port outside of North America near the end of its career, and was buried in the East River between the late 1740s and 1760s. This evidence creates an entry point to detailing the history of the Charleston-built *Princess Carolina*, which provides an illustrative historical context for the Ronson ship, even if its correlation to *Princess*

Carolina is ultimately inconclusive.

This broadly targeted presentation of information does lead to inconsistencies in tone, however. Reiss and Smith frequently take the time to define ship terms and archaeological concepts for the layperson (and a glossary is included), while also, and often without transition, presenting more complex and technical information that would presumably better suit the interests and aptitudes of a more specialized reader. And though several photographs and drawings are provided, additional illustrations accompanying the more in-depth descriptions of hull construction would have been useful.

Nevertheless, the story of the *Ronson* ship provides an instructive example of eighteenth-century shipbuilding techniques to add to a relatively meagre archaeological and historical record from that time period. Reiss fondly recounts this story as an example of emergency salvage archaeology, in contrast to what had been the typical approach of academic archaeologists taking months, if not years, to meticulously document a site. This is undoubtedly true, but is somewhat belied by the fact that Reiss has been able to continue studying the site for almost 30 years, which is a testament to the exemplary work that he and his team did in recording and excavating the ship under the spectre of impatiently rumbling backhoe engines and decidedly less than ideal field conditions. Despite its humble fate, this is a compelling and archaeologically significant site worthy of the effort, and worth the attention of readers interested in colonial-era merchantmen and the archaeologists who study them.

Douglas Jones
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L. H. Roper. *Advancing Empire. English Interests and Overseas Expansion, 1613–1688*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, www.cambridge.org, 2017. 312 pp., bibliography, notes on sources, index. US \$37.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-107-54505-2. (E-book available.)

In *Advancing Empire*, Roper's main argument is that individuals with commercial interests were largely responsible for the creation, conception and execution of English Empire during the seventeenth century. Further, he deliberately views historical narrative from the perspective of "How did they go from then", rather than the more common "How did we get to now". Although the former isn't entirely ground-breaking (naval historians studying the century have addressed this, notably Elaine Murphy in her research on the British Civil Wars of the 1630s and 1640s), Roper does clearly have an excellent grasp of the archival sources and is, therefore, able to draw on a much larger number of commerce-centric examples to make his argument.

The book is divided chronologically and geographically. The introduction contains some discussion about the theoretical and historiographical perspective, while the second chapter examines the foundations of English conceptions of empire. The following three chapters examine English interests in America, Guinea and Asia, respectively. This is followed by a discussion of the Civil Wars that reverberated in England's overseas colonies and interests, and it is followed by a discussion of the New Modelers specifically, and addresses both the First Anglo-Dutch War, as well as the Commonwealth's campaigns in the Caribbean during the 1650s. The next two chapters discuss the restoration and the period of the Second and Third

Anglo-Dutch Wars. The final chapter, in lieu of a conclusion, considers events from the period 1675-1688, and then very quickly draws some extrapolations through to the middle of the eighteenth century.

I certainly admire Roper's grasp of the original sources, and they balance discussion of the merchant adventures companies and of individuals well. Likewise, they do a fair job of putting state and individual interests in context. While I commend the research and the analysis that went into this book, I actually found reading it extremely frustrating.

The author includes a literature review of sorts in the introduction, and even discusses some of the theoretical contexts for the creation of this book, something that should be included in more academic history. He also mentions several important trends, for example, the 'now fashionable rubric of Atlantic History', and attempts to remove the traditional triumphalism of American history, but in such a way that could be read as either dismissive, or not actually interested in properly discussing the context. For example, general statements about certain trends in history are supported by rather short quotes (ranging from three words to a sentence or two) that are footnoted collectively rather than individually, and with their extended commentary, should probably have been placed in the text itself. In addition, in both the text and the footnotes, concepts and terms are placed within double quotes. The effect is that I as a reader was unsure if it was way to highlight the terms, or whether it indicated skepticism regarding those concepts.

It is rather disappointing that that the team behind this book has really done very little to make it accessible to non-experts. For example, it lacks a

distinct conclusion where Roper could have clearly laid out useful similarities and differences between case studies they discussed. Likewise, readers are not provided with any maps to situate the discussions. These would have been particularly useful for the chapters that discussed Guinea, Asia, and America.

This book does have a solid core of good research, but this is very much outweighed by how difficult it is to engage with it. People who are already subject matter experts will likely find this book the most useful. The footnotes are a treasure trove of interesting primary sources but I regret that I cannot recommend *Advancing Empire: English Interests and Overseas Expansion 1613-1688* for a wide audience.

Sam McLean
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Laura Rowe. *Morale and Discipline in the RN during the First World War* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, www.cambridge.org, 2018. xii+266 pp., illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. CDN \$114.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-108-41905-5.

Laura Rowe's book, published by the Cambridge University Press, is one of a series of Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare – designed to bring together the fields of traditional military and naval studies with social and cultural history. The two should never have sundered, of course, but without much doubt both have existed in their separate spheres for far too long. This particular volume examines the questions inherent in the title and seeks to shed light on a relatively neglected corner of the Great War's naval historiography – work in this field from the perspective of the military is much richer.

The Royal Navy expanded enormously from a large foundation as the Great War progressed. Notwithstanding the immense pressures on the Service and officers and men who served at sea, discipline held and in contrast with the Imperial German Navy, there was no breakdown let alone any revolutionary sentiments expressed as the war wound down in 1918. There were, however, a number of incidents of 'unrest' during the war on individual ships and significant discipline problems in the immediate post-war period in the force despatched to the Baltic that endeavoured to impose order on a chaotic period in both Germany and Russia. Rowe examines why there were these relatively few discipline problems in the Royal Navy despite the immense pressures of the war.

Inevitably for a study examining issues from a social sciences lens there is the need to develop a framework for the analysis and to provide an accompanying vocabulary. Rowe identifies two discourses that she suggests helps to explain the questions of discipline and morale and that these were at odds with each other. The first she labels 'paternalism', which is essentially the top-down, officer side of the naval community. The second term is 'democratism', a neologism that incorporates the lower deck element. The 'discourse' between these two worlds involved a defensive, status-quo oriented naval hierarchy determined to maintain the traditions and customs of the Royal Navy and their own role within it (i.e. paternalistic) in contrast with oft ill-expressed desire of the lower deck for greater autonomy and self-determination, with a more egalitarian and liberal outlook (i.e. democratic). The latter was perhaps more reflective of the *zeitgeist* of the pre-war period than the former. Wrapped up in the analysis

is the question of the navy as a profession and that of, in effect, a simple job involving contractual relations akin to what obtained in civil society.

In a short review there is no space to visit this discussion, but there are two immediate observations to perhaps note. The first is whether this architecture of analysis, briefly and inadequately described above, needlessly introduces terminology that could be replaced by 'quarterdeck' and 'lower deck' as instantly recognisable distinctions within the naval community. The unfolding of the analysis and discussion in this fine book would not be hampered with this simplification. The second is that the division of the Royal Navy into a permanent, long service force, supplemented in time of war by reserves and 'hostilities only' personnel inevitably introduced a tension between those two groups in terms of world view and expectations. The latter, quite predictably, brought with them norms and standards from civil environments and awkwardly adjusted such norms to fit Service life. The former sought, equally predictably, to force fit their new comrades into the mould of sound Royal Navy customs and traditions in the interests of cohesion, discipline and fighting efficiency. This division is well understood and by no means a new insight.

That said, Rowe explores the topic in a series of chapters that lay out the analysis in five chapters, not including an introduction and conclusion. The first lays out what she means by 'paternalism' and 'democratism' by exploring the origins of each group in social background terms, their training and induction into the navy, and what a career meant. Importantly she notes the critical role played by the petty officers that bridged the gap between the lower deck and quarterdeck, as well as doing most of the quotidian supervisory tasks nec-

essary to run a ship successfully. The role the petty officers filled in maintaining discipline is well described. The second explores discipline and how it was imposed and how it underpinned morale. A well-disciplined ship was usually a happy one and effective in operational terms. Maintaining discipline involved the often arbitrary and humiliating nature of punishment via the mechanism of summary trials. However, she is quite clear that the judgement of the presiding officers was critical and if assessed as fair by the lower deck would deliver a happy ship. If otherwise, the opposite result would inevitably follow. The third chapter touches on pay and conditions of service. Here Rowe delves into the mare's nest of bureaucratic rules, regulations, allowances and their often bewildering application. The accretion of rules covering various dimensions of personal (e.g. marriage allowances) and professional attributes (e.g. skill and conduct bonuses) were confusing, often illogical, and uneven in application. None of this assisted in building morale. Grievances were inevitable and how these played out is explored in some depth. The fourth chapter looks into the growth of naval societies by the lower deck for welfare reasons. This gave rise to the fear of 'combinations' of a potentially mutinous caste, which was to be deprecated to state the obvious. Dealing with the underlying impetus for such entities was a principal occupation of those inhabiting the upper corridors of power in the Royal Navy and was often poorly done. The final chapter looks to examples of 'unrest' by a statistical analysis of court-martials for various offenses. The conclusion drawn is that there were amazingly few such trials and that it is evident that by and large the Royal Navy's Great War was not overly troubled by serious episodes of indiscipline

let alone widespread mutiny of a kind that afflicted the German High Seas Fleet. Rowe does explore a number of episodes of 'unrest' and agreed with the accepted conclusion that these represented particularly egregious missteps by commanders, and were essentially 'strikes' and nothing like the common image of 'mutiny'. This near industrial approach to dispute resolution indeed reflected a trade union mindset that undoubtedly informed the thinking of the lower deck in poorly run warships. This lesson remains important in any modern context.

This is a well written book and it addresses an aspect of the Royal Navy's Great War that is not often examined. The social sciences nomenclature will not appeal to all, but Rowe lays out her framework clearly and the analysis flows logically from there. She also is blessed with a dry wit that is deployed sparingly but skillfully throughout the narrative. Sources are replete with the anecdotes of individual officers and men of all backgrounds, notably via the Imperial War Museum's Sound Archives. These latter were recorded in the 1970's, some sixty years after the war, and add a real touch of verisimilitude to analysis. This is a useful volume for anyone interested in the period and certainly fills a gap. The chief drawback is cost at over \$100. It also suggests a wide field of potential research into the human side of the naval experience. I am very happy to strongly recommend it.

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Matthew S. Seligmann. *Rum, Sodomy, Prayers, and the Lash Revisited? Winston Churchill and Social Reform in the Royal Navy, 1900-1915*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, www.oup.

com, 2018. 180 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US \$78.00, cloth; ISBN 978-0-19-875997-3.

