BOOK REVIEWS


Eric Axelson, former head of the Department of History at the University of Cape Town, is to be commended for producing a richly illustrated and comprehensive new translation of this diary. Translations or the Portuguese original have been published previously in 1898, 1947 and 1954. The last of these, African Explorers (Oxford, 1954), was also edited by Axelson, but it did not address the voyage from the coast of Mozambique to India and back. That shortfall has been avoided in this valuable new edition, which also contains other useful features.

The anonymous diary commences with da Gamma's ship leaving Portugal and ceases somewhere off Gabon - Axelson addresses why this is so in his long and highly informative introduction, which is the true value added in this new edition of the diary. Axelson uses the introduction to contextualize the diary and explore the problems associated with trying to determine the exact nature of da Gamma's ship, voyage, and the like. The translation itself is new, and the diary recounts in brief detail this epic voyage from Portugal, around the Cape Horn, and on to India. It also includes much of the return voyage.

That discussion is further enriched by a number of high quality colour and monochrome illustrations and three appendices. The first appendix addresses the question of locating in the present the landing point at Natal as described in the diary. Appendix 2 gives a brief synopsis of da Gamma's life following his 1497-1499 voyage. Appendix 3 addresses the Portuguese epic poem 05 Lusiados de Lvis de Camâs (1572), and a number of lesser known South African poems influenced by the da Gamma epic tale. This last appendix is clearly the most novel - its utility was not immediately apparent to this reader - but no doubt it will appeal to others, and it is not without its own utility. That observation aside, I found this to be a very valuable little book. Experts will discover it to be an enjoyable, accessible, and engaging account. It is certainly a good buy for most research or university libraries.

M.A. Hennessy
Kingston, Ontario


This work marks a further contribution by Dr. Shaw to Anglo-Portuguese history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, significantly developing her earlier studies, among them her notable investigation into the serious effects of the inquisition on Portuguese mercantile wealth and resources. Dr. Shaw now provides a general discussion of political and mercantile relations between the treaties of 1654 and 1810. It is based on an impressive range of British and Portuguese primary sources, archival as well as printed, and a considerable secondary bibliography.

The work has four parts. The first two review the commerce between the two countries over the period, as well as the organisation of the British consuls and the merchant factories in Portugal. The third part, comprising nearly two-thirds of the book, examines in detail a series of special issues to do with customs duties and disputes; the Brazilian corn import and Oporto wine export trades; seamen and shipping; and the religious problems arising from a group of overwhelmingly Protestant merchants residing in a strongly Catholic land. Pombal's attempts to redress Portuguese economic dependence on England deservedly receive much attention. But the very important gold bullion import trade into England, and the little recorded and officially noticed but still quite significant import of Newfoundland dried cod or bacalhau into Portugal, perhaps do not get the attention they deserve. The discussion throughout is coloured by the sources used, being focussed on official and institutional matters and problems. A fourth part, a thoughtful conclusion, nicely rounds
off the volume, reiterating among other matters the crucial role of British naval power in Anglo-Portuguese relations.

With this useful addition to the literature, Anglo-Portuguese trade is becoming one of our most studied seventeenth and eighteenth century branches of English foreign trade. This, however, can be justified by its importance in English commercial expansion, particularly in the first sixty years of the eighteenth century, through the access it gave English merchants to the riches of Brazil and particularly the gold of Mina Gérais.

Stephen Fisher
Exeter, Devon


This interesting collection of papers on maritime history was originally assembled for the planned international economic history congress at Seville in 1998. The aborting of that conference was a serious challenge which the session organizer has met by this publication. It is all too easy to view the maritime life of the early modern Atlantic world as being composed of a series of bilateral exchanges, in which the colonies of any particular maritime power were constrained by laws or market forces to direct most of their external trade towards the "mother country." By contrast, much recent work, particularly that of Ian Steele, who provides an introductory essay, has tended to emphasize the multilateral character of much North Atlantic commerce. Such a focus turns the attention of the researcher and reader away from the systematic and planned schemes of royal officialdom towards the more chaotic, less systematic activities of individual traders and local markets.

To say that modern scholarship seeks to escape from earlier legal and policy-defined categories does not mean that all policy-oriented legal arrangements are ignored. J.F. Bosher's extremely interesting article on the Gaigneur family of La Rochelle makes clear how royal policy after the surrender of the Huguenot town in 1628 succeeded (at least in the seventeenth century) in replacing the existing Protestant trading class (dominant both in the town's external trade and municipal government) with a newer cluster of families, all Catholic, who took over both the municipality and its external trade, particularly that to Canada. Yet, this new trading elite had to operate in a socio-economic world of serious challenges and ill-defined boundaries in the seventeenth century. Bosher shows that the Gaigneurs introduced many related Catholic families into the North Atlantic trade but at the same time were prepared to borrow needed funds from French Huguenots and Dutch Protestant houses and to join with such allies in joint ventures.

This contrast between the deceptive clarity of royal policy and the less obvious pressures of the market appears as well in the papers of other contributors. On the one hand is the highly regulated world described by A. Zabala Uriarte's paper on "The Consolidation of Bilbao as a Trade Centre in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century." Yet one suspects that over time much of the success of Bilbao depended on local, rather than central, initiatives. This same half-century saw the elaboration of the English legislation governing trade with that country's American colonies. Yet Nuala Zahadieh's paper shows that the individual merchant needed more than legislative protection to survive and had to construct his own edifice of personal credit and reputation, the edifice that made it possible for him to make purchases on credit and to attract consignment business. Daniel Rabuzzi's paper shows how, after the Revolution, American merchants, freed from the restrictions of the navigation acts, could try to trade directly to northern Europe, an area formerly supplied with American products via the British entrepot. They were often successful but still had to utilize British correspondents for information and financial services. Less dependent on British help were the activities of American merchants in Bordeaux during the war years (1793-1815), the subject of Silvia Marzagalli's interesting paper. Less successful were the efforts of a small group of British merchants to develop a trade with Iceland, a hitherto neglected topic that is explored in the pioneering paper of Anna Agnarsdóttir. The coolness of the Danish government forced the traders to seek more of the support of the British government than they perhaps had first envisaged. Long before the American
Revolution, though each colonial power had its own version of a regulatory system designed to conserve as much of the trade of its colonies in the hands of its own subjects as possible, there were objective needs in those colonies that could most efficiently be satisfied from the British North American colonies. The intrusion of the North American ships into the French and Spanish colonies is relatively well known. Johannes Postma expands our knowledge of this phenomenon in this paper on "Breaching the Mercantile Barriers of the Dutch Colonial Empire: North American Trade with Surinam during the Eighteenth Century." In this area, the New Englanders had achieved success in selling a considerable variety of goods starting with horses.

Not all mercantile ventures were automatically successful. Olaf Janzen's paper analyses the difficulty the Scots had in breaking into the Newfoundland fish trade long dominated by the southeastern English ports. R.C. Nash shows that success might not always have been long lasting. Huguenot merchants were successful in developing a significant trade in South Carolina's earliest days, but the next generation of such families often invested in land and planting and left Charleston's trade to other houses, usually of British origin.

Individual papers in this collection will interest different readers, but all can be commended for their serious research and effective presentation.

Jacob M. Price
Ann Arbor, Michigan


This is another book by Philip Curtin, Herbert Baxter Adams Professor of History, Emeritus, at Johns Hopkins University, dealing with the cultural interactions between Europeans and non-Europeans during the age of imperialism. Unlike his earlier works - Cross Cultural Trade in World History (1984), The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex (1990), Death by Migration (1990) and Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa (1998) - The World and the West is not strictly an academic book. It has neither notes nor bibliography; instead it has further readings at the end of each chapter.

This is by no means to denigrate a fascinating book. Curtin's monograph is aimed at what used to be called the intelligent reader, academic or otherwise. It is divided into four parts. The first, "Conquest," sets the scene. Curtin puts forward the reasons for exploration and colonization and the various, and varied, forms that the latter took. He also deals with why the Europeans were able to impose their will. While superior weapons technology was crucial to success, Curtin also emphasizes the administrative and medical advantages that underpinned Western advances.

The second part discusses "Culture Change and Imperial Rule." Here Curtin looks at a number of particular case studies: South Africa, Central Asia, and Mexico. He puts particular emphasis on how the differing circumstances of conquest have affected the resultant societies. While the percentage of Europeans in the mixed populations tends to influence just what sort of society emerges, there is no simple equation provided: x percentage of Europeans does not necessarily always create a specific sort of country. Instead, a wide range of factors - including what happened to the indigenous population when initial contact was made, what was the initial fertility rate of the European settlers and so on - were important. Finally, the administrative choices made by the European colonizers - what sort of land tenure was imposed being crucial - strongly influenced what impact the Europeans had on the existing culture.

Sometimes, of course, the Europeans arrived with a cultural mission in mind. An examination of this, "Conversion," is Curtin's subject in part three. He considers a number of case studies, beginning with Christian conversion in East Africa and going on to look at the cases of Japan and the Ottoman Empire. The latter two are particularly important, for they allow Curtin to consider how societies attempted to resist conversion. The most important ways appear to be imitation, reform and restructuring. When a society was strong enough or fortunate enough to escape immediate defeat by the Western powers, Curtin argues that they immediately realized the necessity to change in order to keep their inde-
The Northern Mariner

The final part of the book deals with the collapse of the European empires. The reasons for the collapse were as varied as the reasons for the initial conquest. It was not, however, the general case that the Europeans were expelled by force of arms, or rather, it was not the case that the local populations suddenly were more militarily capable than the Europeans. Instead, it was a change of attitudes among the Europeans towards empire, combined with the fact that the military technological gap had narrowed sufficiently that to maintain empire in the face of determined local opposition would be prohibitively expensive in terms both of men and money that turned the tide.

Of particular interest to readers of this journal is the ubiquity of sea power, defined broadly, to Curtin's account. Without the ability to command the seas, European imperialism would have been confined to the Russian expansion into Siberia and Central Asia. The Western European empires were essentially maritime empires, underpinned by superior naval technology - in terms of ships, firepower and navigation. For those interested in the broad cultural impact of maritime superiority on the history of the past half millennium, Curtin's book is an interesting and important starting point.