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, British sailors drifted in and out of the ranks of the Royal Navy, joining the service in times of war and returning to the merchant marine after the fighting was over. It was not until warships were transformed by steam power, iron and steel that the need for a professional and permanent class of naval rating was deemed necessary. While the ‘jolly jack tars’ of the age of sail have become the stuff of folklore and a favourite subject of naval historians, the industrialized lower-deck ratings of the Victorian and Edwardian period remain understudied. Matthew Seligmann’s *Rum, Sodomy, Prayers, and the Lash Revisited* addresses this lacuna with a study of five areas of lower-deck life that came under the increased attention of naval administrators as well as the nation in the final decades before the First World War: pay and promotion; alcohol; homosexuality; religion; and corporal punishment.

Seligmann adds to a small but valuable body of work examining lower-deck life in the Victorian and Edwardian Royal Navy which includes Anthony Carew’s *The Lower Deck and the Royal Navy 1900 to 1939: The Invergordon Mutiny in Perspective*, Brian Lavery’s *Able Seamen: The Lower Deck in the Royal Navy, 1850-1939* and Christopher McKee’s *Sober Men and True: Sailor Lives in the Royal Navy*. Like much of the British working-class experience at the turn of the century, life for the Royal Navy’s lower-deck sailors was one of unremitting toil and poverty performed, as Seligmann writes, “under strict discipline in the closed and unhealthy environment of an armoured warship” (10). Tuberculosis thrived in the damp and crowded conditions of a

steel ship, coal dust was pervasive, unsanctioned violence common, and pay inadequate. The Royal Navy may have needed a new class of specialist sailor, but it was slow to make terms of service attractive to potential recruits, many of whom were skilled workers who could find better pay and better conditions in civilian trades.

Each of Seligmann’s five chapters offers an interesting discussion of the Navy’s response to Britain’s changing social values and expectations. He shows how the Navy, as a major arm of the state and ‘shield’ of the British Empire, was under constant pressure to set a national example. Temperance campaigners wanted to see the Navy abolish the historic daily allowance of rum, a demand that was too far for serious Admiralty consideration but resulted in efforts to destigmatize abstaining sailors at sea. Corporal punishment, particularly of boy sailors, and reports of “gunroom honour” beatings of junior midshipmen, embarrassed the Navy and led to reforms more consistent with “modern views on the subject,” as one Admiralty Secretary noted (155).

Seligmann also examines social aspects of the Anglo-German naval race that remain largely hidden. The rapid growth in the number of capital ships, for example, created a shortage of qualified lieutenants that could only be met in the short term by promoting lower-deck warrant officers, men of working-class backgrounds contemptuously described by Prince Louis of Battenberg, Second Sea Lord, “as a somewhat inferior article” (38). Moving the main battle fleet north to Scotland also separated Roman Catholic and Nonconformist sailors from the churches and chapels of the Navy’s southern dockyards and dockyard towns. Denied their own priests and ministers at sea, a domain of the Church of England alone,

these shore establishments were essential to the spiritual well-being of 30,000 non-Anglican sailors.

Indeed, before the war, the Irish bishops became so concerned about the lack of sea-going priests that they convinced John Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, to bring the issue to Parliament, and threatened to boycott naval recruitment in Ireland if priests were not granted wider access to Catholic sailors at sea. With the coming of war, the Navy reluctantly agreed, on the wishful understanding that the measure was a wartime expedience. In reality, the “absolute monopoly of the Church of England having once been breached,” it was never fully restored again (136).

The strongest chapter in *Revisited*, however, concerns the Navy’s attempt to suppress homosexuality in its ranks. Victorian and Edwardian society, as Seligmann notes, “widely despised” homosexuality and deployed its legal, judicial and policing systems against it (63). The hostile attitude “was not just duplicated in the Royal Navy,” Seligmann writes, “it was taken to an even greater degree of severity” (63). Naval historians have largely failed to consider homosexuality in the Royal Navy and Nicholas Rodger’s pioneering social history of the Georgian navy, *The Wooden World*, references it only twice. Seligmann’s research is therefore vital and long overdue, and he shows how the Navy constructed a disturbing medical-legal system of surveillance and punishment to stamp out ‘unnatural vice’ and ‘crimes against morality,’ foreshadowing the role of twentieth-century medicine as a coercive instrument.

Unlike the subject of pay and promotion, however, Churchill’s role in suppressing homosexuality is unclear, and Churchill himself is hardly referenced here at all. As President of the

Board of Trade and Home Secretary under the ‘New Liberal’ government of Herbert Asquith and David Lloyd George, Churchill helped introduce new regulations in the coal mines, a labour exchange, and statutory wage boards, and Seligmann argues that Churchill’s reforming ambitions did not end upon his arrival at the Admiralty. While Churchill’s influence was decisive in securing better pay and promotional opportunities for the lower-deck, as well as expanding access to naval colleges to a broader segment of the British population, his significance elsewhere is unclear.

Despite the questionable value of Churchill as an organizing device, however, Seligmann effectively demonstrates that the British public’s interest in the Royal Navy extended beyond dreadnought ratios with Germany. As a highly visible, public institution and the primary weapon of the British state, the condition and behaviour of the lower-deck sailor was a matter of great interest to the nation, and unlike the swashbuckling figure of the eighteenth-century, the modern Jack Tar was expected to conform to the values of a modern industrial society.

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Paul W. Simpson. *Neptune’s Car. An American Legend*. Adelaide, South Australia: Clippership Press, paulsimo2010@yahoo.com.au, 2018. 216pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. AU \$15 US \$8.99, paper; ISBN 978-0-244-30542-0.

Paul Simpson has written another book about ships, life and voyages in the great days of sail. (The last was *Around Cape Horn Once More*, reviewed in NM Vol XXVI No.1). This time he

tells the story of the clipper *Neptune's Car*, built at Gosport, now part of Portsmouth, Virginia, not far from Norfolk, and completed in 1853. It was ordered by the New York firm of Page and Allen to a design by the famous builder Donald MacKay and when the hull was complete, it was towed to New York for fitting out. The figurehead of the sea god in his "car", made of a giant scallop shell drawn by sea-horses, sailed the seven seas for 16 years, about par for a softwood clipper. The ship was eventually abandoned, worn out, in Hong Kong harbour in 1869.

The new clipper's first captain was the notorious "Bully" Forbes, the most ruthless of hard-case American shipmasters. He sailed it to San Francisco, across the Pacific to Hong Kong, then, as no tea cargo was on offer, to Calcutta for jute and back to New York. He was replaced for the second voyage by the capable and respected Joshua Patten, who took his wife Mary Ann Patten along, but it was on the third voyage that *Neptune's Car* became famous when Captain Patten fell seriously ill. With a mutinous and treacherous first mate locked in his cabin, the young and pregnant Mrs. Patten took command and, with the aid of an illiterate second mate, brought the ship round Cape Horn and onward to San Francisco. She became quite a celebrity at the time, but the Pattens were treated rather shabbily by the owners.

Between 1853 and 1862 the clipper made six very long voyages under various captains. Forbes came back again at one point, his mates ruling with belying pins and brass knuckles, which provoked a mutiny in Singapore. In 1862 came the Civil War. *Neptune's Car* was in San Francisco but made it back to New York without encountering any of the Confederate commerce raiders which were deliberately destroying,

by burning, the fleet of beautiful clippers that flew the Union flag. Then, like many other Union merchant ships, *Neptune's Car* was sent to England and sold. It was not a financial success for the British owners as it was deteriorating and needed frequent repairs. Following one successful voyage and in the midst of the second in 1869, the ship was abandoned as a hulk in Hong Kong.

Simpson has done a valuable service with his spirited descriptions of gales encountered, battles against headwinds trying to round Cape Horn, and the clipper's speed in favourable winds. My generation was brought up on these tales but today our population is woefully ignorant of our maritime heritage. The research that went into the descriptions of voyages is remarkable: the names of shipping agents, cargoes and their value, repairs needed, are all specified. One might think the author had access to the original logbooks and ledgers but that information was probably gleaned from the Shipping News pages of contemporary newspapers. (There are 12 pages of bibliography). The numerous illustration-photographs and reproductions of contemporary engravings and lithographs-are very clear, and well chosen. They do a lot to evoke the flavour of the times.

Nevertheless, there are problems. Some of Simpson's descriptions become rather repetitive: the ship is often rocketing along-well, she *was* fast. Some slangy terms grate a bit from overuse: Cape Horn is 'Cape Stiff' the anchor is the 'mudhook', the pilot boat is 'farewelled'. After introduction, the ship's masters are referred to by their first names rather than their last. (I find it difficult to think of Bully Forbes as David). And there are the typos and minor nautical errors, lots of them: about one every six pages or so. And numerical errors-a lot of zeros seem to have

spontaneously arisen. San Francisco is not 24000 miles from the equator but 2400, and the given value of the cargoes often seem to have gathered extra zeros as well. These problems were not so apparent in *Around Cape Horn Once More*. What this otherwise wonderful book needed, before it went to print, was a knowledgeable editor.

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Myron J. Smith, Jr., *Joseph Brown and His Civil War Ironclads: The USS Chillicothe, Indianola and Tuscumbia*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., www.mcfarlandpublishing.com, 2017. 396 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, paper; ISBN: 978-0-7864-9576-4.

Professor Smith is a fairly prolific author on a relatively unexplored corner of the American Civil War by sea and river, the Brown Water ironclads of the Union Navy (and Army) which fought in the western theatre. This latest effort represents in many ways his best effort so far, incorporating many years of background research and publications. As the title promises, it is a biography of both Scottish-born shipbuilder and entrepreneur Joseph Brown and his three ironclad-gunboats built for service along the Mississippi, *Chillicothe*, *Indianola* and *Tuscumbia* from 1863. Other vessels are left for previous works, but neither is there a larger discussion of naval warfare of the mid-nineteenth century nor Union strategy and tactics in riverine warfare; so students of all ages will have to look elsewhere.

Endnote-citations, like the narrative itself, are dense and filled with many interesting trails of inquiry for readers to explore, and they are especially punc-

uated with references to contemporary newspapers and other periodicals. For some reason the author (and publishers?) have chosen to treat the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* (and of *the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*) as original citations, which then follow as abbreviations, at the start of each chapter. There are also quite a number of punctuation and editing mistakes; one illustration caption, for example, notes the Union naval assault upon Confederate Island Number Ten on the Mississippi commencing on April 16 [1862] and ‘successfully concluded on April 7’ (59). The accepted dates are February 28 – April 8). Often the narrative switches between first-, second- and third-person. In all, the research is mostly a compendium review of published works and primary sources with some references to personal paper collections, but no reference to U.S. archival sources, namely the Record Groups (and especially RG 19, Records of the Bureau of Construction, Equipment, and Repair); something which distinguished Donald Canney’s study from 1993, *The Old Steam Navy* (Vol. 2, *The Ironclads, 1842-1885*). In February 1863, for example, the chiefs of the Bureau of Construction and Repair and of Yards and Docks responded to Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, whether more gunboats would be needed in ‘Western Waters’, and if so, wouldn’t a permanent government navy yard facilitate their creation and maintenance better than private contractors? At that stage, the navy had contracted some 16 wood- and iron-hulled ironclads and all were built by private contract on the Mississippi and its tributaries. A government yard, in their estimation, would indeed produce men-of-war which would cost no more than those built by private shipbuilders, and yet

‘with proper superintendence...the work would be better done’. To build and equip such a site, however, would take at least “\$500,000”, and this goes a long way towards explaining the nature of many of the ironclad-gunboats and ‘tinclads’ built by the North during the Civil War and their subsequent careers (see 5 February 1863, Lenthall and Smith to Welles, US National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 45, ‘Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Chiefs of Navy Bureaus, 1842-1885’).

As Canney observed, ‘the western river vessels present considerable frustration: few documents or plans have been found, insufficient to give a complete picture of these unusual war boats’ (*Old Steam Navy*, 95). Smith also notes his three ironclads were built quite extemporaneously, with very beamy scow hulls, drawing only four-feet of water in the case of the *Chillicothe*, and unwieldy. Known as the ‘Broad Giant’, *Tuscumbia*’s width of over 75-feet was extraordinarily 42% her length and required a centre-line paddle-box along with two screws which were more for manoeuvring power than propulsion. But in addition to shallow draught, the U.S. Navy stipulated the ability to carry very heavy naval ordnance such as the 11-inch Dahlgren gun, weighing 7½ tons and mounted to allow for fire straight across the bow (of which the *Tuscumbia* carried three in her forward casemate, behind three-inches of sloping iron plate.) This was partially in response to the threat posed by heavily armed and armoured Confederate ironclad-rams, such as the CSS *Arkansas*, which so surprised daring Union naval commanders such as Porter and Farragut in the summer of 1862. The extended range of the shell-firing 11-inch Dahlgrens also made them valuable for shore bombardment.

Gauging the actual ‘success’ of these three vessels—and their builder—thus remains difficult, despite this addition to the literature. The author tells a good, straightforward narrative, with a wide range of photos, illustrations and maps. Often the story is more about how they avoided disasters (or not, in the case of the *Indianola*, or the Red River Campaign of 1864) than inflicted real damage upon Confederate forces. In that sense, they were perhaps symbolic of problems which plagued all Union forces in at least the first years of the Civil War. But their ultimate significance is also made plain: they were built by private enterprise in haste, deep within the continent at places like Cincinnati, Ohio, and successfully launched within months of their initial contract date. The South, by contrast, could only dream of such capabilities, and more often burned their incomplete ironclads upon the stocks to avoid capture. The three gunboats also managed to support the Union Army as need be, and provided a grim, inexorable presence wherever they could float. This was in many respects the essence of gunboat, Brown Water or littoral warfare; for as shoddy as many of these naval productions were—as hellish as it was to serve aboard them in inhospitable, disease-ridden climates—actually responding to the threat they posed was even more problematic.

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Ian Speller. *Understanding Naval Warfare*. London, UK: Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group) www.routledge.com, 2014. xiv + 218pp., figures, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. US \$43.95, paper; ISBN 978-0-415-52345-5

In writing *Understanding Naval Warfare*, Ian Speller set for himself the task of creating a book which would ensure that readers would be as prepared as possible when entering the realm of naval warfare studies. Modern maritime warfare is influenced heavily by ever more complex and specialized technology, tactical reforms, and political influence. The last 120 years have arguably seen more revolutionary progress in naval warfare than at any other time, and as tactical reforms occur, so too does naval theory. It is with this in mind that Speller prefaces his book. *Understanding Naval Warfare* is laid out with that exact goal in mind: he explores the role of navies in the modern period, falling broadly between 1900 and the present, and how theory has affected change and stagnation in naval circles. Specifically, Part One discusses the theory of naval warfare; while Part Two discusses the act of conducting maritime warfare.

Speller works from the premise that naval warfare is delineated by the nature of the sea, and therefore acts on the sea influences what occurs on land, and that these two desiderata influence both theory and technology. Chapters one through four address how the nature of the sea impacts maritime strategy, the dominant theories extant from the mid-1800s, to the present day. He illustrates the development of the predominate “Anglo-American” maritime tradition became central to modern naval warfare. Further, Part One discusses traditions that lie outside the Anglo-American tradition, and the use of it and those outlying traditions’ effect on the interpretation and analysis of the maritime components of the First and Second World Wars. Tying these components together, Speller illustrates how navies have been and are used as instruments of national policy – and of agents of international policy – in peacetime and

war. An excellent resource on this particular issue may be found in Nicholas Tracy’s *A Two-Edged Sword: The Navy as an Instrument of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012).

Part Two discusses the act of conducting naval warfare itself. In Part Two, Speller seeks to determine the validity of established naval theories, and what has changed, and what has not. With this in mind, Part Two begins with an assessment of how navies have tried to control the sea (*sea lines of communication*, or SLOCs are relevant here); the exploitation of the sea in the contexts of sealift, blockades and embargos in both in the particular realm of civilian maritime shipping and the military; how navies have projected power from the sea onto the land; and finally the myriad ways navies can police the world’s oceans. Speller also addresses how navies and naval practice may change in aspect and in execution in the future. This last discussion, appearing in chapter nine, is of particular interest for it discusses the capability and efficacy of navies to meet the goals they are assigned as military, economic, and socio-political changes occur globally.

While understandable considering the language gap, Ian Speller’s greatest error in *Understanding Naval Warfare* is that he does not address the naval theory and practices of the occident: attention to Chinese, Japanese, and Indian approaches to maritime warfare, for instance, are conspicuously absent. As an example, Japan is mentioned on one occasion, on a single page. While this can be mitigated to a low degree with supplemental reading (such as Vincent O’Hara and Richard Worth’s eighth chapter, “Other Navies,” in Vincent O’Hara and W. David Dickson [eds.], *To Crown the Waves: The Great Navies of the First World War*,

[Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2013]), readers are in fact receiving only the abridged version of modern naval warfare primary studies: the Western edition, as it were. Irrespective of its deliberate or accidental omission from Speller's book, contexts in which analyses of East Asian methods of naval warfare in the twenty-first century became overt only as Speller's primer went to press: issues of state-sponsored piracy, and the Spratly Islands affair, inclusive of the free-transit debate attached to the islands, are only now budding academic analyses: surely military assessments of East Asian naval policies existed before they became important publically, but these resources are seldom easily accessible contemporaneously to civilian researchers.

With that caveat, *Understanding Naval Warfare* should be considered a valuable aid for researchers seeking a starting point for their work into issues of modern naval warfare. Speller discusses the predominant theories underpinning modern naval warfare, and their development and place in Western naval warfare. He presents, explains, and initiates the reader to the jargon of the field, and finally shows how all of these components are entwined. Ian Speller set for himself the task of creating a primer to naval studies, and he has clearly succeeded.

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Suzanne J. Stark. *Female Tars. Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, www.usni.org, 2017. (Originally published 1996.) ix+ 207 pp., illustrations, notes, index. US \$18.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-59114-572-1. (E-book available.)

Suzanne Stark's history of women in Britain's Royal Navy is as compelling

as a detective story. Each page offers yet another fascinating fact or anecdote in prose that is accessible but informed by solid research.

The public is often intrigued by women who went to sea in disguise and Stark provides ample material on them through case studies, such as that of "The Gentlewoman Anne Chamberlyne" who joined her brother's ship in 1690 and went into battle against the French. Another woman at sea, Hannah Snell, a marine, remained undiscovered even through her post-battle stay in hospital in Cuddalore, India in 1748-49. The question on all our minds is: how was this possible? Stark cites the casual and cursory nature of everything in the navy, from recruitment to medical treatment, which facilitated such imposturing. Interestingly, there was some sympathy for these female sailors whenever they were discovered. Charles Waddell was about to be punished for desertion until 'he' was unmasked as a woman and then spared a flogging. In addition, female transvestites were long tolerated—in contrast to male homosexuality which, from the Middle Ages, was punishable by death.

Most of the individual stories included in *Female Tars* are short, but Stark's final chapter includes the autobiography of servant girl Mary Lacy, alias William Chandler, who served in the Royal Navy for 12 years. This account was published in 1773 as *The History of the Female Shipwright; to Whom the Government has Granted a Superannuated Pension of Twenty Pounds per Annum, during Her Life; Written by Herself*, and then almost forgotten. Lacy was small in stature and boyish in appearance; she was literate, a lesbian, and a fully qualified shipwright, having trained for seven years at Portsmouth Dockyard. Lacy described how she lived in fear of being found out: "[O

morning when] I went to the dock it was whispered about that I was a woman, which threw me into a most terrible fright, believing that some of the boys were going to search me" (158). Lacy wrote that she married a Mr. Slade after her time at sea, but a lot of uncertainty surrounds this claim, which would have been out of character, as Stark explains; indeed, Mr. Slade has never been identified.

Women in disguise in naval crews were not the only women on board ship. In 1666, Admiral John Mennes complained to Samuel Pepys that there were as many petticoats as breeches on board (5). Horatio Nelson wrote in 1801 that he looked forward to getting rid of all the women, dogs, and pigeons on board (7). Besides women sailors, two other categories of women on ships appear in Stark's book: prostitutes and seamen's wives; and women of the lower deck. The British Navy was considered the country's strongest exclusively male preserve, based on the ancient belief that the sea was no place for a woman and that a female presence on board ship brought bad luck. Yet women have been going to sea since at least 1377, when a British fleet set out to attack the Spanish (49). There were many women aboard British naval ships through the late-seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, representing a nearly 300-year tradition.

According to Stark, most of these women were prostitutes who lived with crew members below decks whenever a ship was in port. Although the practice was not unknown, these women rarely went to sea. Many of these women were very young teenagers. Harkening back to Biblical times, a poor British woman without a man to support her was an outcast with few economic choices, save prostitution. In the West Indies, plantation owners often obliged

ships' officers by sending large numbers of female slaves to their ships to be used sexually.

Despite its obvious hazards, like disease, the Admiralty deliberately ignored prostitution on board ship for centuries. Sexual activity was one of the few pleasures available to seamen in the Royal Navy; most men were press-ganged into service, disease on board ship was rife, the lower decks were filthy and airless, and discipline was harsh. Clean and dry quarters were not provided until the early 1800s when naval reform took hold. This reform, and the cessation of conflict with France after 1815, meant that there were fewer women on board ship.

Prostitutes on British naval vessels might live alongside seamen's wives and entire families, the result being pandemonium and not the cleanliness and order with which we associate modern navies. The line between being a wife and a prostitute was thin at times, as a wife might turn to prostitution when her husband was at sea. There was, of course, a hierarchy among seamen's wives and the women's names were not recorded; nor were the women given rations, which made for a desperate existence. Writing over twenty years ago, Stark asserts that sexual harassment was rare, given the presence of male protectors and the lack of reports. This conclusion seems naïve now, especially as the author herself notes that homosexuality occurred, despite its prohibition.

In the main, though, Stark has successfully provided us with a rich glimpse into a fascinating era and this material is presented in an engaging manner. This book has wide appeal for anyone with an interest in marine history and/or gender studies.