Keith Neilson
Kingston, Ontario


The early modern maritime trade of Southeast Asia was influenced greatly by the intrusion of Europeans, be it by state-run enterprises or by private trading companies. But many questions related to the actual process of this intrusion and to the way indigenous maritime trade adapted to the new situation still have to be answered. This unique case study reveals in minute detail the role of Java in inter-insular and intra-Asian maritime trade about 1775. The records of the surviving harbormasters' registrations of private traffic in fifteen major ports in Java, registering more than 20,000 ship movements in the mid-1770s, are analysed and combined with other data derived from the rich Dutch East India Company (VOC) sources. The result is a rather precise reconstruction and analysis of the structure and dynamics of shipping and trade along the coast of Java and its role in larger commercial networks.

The detail in this study is overwhelming, though fascinating. Voyage durations, turnaround times in ports, ownership and crew, costs of shipbuilding, cargo and volumes, destinations and seasonality, and fiscal regulations and passes are all discussed at length in the second part of this study (part one sets the stage, with a chapter on the economic policy of the VOC and a chapter describing the ports of Java). It is easy to understand the relevance of the first two words of the title of this book when reading chapter 4, which dwells extensively on the many types of vessels in use. Knaap gives a sketch of the tiny, indigenous vessels, fifty-one percent of which were of the mayang type, plying as a 'mosquito fleet' between the lesser ports. These craft were responsible for ninety percent of the private transport of goods, while the gonting took fifteen percent and the pencalang thirteen percent. European types transported forty-five percent of the volume: the chialoup twenty-nine percent and the brigantijn (or barque) sixteen percent.

In part three the author places the results of his research into the broader perspective of long-term developments (sixteenth-nineteenth centuries). In her study Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630, M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz argued that non-European shipping in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago was already being reduced to the coastal trade in the seventeenth century. Knaap confirms the picture of Javanese skippers specializing mainly in local shipping for which they used vessels that were best suited to shallow waters. Nonetheless, in Knaap's view Javanese skippers had been specializing in local and inter-insular connections from a much earlier date. They were hardly ever seen on intra-Asian routes and were entirely absent in long-distance trade. The very fact that the Javanese did not take part in global or intra-Asian activities eventually disadvantaged them in the competition with the Europeans and Chinese. Knaap concludes that the latter originated from societies which already had
much more commercial economies and more developed technologies.

The data in this study show that at the intermediate levels of shipping and trade, European vessels were gradually displacing Asian crafts in the intra-Asian trade and insular trades. The success of the VOC and the English country traders using ships of 100-300 lasts was striking. But the supremacy of European technology was not limited to the intra-Asian routes. Part of it was copied by Javanese shipbuilders, who sold European types of vessels, like the chialoup and brigantijn, measuring between 10-100 lasts, to private Chinese and European customers. Even the VOC built these vessels at Rembang. Knaap's explanation is that these vessels, with their European rigging, were less dependent on monsoon winds than were indigenous vessels. Moreover, the hull shape provided better sailing performance on both short-haul and long-distance voyages. They also enabled better man-ton ratios.

"The traffic in the shallow waters along the coast of Java appears to have experienced a rising tide of Dutch presence," according to the dust jacket. The Dutch presence and their technical expertise must have amazed the indigenous skippers and their crews. One wonders at their reaction, for example, when seeing the pair of ship's camels, built at the VOC's expense to help ferry large vessels across the sandbanks in front of the yard at Rembang. Together with the two wind-driven sawmills on the Island of Onrust (the centre of VOC ship repair activities) in the Bay of Batavia, they reflected technical innovations brought by foreign intruders.

Nonetheless, as a group the locals survived in a restricted fashion in the short-haul trades, although some profited more than others. This study provides an extremely interesting perspective into the booming economic power of the Chinese after the VOC took over control of the north coast of Java in the 1770s. They were responsible for handling two-fifths of the volume of private shipping outside Batavia, whereas the Javanese handled one-quarter and the Malays one-ninth of the entire volume. The Chinese took the lead, a fact which coincided with their dominant role in the economy of Java, a role which was indispensable for the functioning and survival of the VOC in its Asian headquarters.

Lodewijk Wagenaar
Amsterdam, The Netherlands


This pretty little book resulted out of a conference organised by the late director of the Ferring-Stiftung, Dr. Frederik Paulsen. The foundation endeavours to unearth the history of the island of Föhr. There are contributions from historians who concentrated their research on the history of Nordfriesland or one of the islands (Albert Panten, Georg Quedens, Brar C. Roeloffs and others, for whom Föhr was only one of the elements in an international labour market for seamen (especially Jaap R. Bruijn and Paul C. van Royen). Besides the variation in focus there is also a great variety of methodology. On the one hand, Georg Quedens has painstakingly collected material on every seaman from the North Frisian Islands who during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bought citizenship of Trondheim in order to be able to be the master on a ship of that city. At the other end of the scale we find a discussion on sources by Harald Voigt and a very well-reasoned piece on the limitation of archival sources by Paul C. van Royen. As is often the case with collections that come out of conferences, there is also the odd article which, though it may be interesting (this one deals with the specific voyage of a slave ship to East India), does not seem to have any relation to the general topic. Taken together, however, the different contributions provide us with new insights, not only about the specific history of seafarers and fishermen from the North Frisian Islands but also on the development of the international labour market for seafarers and fishermen in early modern period in a specific region. It is this aspect which makes this little book not only valuable for amateurs interested in Frisian history but also for historians and sociologists interested in the international composition of crews.

There seem to have been some branches of maritime employment in which foreigners were not welcome. According to Piet Boon, one of these was the Dutch herring fleet. Boon assumes that this may have been caused by a desire to keep fishing and conservation techniques secret. On the whole, however, merchants, whalers or seafarers from the island of Föhr were not only present in foreign towns and on foreign ships but also at
certain times even dominated specific branches. Further research may produce different results, but the evidence presented in this collection suggests processes of internationalisation more or less devoid of local prejudice against foreigners. Instead, they demonstrate the working of an international business community and a labour force which, though its members competed, accepted each other as equals. Brar C. Roeloffs, for example, points to the fact that language did not seem to be a problem. When in the eighteenth century most of the trade from Copenhagen to Greenland was carried by vessels under the command of a captain from Fôhr, Copenhagen merchants accepted that the journals on these ships would be kept in German.

This is not the only topic of interest for the general reader. There are also some bits on violence aboard ships. Harald Voigt believes that the institution of the Waterschout was meant to counteract these practices. And he also disputes the dominant assumption that in pre-modern times costs for medical treatment, rudimentary as they may have been, fell "on the ship." According to Voigt, seamen were charged for the medications they were administered, a practice that could leave them in debt to the ship at the end of a voyage. Some authors concentrate on the causes for the fluctuating demand for foreign whalers and seamen and hence on the varying opportunity for Frisians to find employment: (Bar C. Roeloffs, Jaap R. Bruijn, Paul C. van Royen). And Louwrens Hacquebord has written a very fine article on Dutch and German whaling in the seventeenth century, criticising en passant interpretations which focus on political decisions.

All in all, this is a very nice collection of scholarly work that is of interest and value to those interested in the topics presented.

Heide Gerstenberger
Bremen, Germany


One of the difficulties of studying eighteenth-century naval warfare is understanding the mixture of public service and private interest that characterised sea power in the 1700s. Profit obviously motivated privateers, but desire for monetary gain was also a powerful motivating force for naval personnel, a fact frequently ignored by naval historians searching for the development of "professionalism" in eighteenth-century navies. James A. Lewis' interesting study of *South Carolina*, a frigate in South Carolina's state navy during the American Revolution, reveals the importance of the profit motive during this era.

*Neptune's Militia* discusses many themes associated with the diplomatic intrigue surrounding the American Revolution: France's support for the United States, Dutch bankers' willingness to loan money to the Americans, Britain's intelligence network trying to blunt European support for the republic, and Benjamin Franklin's efforts to secure support for the Revolution. The overriding theme of Lewis' book, however, is the relentless attempt by *South Carolina*, owner and commander to profit from the Revolution's maritime conflict.

*South Carolina*'s story was complex. To assist the Americans, the French government built the large, powerful frigate, originally named *L'Indien*. Because France and the United States had not yet become allies, the vessel was built secretly in Amsterdam to prevent Anglo-French friction. Problems plagued the frigate from the beginning. The ship drew too much water to leave the harbour. France entered the war before construction was completed, so the Royal Navy would have intercepted *L'Indien* had it attempted to leave Holland under French colours. To alleviate this problem, Louis XVI loaned the ship to Anne Paul Emmanuel Sigismond de Montmorency, the chevalier de Luxembourg, one of France's most powerful aristocrats, who already possessed his own private army. Luxembourg alleged that *L'Indien* was an East Indiaman, not a warship, bound for the east. Shortly after acquiring the frigate, Luxembourg signed a contract with Commodore Alexander Gillon, a native of Rotterdam who had emigrated to Charleston, where he became a prosperous merchant. Gillon obtained command of the renamed *South Carolina* for three years in exchange for 300,000 livres. The commodore was required to employ the frigate as a commerce raider and to dispatch all prizes to France to be sold by Luxembourg's banker. Gillon's attempts to honour this contract dictated *South Carolina*'s actions in the Revolution and also provide the focus of Lewis' book.
Gillon faced numerous difficulties profiting from his command. Although *South Carolina* possessed substantial firepower, it was a dull sailor. His large, predominately French crew mutinied several times over back pay owed by Luxembourg. Gillon alienated important American politicians because he chased prizes instead of delivering war materiel to Philadelphia, as he had promised them he would do. Even *South Carolina*’s most successful exploit, its participation in the capture of the Bahamas, failed to earn a dollar because of the actions, or rather inactions, of the Cuban Captain-General Juan Manuel de Cagigal, commander of the Spanish troops in the combined operation, who reneged on his agreement to reward the commodore. Gillon finally failed completely when the Royal Navy captured *South Carolina* in December 1782.

*South Carolina*’s saga did not end with its capture, as Gillon and the state of *South Carolina* faced numerous lawsuits filed by unpaid sailors, Luxembourg and his heirs, and European businessmen. The court actions dragged on for decades, complicated by Luxembourg’s death, the French Revolution, and Gillon’s dogged determination to escape personal bankruptcy. The legal disputes were not settled until 1856.

*Neptune’s Militia* relates a little known but fascinating story of eighteenth-century naval warfare. Based upon extensive archival research in Britain, France, Spain, and the United States, Lewis has made a useful contribution to the maritime history of the American Revolution.

Carl E. Swanson
Greenville, North Carolina


Frederick C. Leiner’s study of the construction by private subscription of nine warships by citizens—largely members of the mercantile community—in ten ports during the war scares of the late 1790s.