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Robert C. Stern. *The Battleship Holiday: The Naval Treaties and Capital Ship Design*. Barnsley, S. Yorks.: Seaforth Publishing, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2017. 272 pp., illustrations, maps, tables appendix, notes, bibliography, index. UK £35, cloth; ISBN 978-1-84832-344-5. (E-book available.)

This is a book with a greater ambit than its title might suggest. Rather than just focusing on the impact of the post-First World War naval limitations treaties on battleship development, Robert Stern provides his readers with “a discussion of the evolution of the design of capital ships . . . in the first half of the twentieth century.”(10) Though Stern concentrates on the interwar period, he goes beyond even his stated coverage by starting with the emergence of ironclad warships during the 1860s and their impact upon the development of capital ships in the subsequent decades of the nineteenth century. He analyzes the process of change by detailing the interaction of three factors: technology, diplomacy, and operational performance, all of which played significant roles in the process of warship development.

The influence these factors exerted was neither equal nor consistent. In the decades before the First World War, technology was the dominant factor driving capital ship design, as advancements in metallurgy and propulsion made possible dramatic improvements in warship development. At times, warships under construction would be altered on the slip as plans were altered in order to take into account the latest innovations. Yet even this could not prevent already obsolete ships from being launched. As Stern states, no one nation drove this, as many advances were adopted simultaneously by different countries. Even the eponymous British battleship HMS *Dreadnought* was

preceded in Italy by Vittorio Cuniberti’s innovative design of the *Regina Elena* class, which was only eclipsed by the *Dreadnought* because of the political and economic constraints Italy faced in building capital ships.

While navies continued with battleship construction even after the start of the war in August 1914, operational performance quickly took over as the dominant force shaping capital ship design. Here, the Battle of Jutland takes centre stage in Stern’s narrative, as it served for all sides as the best test of the contesting concepts that determined how the technologies were applied to such vessels. Yet, while the British deliberately suspended work on HMS *Hood* in the aftermath of the battle order to incorporate its lessons, growing demands on men and materiel gradually slowed construction on all sides, thus delaying the implementation of any changes. Once peace eliminated these constraints, the naval construction program of the United States threatened to initiate a new naval arms race that the British, in particular, could ill afford. This factor, coupled with the belief that the last arms race had contributed to the debilitating conflict recently ended, left all sides amenable to the idea of a naval arms agreement.

With the start of naval arms control talks, diplomacy now became the key factor in battleship design. Stern’s description of the 1921-2 Washington Naval Conference forms the heart of the book, and his summary of the proceedings captures the ebb and flow of negotiations that subsequently shaped the world’s major navies. While he focuses on the exchanges between the primary powers of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, he also takes the space to cover the French and Italian positions. Once the treaty limitations were established, the three main powers set

about cancelling orders and conducting live-fire exercises on incomplete hulls to test protection schemes. Yet the system of naval arms control quickly came under stress, with the Germans straining against the Versailles-imposed restrictions on warship construction and a follow-up conference in Geneva in 1927 ending in failure. Though the London Conference three years later achieved its more modest limitation goals, the pressure to replace aging battleships ensured that there was no extension of the Washington Treaty's construction "holiday" when it expired in 1936. Now with only the constraints on tonnage as a limit—and even those ignored by the Japanese—the signatories proceeded with construction on new designs that embodied the lessons assimilated the decade before. Stern's regret that these post-treaty battleships never really faced off against each other in combat is palpable, yet the loss of so many interwar capital ships to air power underscored the reality that by the 1940s, technology had superseded diplomacy to render the battleship obsolete.

By adopting a method that avoids the standard nationally-defined approach towards studying battleship design in favour of one that considers the broader factors involved, Stern provides his readers with an interesting overview of capital ship development in the twentieth century. His text is accessible, with technical details often supplemented by pictures and diagrams that help convey the point. Yet Stern's writing possesses a degree of informality that can distract from his focus, especially when he deviates from the narrative for almost conversational asides. Occasionally this works, occasionally it does not, but it never fails to convey a sense of the passion Stern so clearly has for his subject. Those who share

his interest will find much to enjoy with this book, which offers a new way of considering the often intricate dynamics that shaped the design of battleships during their era of dominance.

Mark Klobas
Phoenix, Arizona

Adrian Stewart. *The War with Hitler's Navy*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Pen and Sword Maritime, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2018. 212 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. UK £19.99, US \$34.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-5267-1057-4.

It was with some interest that I read Adrian Stewart's *The War With Hitler's Navy*—a surprisingly slender volume, considering the comprehensiveness of its title and the thousands upon thousands of pages previously written about the topic. Stewart's British publisher, Pen & Sword, lists at least 24 directly related books in its current catalogue, including one with a very similar title, *Hitler's Navy!* The appetite for the topic seems inexhaustible. So why would one want to read Cambridge-educated Stewart's version, in particular?

As a post-war baby boomer, I eventually developed a deep sense of that dreadful struggle against Nazi and Fascist totalitarianism. Three uncles served in the Royal Canadian Air Force; one was shot down and killed in 1944. In an early 1960s Grade Eight mandatory creativity project, I sang a duo with my similarly nerdy, history-enthused buddy Andy, a rousing performance of country and western artist Johnny Horton's great hit, *Sink the Bismarck*.

"In May of nineteen forty-one the war had just begun

The Germans had the biggest ship, they had the biggest guns

The Bismarck was the fastest ship that ever sailed the sea

On her deck were guns as big as steers and shells as big as trees ...”

[Sink the Bismarck lyrics © Universal Music Publishing Group]

While I am not an expert on the Kriegsmarine, Nazi Germany’s successor to the Imperial German Navy of the First World War, as a young man I read voraciously about *Bismarck*, *Scharnhorst*, the armed merchant raider *Atlantis* and U-boat ‘Aces,’ such as Jost Metzler, with *La Vache Qui Rit* (The Laughing Cow) painted on the conning tower of U-69. Whenever I buy cheese I am still reminded of the horrific Battle of the Atlantic and twelve doughty little corvettes built in my hometown, Kingston, Ontario, which went to war in the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). Two would not return.

The book will not interest historians who are already experts on the topic. Its nine chapters are organized chronologically, beginning with a brief discussion of the limitations on German naval power in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and how various violations of it that allowed the Kriegsmarine to begin to build up a new fleet. Grand Admiral Raeder had planned sufficient naval construction, including aircraft carriers, to allow Germany to challenge Britain in 1944, but it was not to be. Stewart describes well the resulting piecemeal, sometimes tentative, deployment and destruction of Germany’s small but still formidable surface fleet, battle by battle, beginning with *Admiral Graf Spee* in 1939. The U-boat war, the only thing “that ever really frightened” Churchill, has two chapters to itself.

Stewart writes smoothly and professionally, befitting an author with more than a half-dozen war-related books on an eclectic variety of subjects. In this case, he also has the good sense not to reinvent the wheel, judiciously deploying quotes from other well-known texts rather than redo these. It is a measure

of his ability that in such a slim volume he combines overall strategic views and sharp political perceptions with specific battle descriptions, technical discussions and personal (sometimes amusing) anecdotes that tie everything together in a neat package. Direct quotes are end-noted in each chapter.

The book has a decent selection of photographs including both ships and individuals, and their captions generally add value, though there are a couple of errors misidentifying ships. Gratifying to me in a more parochial way, was Stewart’s reasonably even-handed description of the RCN’s important, if initially somewhat ham-fisted contributions to winning the Battle of the Atlantic. I do quibble with his statement that Canadians “tended to allow themselves to be diverted from their main duty of sticking close to the merchantmen ... instead embarking on vain hunts for submarines that had been reported in their vicinity.”(130) In one of the more notorious incidents of that sort, U-69 torpedoed Newfoundland ferry SS *Caribou* in 1942 and the commander of escorting Bangor-class minesweeper, HMCS *Grandmère*, was criticized for attempting to ram the surfaced U-boat and then spending two hours hunting it instead of stopping to pick up survivors. Indeed, the Flag Officer of the Newfoundland Force noted that attacking U-boats in such situations was normal operational doctrine. Stewart levels rather more reasonable criticism (he is not alone) at the inexperienced RCN corvette commander who notoriously abandoned convoy SC 42 to save a precious torpedoed tanker by towing it to Iceland.

In spite of these being well-ploughed historical waters, some of the anecdotes were intriguingly new to me, such as the Royal Air Force considering battle cruisers *Scharnhorst* and

Gneisenau the “Ugly Sisters” of the Kriegsmarine (108). My own view is that many of the modern German warships were rather elegantly designed, particularly compared to Washington Treaty-truncated British battleships such as HMS *Rodney*. The final chapter on Baltic actions near the end of the war was also relatively new and interesting.

One thing unfortunately absent was anything of an epilogue stating the author’s overall conclusions about how the Kriegsmarine had been deployed, though such observations are to some extent woven through the book’s fabric. Overall, I think Shepherd’s book well worth reading; the drama, horror and heroism of the times are evoked in an understated way, as are the effects of Hitler’s personal direction of his war, which helped to sink his vainglorious dream of a Thousand Year Reich in just six catastrophically bloody years.

David More
Kingston, Ontario

John Stewart. *The Wreck of the San Francisco. Disaster and Aftermath in the Great Hurricane of December 1853*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishing, www.mcfarlandbooks.com, 2018. v+250 pp., appendix, notes, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-4766-7410-0. (E-book available.)

Author John Stewart brings to life the narrative experiences of men, women and children traveling aboard the steamship *San Francisco* as they encounter a deadly hurricane. *The Wreck of the San Francisco*, which retells this disaster at sea, pieces together newspaper reports, memoirs, ship logs, court testimony, and other preserved documentation to form a historically accurate nautical account.

Stewart’s lively narrative captures readers by pulling them through events as they take place. It recreates the unfolding drama of a ship carrying hundreds of people being ripped apart during its unexpected collision with the punishing waves and wind which accompanied the Great Hurricane of 1853. In the equally gripping aftermath, heroic acts by individuals, such as Captain James T. Watkins, are silhouetted against the slothful cowardice and ignorance of others.

Stewart enhances this genre of nautical history with his accumulated knowledge of American shipbuilding during the nineteenth century. He explains various ship and engine structures simply, to give novice readers a sense of surroundings and an understanding of mechanisms at work. His detailed descriptions of various engine parts illustrate why the ship could not be repaired and then he adds to it with eyewitness testimony and speculation regarding the seaworthiness of this vessel as it departed New York harbour. Court testimony and safety reports give additional credibility to Stewart’s descriptions.

The author devotes a chapter to each day within the storyline, beginning on 22 December 1853 with the steamship’s maiden voyage out of New York and ending with the return of survivors to this same harbour on 14 January 1854. By means of this day-by-day style, Stewart describes the public court-martial proceedings against Colonel William Gates, accused of cowardice and failure to organize and lead his men. He describes the arrival of passengers with press releases, which were full of speculation regarding the fate of the *San Francisco* passengers, as each group of rescued individuals arrived in port. For this reason, the chapters are predominantly short, resembling a

memoir account rather than a traditional history. Within these chapters, the author describes rescue attempts, ship's condition as viewed by rescuers, and the deaths of the victims.

During the violent hurricane a wave lifted up and demolished 24 staterooms, carrying the entire structure and an estimated 150 travelers overboard. The death toll, however, increased substantially during the days following this storm. Hunger and thirst accompanied a cholera epidemic, which further terrorized the exhausted individuals on board the *San Francisco*, killing an additional 60 passengers. Many military recruits were traveling on the *San Francisco* when disaster struck. They managed to escape this disaster and then, within weeks, were ordered to board the *Falcon*, a vessel which also experienced engine failure while at sea.

Characters come to life, their desperation vividly revealed in this page-turning tale. Thanks to Stewart's sharp physical descriptions of the passengers and a summary of their backgrounds, he enables his readers to empathize with the characters as each traumatic detail is revealed. Readers learn about several historically important individuals who narrowly missed being part of the passenger list, such as John Bell Hood, a future Confederate General in the Civil War, and future U. S. Secretary of War, William T. Sherman. Finally, the author provides closure by presenting a research epilogue that follows up on the stories of some of the survivors. Several were veterans of the Civil War while many others began families and settled in New York or California. The inclusion of such personal information adds a welcome depth to this narrative.

Overall, the book presents an excellent introduction to nautical disaster and the dangers of sea travel during

the mid-1800s. The author's use of comfortable adjectives such as "half-baked" and "big player" keep the narrative flow enjoyable. But references to mechanisms used on steamships of that era and complications involved in the transition from sail to steam power on the open sea reveal the author's scholarly research. Stewart also provides a frightening description of cholera and its ability to kill many confined individuals within a short period of time. The inclusion of a deadly disease within the story serves to highlight the dangers of sea travel while providing a realistic evaluation of the risks involved in settling the west via travel by sea. One can understand the context surrounding decisions to desert the military rather than risk an extended sea voyage. *The Wreck of the San Francisco. Disaster and Aftermath in the Great Hurricane of December 1853* joins a series of non-fiction books by Stewart which span a variety of topics, including historic figures, places and events. His engaging style paired with an excellent research criterion naturally welcomes the expansion of Stewart's audience.

Diana Ritzie
Pensacola, Florida

William Stewart. *Admirals of the World. A Bibliographical Dictionary, 1500 to the Present*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co. Inc., www.mcfarlandpub.com, 2018. ix+335 pp., appendices, sources, index. US \$55.00, paper; ISBN 978-1-7864-3809-9. (E-book available.)

William Stewart's *Admirals of the World* is a comprehensive introductory guide to numerous admirals, from 22 countries, and a very useful first stepping stone to further research. Each admiral is introduced with basic background

information concerning his/her career, with additional sources catalogued for further research. Stewart includes only admirals who achieved their rank while in the reserves or on active service, omitting those who were granted the rank upon retirement or death.

The information on each admiral varies in depth, based on the amount of information available. Topics covered for all admirals include the different capacity each filled, the years they served, and in which positions; basic individual information includes their significant contributions during their career and how they ascended through the ranks. Each admiral's short biography acknowledges any substantial actions, success or failures during his/her career.

Further, the work details an admiral's relationship with others, including other contemporaneous admirals. For instance, the book lists three generations of Cochrane men, Sir Alexander Forrester Inglis, Sir Thomas John Cochrane, and Thomas Cochrane, Tenth Earl of Dundonald, two of whom held Royal Navy commands in the Atlantic theatre during the early years of the American Republic. During the Anglo-American War of 1812, Sir George Cockburn carried on the plan originally implemented by Sir Alexander Cochrane, to recruit members of the maroon community (former slaves and their descendants) in Spanish Florida to attack the southern region of the United States.

The author's introduction lays out the parameters of the book, explaining it would be impossible to list all admirals from every nation, although he diligently tries to include as many countries as possible and both male and female admirals. He clarifies that although admirals are involved in warfare, this book is not devoted to war, rather it concentrates on the lives and

the careers of the admirals. He assesses their contributions to their communities along with other notable achievements, and even actions that were not favourable at the time. The work is incredibly user friendly, as it uses minimal maritime-specific vocabulary. The admirals are listed in two different formats; by nationality in Appendix A, and then by their year of birth in Appendix B. Both appendices then guide the reader to the appropriate pages.

The book's foreword notes that countries that were previously part of other nations may not be called by their modern name; for instance, depending on the time-frame, Irish admirals may be listed as British, or admirals from the Ottoman Empire listed as Turkish. Stewart's attention to detail and acknowledgement reveals his intention from the outset; he admits upfront that quite a few of his sources are websites, justifying it by noting that he vetted each website. He also notes where the websites conflict, listing each site and allowing the reader to further investigate any disparity. His goal is clearly to be as accurate as possible. It is important to realize that although some of his records date from the 1500's, they were not necessarily dutifully kept. Therefore, any disparity is more likely due to the record-keeping of the era than the author's conscientiousness.

This book is a welcome addition to maritime literature, helping readers gain a primary understanding of different admirals throughout the ages and an appreciation for the career commitment and service positions that were generally required prior to advancing to the rank of admiral. He also successfully navigates political waters, acknowledging both the triumphs and failures of certain admirals. By not focusing solely on warfare, the author allows readers to obtain a fundamental understanding of

naval hierarchy without being weighed down by the politics of war.

Jane Plummer
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Mark Stille. *Italian Cruisers of World War II*. Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, www.ospreypublishing.com, 2018. 48 pp., illustrations, tables, bibliography, index. UK £10.99; US \$18.00, CDN \$24.00, paper; ISBN 978-1-4728-2535-3.

During the Second World War, British radio often broadcast the following statement: “While the United States Navy drinks whiskey and the British Navy prefers rum, the Italian Navy sticks to port.” Of the three Italian armed forces, army, air force, and navy, Mussolini’s navy, the *Regia Marina*, (Royal Navy—RM) was the best prepared to enter the war but has been the least studied in English. Mark Stille’s *Italian Cruisers of World War II* helps to remove that omission.

The RM lacked two vital components in the Second World War: aircraft carriers and ship-mounted radar until 1943. Furthermore, oil was not in great supply in Fascist Italy, so the combination of these factors put the RM at a great disadvantage when facing Britain’s Royal Navy.

When Italy entered the war in June, 1940, the RM possessed seven heavy cruisers and twelve modern light cruisers, as well as two ex-German Navy First World War cruisers which had been modernized. An additional three light cruisers were added to the RM fleet during the war, for an overall total of 24 cruisers. Contrary to British propaganda, these vessels saw much active service in the Mediterranean; almost all Axis convoys from Italy to Axis forces in North Africa arrived at their intended

destinations. Moreover, the RM forced British shipping to avoid the shorter Mediterranean route and go around the Cape of Good Hope and through the Suez Canal. Finally, RM cruisers saw action in the naval battles of Calabria, Cape Spada, Cape Spartivento, Matapan, the First and Second Battles of Sirte, Pantelleria and other actions. This is far from a record of non-combat.

Balancing this record were other faults—the heavy cruisers were not well-armoured and were subject to battle damage; for example, not one of the RM’s heavy cruisers withstood a torpedo strike. The light cruisers were similarly under-armoured; two classes of light cruisers, the *Condottieri* cruisers, were poorly designed and disliked by the RM from the very beginning of the war. Three subsequent light cruiser classes—*Montecuccoli*, *Duca d’Aosta*, and *Garibaldi*—were improved designs and generally were equal to light cruisers of any other navy. Of the six cruisers of these classes built, five of them survived the war. Another strange feature of RM ships was that the guns of twin-gun turrets were mounted so closely together that when fired, the shells interfered with each other causing salvo dispersion and inaccuracies. While the weapons and fire control systems themselves were of excellent quality and reliability, RM gunners had little chance to practice gunnery and their hit rate was fairly low when compared to the British Royal Navy.

Stille’s book is a very good introduction to the story of RM cruisers in the First World War. Following the standard Osprey *New Vanguard* format, the author relates the background of the RM, and its strategy, then moves on to cruiser design, then weapons and fire control systems. Thirteen pages occupy narratives of the RM cruisers which show that the RM was not in the least

a passive force, but part of an actual fleet-in-being. The book then contains sections on RM heavy and light cruisers. Within each section, each class of cruiser is discussed with construction dates and specifications, which include displacement, armament, dimensions, propulsion, range, and crew, and then each cruiser class's operational history is revealed along with the eventual fate of each ship within that class.

The book is heavily illustrated with photographs of each cruiser accompanied by good captions. Side-view colour plates show the cruisers at various stages of their service and the camouflage patterns applied during the war. Two plates depict RM cruisers in action and a cutaway of heavy cruiser *Pola* provides excellent detail. The plates and photographs will assist modelers and historians. The impression left by these illustrations is that RM cruisers were very good-looking, giving the impression of speed and balanced design. The integration of textual and visual material—photographs and plates—adds much to the book and gives the reader a clear image of RM cruisers. The book is sufficiently detailed to provide an excellent introduction to this subject for those unfamiliar with RM cruisers and an excellent reference work for those more knowledgeable.

Stille is a retired U.S. Navy officer and knows his material. He writes well, gets right to the point, and is analytical in his approach, identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the RM cruiser fleet. And he makes one final point—while the Nazi German and Imperial Japanese Navies were extinct at the end of the Second World War, the RM had ten of its 24 cruisers still in existence in 1945—enough to provide the nucleus of a fleet for a post-war Italian Navy.

This book complements Stille's

previous book on RM battleships in this series (*Osprey New Vanguard #182, Italian Battleships of World War II*) and is recommended. This reviewer hopes that Stille will continue his study of the Second World War RM with successor volumes on RM destroyers, torpedo boats, and submarines.

Robert L. Shoop
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Jeremy Stöhs. *The Decline of European Naval Forces. Challenges to Sea Power in an Age of Fiscal Austerity and Political Uncertainty*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, www.usni.org, 2018. xix+290 pp., tables, notes, bibliography, index. US \$36.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-68247-308-5.

Jeremy Stöhs and his publisher have produced a most timely book with an extremely accurate title. *The Decline of European Naval Forces* begins with an irrefutable explanation of the importance of sea power in the modern world; namely, we live in a global environment where 70 percent of the planet is water, and 90 percent of commerce and trade moves over that water. Sea power has been crucial historically, as Stöhs refers to *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783* by American scholar-admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, who recognized the immense importance of naval strength to a nation's standing and security as far back as 1890. The turn of the twentieth century was the zenith of the "New Navalism" as the European naval powers raced to strengthen their respective fleets and protect their global empires.

The book traces the steep decline of European naval power over the last 25 years, essentially since the end of the Cold War. Stöhs concentrates on Brit-

ish, French, Italian, and Spanish navies, reviewing smaller European naval powers in much less detail.