The story of these subscription warships is a fascinating vignette of America in the Federalist period, a time when precedents were few and the relationship between public and private interests remained blurred. As seizures of American merchantmen and the tawdry demands of the *XYZ* Affair inflated public opinion and generated demands for protection and reprisal, the US found itself almost totally without a navy. Indeed, the "official navy" in 1798 comprised only three frigates: the forty-four-gun *United States* and *Constitution* and the thirty-six-gun *Constellation*, all of which were launched the previous year. Clearly, these ships were unable to protect either US merchant vessels or American honour, but Congress remained hopelessly deadlocked on the issue of building more vessels. It is within this context that a group of merchants in Newburyport first decided to open a subscription list to build a warship for the government. Although there were no guarantees of repayment at the outset, the influential mercantile community soon persuaded Congress to issue bonds paying six-percent interest to pay for *Merrimack*. Soon, mainly commercial interests in Boston, Salem, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston—as well as Norfolk and Richmond, which combined to procure a single vessel—had begun similar subscription drives. In the end, none of the warships was paid for totally by private funds; even in Newburyport, subscriptions accounted for only about fifty-seven percent of the more than $72,000 that *Merrimack* cost. Still, the involvement of the private sector in this whole business speaks volumes about both American defence policy and the meshing of public and private interests.

Leiner takes us on a tour of all the port cities involved in this experiment and, in general, does a thorough job of describing what went on in each. But the author’s excellent narrative is not always matched by his analytical abilities. There are two arguments that I find particularly unconvincing. One is his oft-repeated contention that these lists should not be viewed merely as expressions of the various mercantile communities. While it is impossible to calculate what proportion of funds in every town that came from mer-
chants, complete lists do exist for Boston, Salem, Philadelphia and the Virginia cities; while there are some subscribers with no apparent links to mercantile interests, it is clear that the vast majority had ties to the maritime/mercantile community. Indeed, he provides occupations for almost all the subscribers in Salem, which makes it easy to see that, charitably, more than four-fifths of the subscribers were merchants. My other concern is his unwillingness to provide a sensible discussion of the motivation behind these projects. In a century in which public and private interests were frequently intertwined, there is little question that both were motives. But these men were "merchant capitalists" who had long profited from these kinds of endeavours. Subscription warships in large measure were privateers - but privateers that guaranteed at least a six-percent return.

In the end, *Millions for Defence* is a useful book which sheds light on the navy and defence politics in the Federalist era. Leiner's narrative strength means that almost anyone will enjoy the descriptions of what happened to the vessels. The book will also be useful for those interested in what the episode means. But readers should be forewarned that Leiner's questions are more important than his answers.

Lewis R. Fischer
St. John's, Newfoundland


Some readers may wonder why the editors at Ye Galleon Press decided to republish George Davidson's 1901 study of the expedition of Vitus Bering and Aleksei Ivanovich Chirikov to the Northwest Coast (1741-1742). In some respects this short essay is dated and there are errors owing to the limitations of published sources available at the beginning of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the book serves to showcase Davidson's quite remarkable knowledge about the Alaska Coast based upon his own observations; the breadth of his scientific interests as an astronomer and coastal surveyor; and his efforts to clarify the historical record concerning the early Russian explorations. Lacking accurate longitudes, and with unreliable latitudes from the Russian sources, Davidson set out to reconstruct the tracks of *Sv. Petr* and *Sv. Pavel*.

Throughout, the author expressed great admiration for the Russian commanders, officers, and crewmen who for eight years overcame daunting adversities. Bering, Chirikov, and their men first crossed Russia and Siberia with their scientific instruments and much of the basic equipment needed to outfit a voyage of exploration to America. The ships had to be built, equipped, and provisioned in the primitive settlements of Siberia and Kamchatka. After sailing in April 1741, on 21 June the vessels lost company and from then on conducted separate voyages that sometimes paralleled each other or crossed tracks within a few days.

Davidson set out to establish the courses of the Russian vessels and their exact landfalls. This was of particular interest concerning Chirikov, whose crew suffered a dreadful marine disaster that even today remains a great mystery. After sighting the North American coast on 15 July, at 55 degrees 21 minutes by his estimation, the Russian captain guided *Sv. Pavel* northward in search of a suitable port to replenish fresh water supplies. On 17 July, Chirikov dispatched his longboat, commanded by the ship's mate and ten well-armed men, to reconnoitre the shore. After a few days and some apparent smoke signals that did not match agreed-upon patterns, Chirikov sent his only remaining small boat with a rescue and repair crew to recover the longboat and its men. This boat also disappeared without a trace and the only contact from shore occurred when two native canoes approached *Sv. Pavel* and quickly returned to shore. Concluding that the lost men must be dead or prisoners of the natives, Chirikov had no alternative than to abandon the rescue attempt and begin the return to Kamchatka.