The British Royal Navy (RN) comes under heavy criticism for its sharp decline from its former premier global naval and commercial ranking. Since the end of the Cold War, the RN has been reduced by 60 percent and Britain's merchant fleet now ranks twentieth in the world. Yet the United Kingdom continues to be a major trading nation with worldwide interests to protect and defend. The author contends that these naval reductions have undermined Britain's global political standing with unforeseen consequences; namely, future difficulties in enforcing its global and historic role as a protector of freedom of the seas. One bright spot for the Royal Navy is the building of the *Queen Elizabeth*-class aircraft carriers coming into service in the 2020s, which will improve capabilities for the Royal Navy. Only aircraft carriers allow a nation to deploy and project its power globally.

Stöhs' review of the French Navy is more generous, esteeming it a force to be recognized despite cutbacks over the last 20 years. France has maintained a balanced force in three oceans and has projected its force when necessary—such as its antiterrorism efforts in Libya and in the Middle East. France has also maintained an aircraft carrier to help project this force.

Though Italy is not considered in the same naval tier with the U.K. and France, she maintains a credible force for her European needs and does not seek a global reach as do the other two powers. The recent migrant crisis, making Italy's ports a main entry point for African and Middle Eastern migrants traveling to Europe by sea, has stretched Italian naval power in a way that it has not done to any other Euro-

pean power. Cutting-edge ship designs and shipbuilding are strong national assets for Italy.

The last substantial naval power to be examined is Spain, which has abdicated her once-strong naval ambitions over a long period of time and is no longer a global naval power. A close NATO ally of the United States, Spain has benefited from the strong naval cooperation between the two nations. For example, the United States maintains important naval installations on Spanish soil. Until very recently, the Spanish economy has performed poorly, which has had a negative impact on Spain's defence spending.

At the far eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea are the navies of Greece and Turkey, both considered regional naval powers, although Stöhs considers Turkey the more robust military force of the two, and notes Turkey's considerable geopolitical ambitions. Greece has suffered from her extremely weak economic condition and, like Italy, has had to contend with major migrant challenges.

German naval power is unique. Once a global naval threat, Germany now has little interest or appetite for military expansion. Defeat in two World Wars has left a scar on German military ambitions, despite its past strong submarine tradition. Though Germany is now a wealthy nation, the author is very critical of Germany's low defence spending and its unwillingness to participate in high-risk NATO operations, such as the 2011 conflict in Libya.

The book also discusses Dutch and Baltic naval powers, but at best, these nations are regional powers with limited capabilities. Sweden, in particular, is concerned with Russian naval expansion, according to Stöhs, and is taking new defensive measures, especially regarding Russian submarine violations

of Swedish territorial waters.

Stöhs notes that the substantial shift in naval and commercial power to the Asia-Pacific area—and the U.S. military pivot to that region—is an important one. Total Pacific commercial traffic now exceeds that in the Atlantic. China's naval ambitions are rapidly expanding as well, to the discomfort of its Asian neighbours, yet only Britain and France are able to project limited naval European forces into the region.

This book is not for the general reader but rather for the defence specialist. The author is generous with specific information and data on the European naval fleets and detailed defence-spending graphs. He also provides helpful chapter notes and a bibliography. An Austrian-American defence analyst at the Institute for Security Policy at Germany's Kiel University (ISPK) and its adjunct Center for Maritime Strategy & Security, Stöhs is also a nonresident fellow of the Austrian Center for Intelligence, Propaganda & Security Studies (ACIPSS). His credentials make him well-suited to criticize and comment on each naval power's future needs given the goals and naval responsibilities of each. The book makes a good case for a European re-evaluation of its naval strength and increased naval spending.

Ultimately, the book is a sad commentary on how Europe has allowed its naval power to fall to such low levels, especially in the face of new global defence challenges. Hopefully, the alarm bells are ringing loud enough to bring a change in the years ahead. In the meantime, the U.S. Navy will have to bear the chief responsibility of being the world's premier naval force and protector of the freedom of the seas.

W. Mark Hamilton
Alexandria, Virginia

Peter Stone. *The History of the Port of London: A Vast Emporium of All Nations*. Barnsley, S. Yorks.: Pen & Sword History, www.pen-and-sword.co.uk, 2017. xiii+250 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. UK £19.99, US \$39.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-47386-037-7.

Few would challenge the assertion that the Port of London has been crucial to the growth and prosperity of England's capital. The River Thames, and the multifaceted apparatus that developed along its shores as it winds between present-day Teddington Lock and the Thames Estuary to the wider world beyond, sustained and continues to promote the port as a centre of activity and trade within both the country and the global commercial, financial, political and cultural community. Though limited in its scholarly appeal, this exceptionally readable history chronicles just how this occurred, making it a must-have guide for those drawn to London's maritime and industrial heritage.

The author structures his story of the rise, fall and revival of the port around eight comfortably-sized, engagingly-written chapters, most of which contain a well-crafted map and are associated with several of the book's excellent black and white photographs. The study begins with a reminder that London was a port long before it became England's capital and one of the world's greatest cities. Established as the Roman Empire reached its zenith in the first century CE, the port of Londinium matured on what would be the westernmost extremity of the Empire for the following three hundred years. Its initial decline, as a major consequence of Rome's weakening influence over the Continent, eventually saw the Saxons assume control. The market trading town of Lundenwic, while a

fraction of the size and population of its earlier self, thrived until the ninth century as perhaps the largest Saxon settlement in England. Though abandoned in the face of Viking invasions, London's significance as 'an emporium of many nations' had been duly noted by the historian Bede.

It would be re-founded by Alfred the Great. Between the late ninth century and the fourteenth century, the medieval port of Lundenburg transitioned from a strategic fortified border town to the leading port and financial centre known as London. Private wharves lined the riverbanks to accommodate the increased volume and size of seagoing ships, while a steady introduction of regulations pertaining to trade, merchants and ships' captains began in the early twelfth century. England's wool and cloth exports and wine imports greatly fueled London's growth, as did the influx of foreign merchants and traders. Remarkably absent is any serious attention to the dozens of plague outbreaks between 1348 and 1665, which the author passingly mentions were directly responsible for later major riverfront construction developments.

Chapter Three nicely chronicles the events beginning during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I that eventually place London at "the centre of the world" by the late eighteenth century. The increase in Thames-based shipbuilding, opening of new trade routes, establishment of a financial exchange, formation of chartered trading companies, development of the Legal Quays, Wet Docks, Custom House and Trinity House, and expansion of the riverside hamlets are among the chief events identified in this, the lengthiest chapter, for the rise of England as a financial and commercial superpower with London at its heart. Chapters Four and Five relate how construction of new docks, ca-

nals and railway lines in the nineteenth century effectively accommodated the enormous growth in cargos, maritime industries and ship types, and made the port the world's largest dock complex. Dedicated sections to the formation of trade unions and the Great Dock Strike of 1889 are particularly well composed.

Chapter Six focuses on the creation of the Port of London Authority, which in 1909 began the process of nationalizing the docks, thereby achieving important administrative and financial efficiencies. The effects of the world wars, the latter being particularly devastating, are covered here. Stone devotes the last two chapters to the port's post-war history, describing the shift of industry and population away from the East End, and the effects of mechanization and containerization as well as Britain's declining merchant fleet on the port and its workers, all of which chiefly resulted in the closure of the upper port and the development of Docklands by the 1980s. The modern port of London, dominated by the Port of Tilbury and DP World London Gateway shipping complex, retains several competitive advantages though faces much uncertainty in the post-Brexit world.

A longtime city resident, writer of popular history and creator of a website dedicated to the history of London, Stone is clearly well-versed on his city's past. Of particular interest to this journal's subscribers is his attention to the types of vessels plying the River, the wonderful variety of cargoes they carried, the significant archaeological finds attesting to this, ships' navigation of the Thames, and the development of the port's supporting infrastructure including supply roads and wharves. Though his book is replete with fascinating material, including statistics and significant observations relating to the port's usage over time and features a

three-page selective bibliography, it is completely absent of citations. This severely weakens the book as a useful resource for students and scholars researching London's port history, which is a real shame due to its breadth of coverage and the appearance of informed discussion. Favouring conversational style prose, unencumbered by footnotes, Stone has consciously forgone on traditional academic convention. Nonetheless, the final product is a well-written, widely accessible book which will appeal to the general reader and those wishing for an overview of the rich and remarkable history of this fascinating port.

Michael F. Dove
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Corey Tazzara. *The Free Port of Livorno & the Transformation of the Mediterranean World 1574-1790*. Oxford; Oxford University Press, www.oup.com, 2017. xvi+346 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. US \$97.50, cloth; ISBN 978-0-19-879158-4. (E-book available.)

The origin of free trade in the Mediterranean Sea and its roots in the port of Livorno is the focus of Corey Tazzara's first book. It is a bold and innovative examination of the development of a free port, from its creation through its evolving management. His use of statistics, plus the archival evidence, makes for a very convincing argument for Livorno's unacknowledged importance. It places the trading centre, the political intent for its creation, and its operating rules, as the creator of the idea and movement towards other free trade ports, rather than the philosophers and economic writers of the era.

Tazzara begins by stating that

Braudel's sense of uniformity of economy in Europe was not correct, and the great historian's rating of Livorno as insignificant, was grossly flawed. The building of a port at Livorno was the idea of Cosimo d' Medici (r. 1537-74), but it really began to flourish under the rule of Ferdinando I (r. 1587-1609). In Cosimo's time, ports worked like a monopoly for the political state that controlled them. They were to export internal production (agriculture or wares) and import needed, or desired goods. Who could use the port was restricted to those of the nation, and possibly select allies. Multiple levels of tariffs, and anchorage fees were used to gain wealth for the state. The Medici's cast some of the old ideas aside, allowing any merchant, shipper or trade representative, to do business in the port, or even live there. Duties were reduced, or abandoned, to allow for the transshipment of goods through the port, to other areas of Italy, and around the Mediterranean, not just Tuscany. Becoming a neutral port, Livorno thrived as different nations fell into conflict with each other, but continued to do business there. Money was made by the port on storage and anchorage fees, and with tariffs when the final distribution of goods in storage was made. The goods were held, in a sense by the port, until their final buyer came to move them from the port. While other ports remained economically closed, Livorno enjoyed fantastic economic and demographic growth, beginning in the 1590s. Its expansion was financed by Florentine capital, into the early 1620s. The openness of the seas, the instability on the continent, all helped to build up Livorno.

The key to much of the port's long-term prosperity was the realization of its importance as a grain port, for both transshipping and storage. Foreign merchants were attracted to the port, setting

up businesses and enclaves. Goods destined for other places began to be stored at Livorno, until passage to the other port could be arranged. Over time, a set of relationships were established forming important trade links across the Mediterranean and Europe.

By the mid-seventeenth century, a free port came to mean that all who did business there did so on an even field, with few bureaucratic hoops to jump through, and maximum protection of goods in storage. The ways of handling activity in the port was shaped by both supplications and procedural justice. The legislation for the port, laid out in the Livornina, 1591/93, and various legislated reforms, were determined by rulers. Around these laws formed a body of “decrees and memoranda” (85), largely the result of supplications, from merchants and shippers. Together they determined how business was done within the port. Central authority was remote from daily activity in the port, allowing local authorities to develop how regulations were implemented, creating a place of “formal and informal practices.”

As the port grew so did the bureaucracy that managed it. With that growth came the corruption and bribery inherent in a complex system involving little oversight. Taxes were imposed to pay for the expansion and upkeep of the port. Tax farms on various items, including tobacco, were established. In the case of tobacco, that meant having more than a small amount necessitated the owner selling it (and then it was taxed) or locking it in Livorno until sold. Unpopular taxes created popular unrest among merchants and shippers who understood the advantages of the free port but wanted to reduce their costs. The drive for more profit encouraged them to negotiate with those running the port, for concessions and adjustments to the

regulations.

Over the course of the time period under study, there was a near constant tinkering with the tariff rates. In 1643, the rates were adjusted to take advantage of the global commerce, without running afoul of the Medici institutional structures, while at the same time increasing the state’s profit from the port. In 1676, reform simplified the tariff system, taxing goods only when they arrived in port, and no more, unless they passed inland. This allowed the state to gain control of the problematic local customs and duties (the corruption) that were irritating business people. It left taxes on storage and anchorage fees, but most agreed with their necessity to raise funds for repairs. This reform introduced the idea of paying per package for storage, rather than simply on the worth of the item. Thus, merchants began to package together larger amounts and different items, to reduce their tariff rate. In 1779, the stillage fee was reduced to weight rather than number of packages.

The end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries were difficult for the Medici family as war drained the coffers, and lack of an heir led to Austria assuming control over the port in 1737. Rather telling is the decision by the new rulers to keep all the rules of the free port of Livorno in place. The commercial and state financial benefits of the free port had been clearly noted by many rulers, including Austrian. But new leadership always needs to leave its own mark, and so change did come to the port. Austria altered the taxation of trade in the port, creating the General Tax Farm, and eliminated portions of the traditional bureaucracy. The changes reduced the number of taxes and fees paid by merchants. As Tazzara notes, this transitioned the port “into a modern

administration of *laissez-faire*" (204). Emperor Peter Leopold played a central role in the effort at modernization, bringing the Enlightenment to Livorno. Part of this development was the rise of the economic philosopher, or expert, who gave advice to the ruler, on issues of trade.

Livorno grew to be connected to areas throughout Italy, and into Northern Europe. In the mid-eighteenth century its Levant connections were shrinking (lost to the British and Dutch), while its role as the Mediterranean harbour for coastal and regional trade expanded. It never developed direct ties with North American or Asian markets, gaining access to these places only through trade with other continental ports. As the political and economic developments (including a spread of free ports) evolved throughout the eighteenth century, Livorno's uniqueness was rivalled and ultimately checked.

The author states that the rise of national tariff protectionism, and the steam ship, rendered the free port (not only Livorno, but all free ports) as no longer requisite for economic development. The state itself was the trade area, not just the port. Steam allowed ships to haul goods between allied nations, eliminating the need for transfer and storage spots.

This book's argument is wonderfully woven from archival manuscripts, contemporary printed texts, secondary sources, and statistics. Tazzara makes good use of statistical evidence on trade, economic, and demographic development throughout the book. A wide range of contemporary printed text on political economy, governance, and legal documents is deftly employed. This reviewer is particularly impressed by Tazzara's use of supplication manuscripts. He takes the data from the supplications and performs a detailed

statistical analysis. This analysis reveals that merchants dominated the use of supplications, that different subject matters were sent to different offices (governors received judicial requests, custom officers received requests for exemptions). In terms of acceptance rates, there were more for license issues and far fewer for requests around contract enforcement. The author reveals changes over time to the type of supplications sent to the governor's office. Apart from contributing to his case, the use of the supplications demonstrates the importance of these often-neglected sources, as historians have relied more on printed works, to determine the development of political economic thinking.

The book holds nine images and three maps, to enhance the reader's sense of who the key players were and where the activity took place. Twenty-two figures and ten tables hold the results of Tazzara's statistical analysis. The figures and tables are readable and discussed in the surrounding text. Almost all figures and tables have sub-notes explaining how they were constructed. Footnotes are extensive throughout the text. Twenty appendices hold more tables of data, to supplement the text. A thorough bibliography is provided; the only issue here is the lack of standard separation into type of source, which might be a bit more helpful to future researchers. The index is certainly workable.

The book changes our thinking on Livorno, and its place in the development of free trade. It demonstrates the essential need for the study of single locations (given some contextual placement) to advance our understanding of the role of ports in the economic, trade, political and social development of the larger state. It also examines the role of changing economic activity in shap-

ing the economic philosophy that was produced. Livorno provides a perfect example of practice driving theory. But Tazzara is clear; Livorno was a unique free port, whose example could not easily be transferred to other locations, due to its contextual peculiarities.

This book will appeal to those studying the history of free trade, the development of economic ideas between 1570 and 1790, in Italy, across the Mediterranean and throughout Europe. For people examining the interface of ship and sailor with port, the book offers insight from the shore side.

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Peter Wadhams. *A Farewell to Ice. A Report From the Arctic*. London, UK: Penguin, Allen Lane, www.penguin-group.com, 2018. xv+240pp., illustrations, maps, tables, bibliography, index. UK £9.99, CDN \$25.00, paper; ISBN 978-0-241-00943-7.

Peter Wadhams, a noted polar explorer and former director of the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge University has written an impassioned and uneven book about Arctic sea ice and its critical importance in global climate change. He begins with what he clearly hopes will be a bewitching discussion of the formation, dissolution and beauty of sea ice. Unfortunately, his exhaustive treatise left this reader, who has some acquaintance with the phenomenon, with a serious case of system overload.

While the progressive retreat of the Arctic summertime pack ice is already having important positive (opening of the north-east and west passages to commercial shipping) and negative effects (rising sea levels among them), the author arrives at his major point rather too far along, tending to bury it among

other arguments and data. This is unfortunate, for what he has to say about the freeing of heavy methane deposits from their currently frozen emplacement on the Arctic seabed and adjacent permafrost soils ashore is truly frightening. Should there be no substantial reduction in global greenhouse gas emissions over the next quarter century, the resultant warming of Arctic skies and waters will lead to a massive release of methane stocks resulting in an *extra* "0.6C" rise in global temperatures. The escalation "would speed up all the other global warming effects and there would be nothing that we could do to shut off the methane except for cooling the [Arctic] water column (i.e. bringing back the sea ice)," a clear impossibility in such a short time. "This would be a catastrophe for mankind, partly because it is so quick." (125-26).

Admitting that no feasible solution to the global warming crisis currently exists, Wadhams assumes an accusatory tone: the "parasitic" capitalist system which has ensnared the world, including China, has numbed popular feeling to the point of paralysis. "Voters of all ages, corporations and government bodies show a lack of concern with building a sustainable planet." (173). What targets, methods and processes exist reveal a frustrating lack of solutions, while "an insidious opposition to taking action on climate change is now being fomented by well-financed groups of malevolent people and organizations." (198-99)

Wadhams' own solution is distressingly predictable. The global public must stand up to "the sewage flow of lies and deceit emitted by climate change deniers" (203) while embracing all forms of alternative energies, from bicycles to solar panels, in order to ameliorate the effects of widespread atmospheric pollution until effective

forms of cleansing can be devised.

As a former polar sailor and polar/climate diplomat, I harbour great sympathy for the author's dilemma while deploring his language. The impending fate of New Orleans, Miami and other great cities on the coasts of the earth indicates how heavy industrialism, including its products like the automobile and airplane, have set mankind on an irreversible path. The drastic sacrifices entailed in returning the international community to an essentially agrarian lifestyle of bicycles and light industry is unachievable. Whatever hard, indeed, brutal choices future generations will have to make must be unburdened by the kind of inflammatory rhetoric that regrettably is the legacy of a book that would have been better as an article or op-ed piece focusing on the dire consequences of methane gas release.

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Jim Wellman. *The Call of the Ocean*. St. John's, NL: Flanker Press Ltd., www.flankerpress.com, 2016. viii+225 pp., illustrations, index. CDN \$1f9.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-77117-481-7.

The *Call of the Ocean* is voiced in 28 stories about a wide array of men and women who live on the shores and waters of Atlantic Canada and answer the call of the ocean with heart and soul. The main focus is the Canadian North Atlantic fishery. Its impact on society unfolds through the accounts of fishermen, of miracles on board, accidents at sea, a fisherman falling overboard on his final voyage, bird hunters in need of saving in a storm. Some stories read like obituaries; for example, the death of the youngest Canadian Coast Guard captain who passed away at the age of fifty. The industry also gets a bit of me-

dia attention through radio and television, for instance, the reality TV series *Cold Water Cowboys*, which featured six fishing boat crews from Newfoundland over several seasons on the Discovery Channel and created a wave of publicity for the fishing industry. Of course, food is one of the main highlights, since that is what fishing is all about. The stories refer to seafood, cod fishing and finally, a fitting tale about a fish and chip shop. Fishing labour organizations have also left their mark on the industry, although their future seems somewhat bleak, given the rising demographic. Can you imagine an industry powered by labourers with an average age of 55? The social perspective of this book addresses not only the call of the ocean that captivated the fishermen and women it presents, but it also serves as a showcase of what life is, and can be once one is involved in this salt-water-based industry. The *Call of the Ocean* is a sign of the times, sometimes personal, and on occasion, painted with a broader brush. It is tribute to the sea and the people of the coast of Eastern Canada.

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J. Michael Wenger, Robert J. Cressman, and John F. DiVirgilio. *This Is No Drill. The History of NAS Pearl Harbor and the Japanese Attacks of 7 December 1941*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, www.nip.org, 2018. xiii+261 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. US \$44.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-68247-181-4. (E-book available.)

This Is No Drill is an extraordinary book primarily focused on the Hawaiian Island of O'ahu (the author's spelling) and the myriad of incidents that led up to the Japanese bombings of Pearl

Harbor and the events themselves in great detail. The trio of authors have collected a vast number of photographs of people, places, official papers, plans and charts to make this work a pictorial and a narrative history. It begins with a brief history of Ford Island, the piece of land that would be developed into the famed naval air station. Originally a small, scrub-covered island in O'ahu's Pearl River, it was inhabited by a vast number of goats, hogs and especially, rabbits. The first section of the book describes how this unlikely location evolved into an iconic landmark, explaining in detail how its airfield was built and the various support structures were used and why they were needed. The authors introduce a vast array of American and Japanese service personnel; most of those pictured either played major roles in the bombing events or were greatly affected by its outcome.