Davidson placed the disaster site in Sitka Sound, in the lee of Cape Edgecumbe. The natives of the region were well known later for their warlike tendencies and aggressive attitudes. Davidson suspected that they possessed a tradition of plundering Japanese wrecks. In 1775, the Spanish lost a boat with six seamen near Grenville Harbour on today's Washington coast under somewhat similar circumstances. It is also possible that the boats might have foundered in treacherous rip tides. In 1786, the French *La Pérouse* expedition lost two boats at Lituya Bay with twenty-one men drowned.
Davidson employed his knowledge of Alaskan waters to locate the Russian vessels using contemporary descriptions and the arcs of visibility relating to high peaks, such as Mount St. Elias and Mount Fairweather. His approach established accurate latitudes and geographic references for the excellent chart that is published with the volume. During the return voyage along the Alaska coast, Davidson charted the Russian ships as scurvy and poor food took a heavy toll. Although more recent studies by scholars including James Gibson, Glynn Barratt, Basil Dmytryshyn, and several Russians offer more detail on the Bering and Chirikov expedition, Davidson's work remains useful for establishing where the Russians went and as an example of early research on Northwest Coast exploration.

Christon I. Archer
Calgary, Alberta


The story of the search for the North West Passage has long proved compelling. Those familiar with it are willing to read it again, and each generation provides a new audience who want the tale as told in their own time. James Delgado was prompted to write his book by his wife, Ann Goodhart, a librarian who told him that there was a need for "a new, popular overview." (xii) During the 1990s there was a surge of interest in the story, prompted by David Woodman's research into Inuit testimony and by the investigations of Owen Beattie and Barry Ranford. Ann Savours initially embarked on an historical introduction to a book that Barry Ranford was to produce for McClelland and Stewart, presumably intended to capitalize on the interest piqued by his articles in *Equinox*. When this project collapsed due to Ranford's untimely death, Savours wrote her own book.

Both Savours and Delgado are well known as writers in the field of maritime history. Both have similar professional backgrounds - blessedly non-academic, some might think. Savours was for many years on the staff of the Scott Polar Research Institute and then of Britain's National Maritime Museum. Delgado is currently the Executive Director of the Vancouver Maritime Museum, and thus has in his care that great national treasure, *St. Roch*. Before this, in his native United States, Delgado played a major role in the preservation of maritime historic sites. He also has extensive archaeological experience in Canadian and American waters.

*Across the Top of the World* is designed to appeal to a popular audience. It is another of the masterfully produced, eye-pleasing books printed by the Manitoba firm of Friesen's. There are about 200 illustrations, many of them full-page and in colour. There are photographs of the Arctic today, of archaeological sites, and of artefacts and of fine reproductions of those stirring Victorian renderings of Arctic scenes which have lost none of their power to thrill over the years. There are nine very clear and useful maps, eight showing the tracks of voyages from Frobisher (1578) to Larsen (1940-1944). There are many sidebars, perhaps a design element meant to appease a modern tendency to grow restive if confronted with long expanses of text. If so, it has to be said that the sidebars, nearly all of them biographies of men or ships, are little gems, both informative and entertaining. The actual narrative, although not long, does a good job of telling the tale without seeming breathless or hurried. Delgado achieves this by giving some explorers pretty short shrift (Dease and Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, for example, are dispatched in a paragraph), leaving himself free to write in more detail about others. His chapter on Amundsen and Larsen is particularly fine. In writing about Larsen and about the Passage since 1945, he makes as good a case as can be made for Canadian sovereignty.

*Across the Top of the World* is definitely suitable for the bright high school student or the history buff, but would make an excellent addition to anyone's library. It is both a pleasure to look at and to read, and is also a convenient, trustworthy reference tool. There are some slips, such as calling the redoubtable Captain Smellie of *Nascopie* Robert instead of Thomas. That aside, the story about Smellie is a good one. He objected to Mounties as passengers because their spurs...
The Search for the North West Passage is also bountifully illustrated, with several colour plates and numerous black and white photos, many of them drawn from the immense riches of the National Maritime Museum. Most touching is the final photo, which shows one of the Franklin relics in the Museum - the pair of gloves found by Sherard Osborn on Beechey Island in 1850, where they had been left to dry on a rock. Still retaining the shape of their owner's hands, they make an unsettling image. The text, however, is the real strength of the book. The product of wide and attentive research, it never, full of detail though it is, seems laboured. The reader feels that the author has submerged herself in the story. Those who know earlier books by Savours, such as Scott's Last Voyage and The Voyages of the Discovery, will recognize the warm human touches, not to mention the evident fondness for animals.

To give but one example of the wonderful things in this book, in her section on Parry's second voyage of 1821-1823, Savours devotes much space to the respectful relationship between Captains Parry and Lyon and the local Inuit. Lyon was struck by the well-behaved children and resolved that if he ever had a family of his own he would tell them about the Inuit children as a good example. Later on, Savours rounds off the story of Lyons' life. He died in 1832 and his wife in 1826, only a year after their marriage, without children to tell about the Eskimos:

One wonders whether it was his wife, Lucy, who wrote the well-illustrated little children's book by "A Lady," entitled A Peep at the Esquimaux... published in 1825, in which the Eskimo boys and girls provide a lesson for the English ones. (123)

This is an impressive display of the author's command of the topic, as well as a feeling heart. It also strikes a blow in passing at the school of thought which views naval officers in the Arctic as prisoners of imperial culture who might have done better had they learned more from the indigenous peoples. This, as Savours crisply remarks, is "something perhaps easier said than done" (79), but they were more adaptable than current belief gives them credit for.