The chronicle displays evidence that the American commander, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, was aware that a conflict with Japan was a strong likelihood. This was part of a dispatch (162203) he received on 16 October 1941 regarding the implications of the Konoe government's collapse. In a subsequent dispatch (272337) dated 27 November, Kimmel was informed of a "war warning." An "aggressive move by Japan is expected in the next few days." The admiral bolstered the readiness of those under his command to various degrees, but he assumed that the Japanese would attack Wake and/or Midway Islands, and likely the Philippines, where General Douglas MacArthur had an advance base. He assumed that the vast stretch of Pacific Ocean protected Pearl Harbor from a surreptitious attack and he dispatched a variety of aircraft to surveil the surrounding waters. A number of Second World War notables were under his command, such as then-

Vice Admiral William F. Halsey, Rear Admirals John S. McCain and Claude C. Bloch, and Brigadier General Frederick L. Martin, commander of what was then called the Hawaiian Air Force. The authors narrate the story of the attack exquisitely from the point of view of both the Japanese attackers and the American defenders, a story that is both compelling and thought-provoking. It is particularly unexpected to read what went awry during the planned Japanese bombing, strafing and torpedo attacks.

There are a host of mini-stories involving officers and men of junior ranks who operated American aircraft and ships as they participated in the events of that day. Many might be considered rather mundane, but taken in the aggregate, they were either exasperating or heroic from a historical perspective. Numerous charts show where the events took place, illustrated by graphic before and after photographs of the naval air station at Pearl Harbor. These images, accompanied by the many short human-interest accounts, leaving the reader with an enduring impression: 7 December 1941 "was a day that none of the individuals present on Ford Island would forget—memories etched into their souls as words graven into stone. In the succeeding months, years, and generations, the survivors needed no prompting to 'Remember Pearl Harbor.' The experiences of the day have become a part of their lives forever." (210)

This Is No Drill combines a detailed description of one of the great episodes of the Second World War with an extraordinarily varied collection of photographs surrounding the event. Its large size (8 ½ x 11) and plentiful photographs almost bring it into the realm of a coffee-table book. The recounting of numerous facts concerning the servicemen make the book seem like a carefully assembled collage. The multi-

ple vignettes, some in great depth, concerning the naval aviators, sailors and marines, as well as some enemy pilots and commanders, render this historic day more vivid and therefore, more unforgettable. December 7, 1941 has long been remembered, perhaps partly due to Franklin Delano Roosevelt who called it “a date which will live in infamy”—a day that disrupted so many lives in ever so many ways. The book affords a far-reaching array of notes and a useful bibliography for scholars who wish to delve further into specific aspects of this topic. I recommend *This Is No Drill* to all those who wish to enhance their knowledge of the seminal event that brought the United States into the Second World War.

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Greg H. Williams. *The Last Days of the United States Asiatic Fleet: The Fates of the Ships and Those Aboard, December 8, 1941-February 5, 1942*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishing, www.mcfarlandpub.com, 2018. viii+421 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. US \$49.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-4766-7248-9. (E-book available.)

This work is “an attempt to shed some light on the sailors who bore the brunt of Japanese aggression... suffered... and who were murdered or died of disease and starvation in the prison camps” (1). Using official and unofficial records alongside the contemporary reports of war correspondents, Williams not only seeks to provide an account of the Asiatic Fleet’s demise and the fall of key areas early in the Pacific War, but to also bring a humanizing factor to the known combat chronologies by adding names and personal details of crewmen, along with their fates. The work

is arranged in 15 largely chronological chapters, tracing events from the arrival of the first American ship in the region in 1784 onwards. The penultimate chapter details the operations of groups attached to the Asiatic Fleet, such as Patrol Wings and PT Boats. The final chapter, entitled “Irish Pennants” (a piece of ethnic nautical slang roughly simplified to ‘Loose Ends’) covers certain post-fleet dissolution operations through to the modern fates of some key ship and aircraft wrecks.

The initial seven chapters of the work focus on the period prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. The first of these is largely a primer of pre-First World War American involvement in the key regions of the future Asiatic Fleet. The next six chapters chart the buildup to war, covering Japanese expansionism, American reactions, and the U.S. Navy’s disposition just prior to the December 1941 attacks. The seventh chapter, “Who Knew What?”, is particularly interesting in its examination of how various Asiatic Fleet members and civilian figures in the region became aware of an impending attack. The in-depth anecdote of reporter Clark Lee being informed of the coming offensive by his Japanese friends Colonel Akiyama and his attaché Sergeant Hajime “Jimmy” Matsui provides a fascinating insight into the ground-level restlessness and paranoia on the streets of Shanghai amidst the looming threat of war (71-72).

Pearl Harbor is almost a footnote at the beginning of chapter eight, as Williams dives immediately into the Japanese strikes and American responses. From this point forward, the book recounts, essentially step-by-step, the Asiatic Fleet’s retreat and rearguard action, focusing heavily on each vessel and Patrol Wing as they met their final fate within the timeline. Major events,

command changes, and the actions of war correspondents are also covered, presenting a larger picture of the theatre as a whole. Williams discusses not only Japanese actions, but the involvement of Dutch, British, and Commonwealth forces as well. While the Asiatic Fleet was officially disbanded and reorganized into the Southwest Pacific Force on 5 February 1942, Williams continues to follow the men and machines past their unit's dissolution. Chapter Eleven, "The Fleet's Last Year," tracks former Asiatic Fleet members on the retreat south towards Australia, with large swaths of text devoted to documenting lost crews, most notably that of the *Huston* (217-263). The twelfth chapter covers the last gasps of those trapped in the Philippines as of March 1942, culminating in a recounting of the loss of the USS *Quail*, her scuttling after the fall of Corregidor, and the subsequent escape of some of her crew to Port Darwin, Australia. A separate chapter addresses the actions of PT Boats, submarines, and Patrol Wing 10, followed by an eight-page listing of the final dispositions of the 84 vessels which had been on the comprising the Asiatic Fleet (389-396). The final chapter is more of an errata section, covering prisoner liberations, late- or post-war actions, naval ratings, and modern wreck discoveries/lootings. While interesting, some of these final points seem more appropriate for appendices than in a concluding chapter.

In terms of possible improvements, there are a few that come to mind. Some of the language reads as more colloquial than scholarly, which breaks the flow of reading. One would not expect phrases like "why the heck" outside of a quote in such a work, and redressing these might improve future editions (13). The inclusion of maps for the South China Sea region, and the Philippines

in particular, would also be beneficial, as they could be used as quick reference guides when dealing with the numerous places Williams mentions throughout the work, thus increasing reader comprehension of distances and locations likely unfamiliar to many. Researchers would appreciate the inclusion of footnotes or endnotes, especially since there is so much personal data on ships' crews. Finally, the work seems to lack a proper scholarly conclusion, with the final few paragraphs briefly touching on the looting of Dutch wrecks by scavengers and the recovery of Ensign Robert G. Tills' remains. A few pages discussing the author's final thoughts or a smoother linking of the various subjects discussed in the final chapter would be appreciated.

The Last Days of the Asiatic Fleet is an excellent addition to scholarship of the early Pacific War. Williams' chronicling of the names, personal information, and final dispositions of the men so often forgotten amidst the focus on ships and planes is an admirable undertaking, and offers a wealth of information for historians, statisticians, and genealogists. Given the tendency of most academic works to reduce past wars to bare statistics and large, faceless military units, it is refreshing to see history preserved at the most basic level possible, that of the individuals whose lives and deaths helped shape the events of the 1930s through 1942.

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Rif Winfield and Stephen S. Roberts. *French Warships in the Age of Sail 1626-1786. Design, Construction, Careers and Fates*. Barnsley, S. Yorks: Seaforth Publishing, www.seaforthpublishing.com, 2017. viii+438 pp., illustrations, tables, appendices, index to

named vessels. UK £60.00, cloth; ISBN 978-1-4738-9351-1.

With *French Warships in the Age of Sail 1626-1786* the authors have produced a well-researched, developed, and comprehensive book, that provides readers with specific information on each of the French vessels in service between 1626-1786. Each design was a work of craftsmanship unique to its purpose.

Every vessel is described in complete detail, from the top rated, most prestigious vessels in the French Navy to the lowly cargo, supply and patrol vessels. Beautiful illustrations present the reader with an in-depth overview of France's activities on its own coastline as well as internationally during this period.

The writing is clear from the first page to the last. Different sections are held together by the common theme, while each section identifies the individual type of vessel under discussion. All sections are well labeled and, for most, there is a brief overview for further clarification.

Winfield and Roberts are clearly devoted to their task of sharing a comprehensive knowledge of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French warships. For those wishing to know even more, there is an extensive bibliography and sources section. Throughout the work, the authors demonstrate their points by means of specific examples and indicate how the vessels and the system of rating them developed over time. This book is user-friendly, accessible to both early career academics and general readers, especially due to the additional resources it provides.

The book is organized by ship type based on the rating system used by the French Navy. Each section begins with an overview of the vessel along with its design, purpose and distinguishing

characteristics. There follows additional information on each ship that was in service during the period; the dimensions of the vessel, in addition to technology employed, advancements when applicable, and any weapons onboard. Excellent images clearly illustrate the differences between ships.

Ships of other nations, namely the English and Spanish, are used to contrast and compare each nation's choices in style and design. The authors successfully use this technique again to exhibit the difference in ranking of vessels. Even though the book covers a large number of individual vessels, the information about them is linked to previous sections, so the reader is not confused by the extensive detail provided.

The book is well labeled and organized. Maritime vernacular is effectively explained. If the reader is in need of further clarification, the book also includes a glossary and abbreviation section where items are further expanded upon. This work is comprehensive and the extensive bibliography section provides academics a foundation of research.

French-built ships differed from their international competitors in multiple aspects, including design, weapons carried on board and building techniques. French naval vessels tended to be generally larger, but lighter in construction, than their international counterparts; consequently, they were also generally faster. Another trend that developed in this period was the use of same-calibre weapons on each deck of the vessel. Prior to this, guns of different calibres had been used on the same deck. Standardizing the usage of similar-sized ammunition resulted in less chaos during the pivotal points in battle.

As with many different aspects of his reign, Louis XIV of France promoted the advancement of ship design to

the point that warships became grandiose works of art. The king primarily focused on painting and adding structures to the sterns of his naval vessels using the same artists to design the non-structural elements of vessels as he employed on his grand estates, such as at Versailles. His royal successors also tried to upscale the adornments. Fortunately, naval officials were able to prevail against this since the structures served no tactical advantage and were actually a potential fire hazard during times of action.

Although this book covers 160 years of ship design, the authors also include trends from previous eras and how those developments evolved during 1626-1786. They do a tremendous job reminding readers that these vessels were not simply machines; they were the home of the ship's crew. Their passion for French vessels is unmistakable and contagious as the work develops. While illustrations are used effectively throughout the book, a few maps would have been helpful in the historic overview section to specifically pinpoint where the French vessels were involved around the world.

French Warships is a valuable tool for all those interested in French naval vessels between 1626-1786, regardless of their previous knowledge of maritime history, while the extensive sources will please readers who wish for more detail. Winfield's and Roberts' work is a superb addition to maritime resources.

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