It is, of course, too early to say if The Search for the North West Passage will become a classic, but it certainly deserves to. There are not many women in the story of the Passage - Green Stockings, the beloved of Robert Hood, Iligliuk, the musician and map maker, the indomitable Lady Franklin - and it is pleasant to think that one of the best tellers of the tale should be a woman.

Anne Morton
Winnipeg, Manitoba


In his introduction the author states a two-fold purpose: to make selected narratives of shipwrecks in Newfoundland waters more accessible than they have been; and, more importantly, to begin the process of placing such narratives more fully in the context of the region's social and cultural history. To begin we must note that "Newfoundland waters" is a generic rather than a geo-political designation. The domain of the wrecks chronicled here extends from the northern coast of Labrador to New England and outward to the very edge of the continental shelf, encompassing most of the northwest Atlantic. But in a real sense, the precise location is less important than the historical setting, inasmuch as the latter plays the preponderantly important part in shaping a regional consciousness, informing the ethos of a community and reflecting what Mr. Baehre calls "a region of the mind."

The chronologically ordered series of tales assembled by the editor, ranging from the wreck of Humphrey Gilbert's Delight m 1583 to Captain Bob Bartlett's account of the loss of Corisande in 1893, come close to the heart of the Newfoundland historical experience over a period of some 300 years. For while the Canadian identity may have been shaped in the response to the challenges posed by a vast continental land mass, the Newfoundland world view was otherwise informed. Standing at the very edge of the sea, spuming the continent behind him, the Newfoundlander faced outward to his constant, though
capricious mistress, whose smiling beneficence could be changed in a moment to a raging and deadly fury.

The juxtaposition of puny man with the titanic and uncontrollable forces of nature is a backdrop against which the dramatic history of Newfoundland is set. On stage, the story of Everyman is the story of a struggle for survival, of daily wrestling with superior forces, of accommodation to uncertainties, of stoical acceptance of the determinations of an inscrutable Providence. It is, moreover, a story in which qualities of courage, stamina, endurance, resilience, strength, good humour in the face of trials that would make Job jealous, and simple faith in an omniscient and ultimately benign Providence are the standards against which a people are judged. It is a story in which no man demanded; in which the interests of the community at large (the crew) come before those of any individual. It is a story in which Death is a shipmate whose role is both understood and accepted, as in the ballad of Jack Hinks: "oh, Death he will come like the sound of a drum/For to summons poor Jack to his grave;/What more could he do, for we all know 'tis true;/'Tis the fate of both hero and slave."

The narratives in this collection illustrate all of those themes. Of course, not all were written for didactic purposes. Some were penned to convey a sense of great adventure; some to titillate through horror; some to raise funds to support the distressed; some to influence the development of public policy in respect of marine safety; some to point a moral or to convey a spiritual message; some for the sake of telling a good story. But whatever their intended purpose, they do more. Certainly, as "stories in history," they add a particular dimension to our understanding of our past, often, in Vico's phrase, throwing "a bright prismatic light" upon such matters as the dangers and difficulties of supplying the Moravian mission settlements on the Labrador coast; the dark side of the timber trade and the horrors to which seamen were subjected in an age of unrestricted enterprise; and the perils of navigation in pre-radard, ice-infested waters. As well, they expose such social phenomena as rescue, succour of the shipwrecked, wrecking, salvage, and the crime of barratry; and they enable us to examine critically such oft-quoted principles as "women and children first" and "the captain goes down with the ship."

More important, perhaps, these shipwreck narratives are cultural mirrors in which many Newfoundlanders see themselves reflected. The trials of shipwrecked sailors are an analog for their own incessant struggles with a harsh land, an often cruel sea, and a dispiriting climate. The qualities and characteristics of shipwreck survivors are quintessentially those of the ideal. Courage, even heroism, strength, endurance, versatility, and selflessness are among them; and these, together with values of communal sharing and the neighbourliness that goes without saying among shipmates, inform the ethos of the community. As often as the shipwreck stories are told they reinforce the fundamental values of the community, establish the ethical framework for daily living, and confirm the simple faith that even though Providence will determine the end result, there is no salvation for those who merely lie down under the "bludgeonings of chance" or "in the fell clutch of circumstance."

The editor's splendid introduction provides a scholarly and lucid context for the tales he presents. The stories are compelling and, of themselves, well worth reading. They illuminate significant aspects of Newfoundland's history. They explain a great deal about patterns of thought and action that invoke a distinctive culture. The appendices are useful, and, in respect of the two poems chosen for inclusion, add a dimension of delight. I might quibble with some of the omissions from the bibliography, but it is reasonably comprehensive. The index is good. In short, this is a work that I gladly recommend.

Leslie Harris
St. John's, Newfoundland


It has taken a long time for this work to find its way into print. Written about 1878 and describing the professional and personal life of an American mariner during the first third of the nineteenth century, it is a compelling read that will be enjoyed by maritime historians and laymen alike. The publishers have presented the story in an
attractive edition that can be wholeheartedly recommended to anyone with even a passing interest in commercial sailing ships in the days before steam-powered vessels drove them from the sea.

The author, Charles Tyng (1801-1879), was one of eight children born to Dudley and Sarah Tyng of Boston. His mother died when young Charles was just seven years old, and he was then sent to live, first with relatives, and then at a succession of boarding schools. His experience at the latter was generally unhappy, and he ran away several times before his father finally decided to see if his son's interest in ships might translate into a career at sea.

Thirteen-year-old Tyng was sent aboard Cordelia, which then sailed to Canton for a cargo of tea. It was a highly profitable voyage for the owners, but pure hell for young Tyng, who was terrorized by a tyrannical first mate. On arrival back in America, young Charles vowed he would never board a ship again. But his father would not allow him to quit after a single voyage and sent him back to sea to try again.

His second voyage was more agreeable and convinced Charles that a career as a mariner might be possible. Having decided to persist, he began to work hard, learning his new trade and impressing his superiors with his diligence. His description of these early years of struggle, and details of contemporary life aboard a sailing ship, are among the most appealing parts of the book and are conveyed with a clarity, honesty and humour that helps to carry the narrative forward like a novel.

As young Tyng achieved promotion, he faced a new set of problems, the foremost being how to impose his will on drunken unruly seamen who were unimpressed by his youth and slight build. It was to be a continuing problem throughout his career, and had to be overcome by force of personality, and sometimes, with his fists. But he persevered and soon was rewarded by appointment to the command of a succession of ships at an unusually young age.

An interesting feature of the book is the gradual emergence of Tyng as an entrepreneur and business man. One of the prerogatives of ships officers at the time was a certain amount of free space in the hold to store their own trade goods. Tyng took advantage of his position and this privilege to trade in goods ranging from Brazilian parrots to ladies hats. One of his more unusual commercial ventures was the purchase of a half-share in the rare commodity of a "mummified Japanese mermaid." Many of these ventures paid off handsomely, so that by the time he was in his early thirties, Tyng owned a number of ships and could draw on bank credit for up to one million dollars. Although he was involved in a variety of different trades and routes, most of his money seems to have come from exporting sugar from Cuba.

The book has a good introduction and contains a thoughtful afterward by Thomas Philbrick, which places Tyng and his story in its historical context. As far as criticisms are concerned, there are just two illustrations in the book, and more contemporary images of the places he visited would have been welcome. But these are minor quibbles about an otherwise excellent and highly recommended book, that a wide audience will enjoy.

Mark Howard
Melbourne, Victoria


The Naval Institute Press' new edition of Samuel Leech's A Voice from the Main Deck (first published in 1843 and sometimes known by its alternate title, Thirty Years from Home) brings back into print the most famous American lower-deck autobiography of the nineteenth century. Leech, the son of a family in the employ of members of the British nobility, went to sea at the age of twelve in the then-British frigate Macedonian. When Macedonian was captured by the frigate United States on 25 October 1812, Leech (as did many of his shipmates) contrived to avoid repatriation to England as a prisoner of war and entered the United States Navy instead. Although his new ship, the US brig Syren, was captured by HMS Medway on 12 July 1814, Leech eluded detection as a deserter from the British service and returned to the United States to enlist in the
US brig *Boxer* in the years immediately following the War of 1812. Tiring of the harsh and capricious discipline in *Boxer* - reminiscent of the same approach to leadership he had experienced in *Macedonian* - Leech deserted the American naval service on 20 December 1816. He wandered from one civilian job to another in the Connecticut River valley. He eventually experienced a religious conversion, acquired strong temperance convictions, and achieved apparent financial security as a village storekeeper in south central Massachusetts.

As Richard Henry Dana pointed out in his foreword to the 1857 edition of *A Voice from the Main Deck*, one of the great strengths of Leech's book as enlisted autobiography is that the author confines his narrative to things he personally witnessed and emotions he felt at the time. He does not pad the text with copies of official dispatches and other non-personal material. An equally important strength is that Leech discusses the motivations for his actions and reflects on his experiences, rather than giving the reader an introspection-free narrative of external events - a failing of certain other much-touted sailor autobiographies.

Although *A Voice from the Main Deck* is often quoted by historians for Leech's heartfelt denunciations of flogging in both the British and American navies, it is equally an anti-war tract, as witnessed particularly in the ex-sailor's graphic description of death and human suffering in the *Macedonian-United States* encounter. Indeed, Leech is so effective a writer, and so committed an advocate, that historians have all too often behaved as if Samuel Leech were the voice from that main deck. He should be viewed instead as an author, with the more modest role which he assigned himself - that of a single voice. This book is the latter-day memoir of one middle-aged (and sometimes tediously moralistic) adult's experiences as a teenage boy. It is important for readers to note then that there may be different perspectives on lower-deck life to be culled from other, less-prominent autobiographical sources. Those should be added to, not overridden by, the views created in this work.

Editor Michael Crawford's introduction and notes are of the excellent standard that one would expect from this fine scholar. Maritime and naval historians, for whom the history of religion is an uncharted sea, will find Crawford's identification of religious figures, prominent and obscure, especially helpful. This reviewer wishes that Crawford had construed his editor's mandate to include surveying local history sources for Connecticut and Massachusetts towns to fill out the story of Leech's post-naval adult life. It would be good to know more about the mature man who felt compelled to tell his life story in the early 1840s. One might also wish that Crawford had given readers his considered opinion as to why *A Voice from the Main Deck* became, in effect, a nineteenth-century best seller, while other, equally interesting sailor autobiographies, appeared in a single printing and then vanished from view save for occasional high-priced sightings in the catalogues of antiquarian book dealers. A more contextually complete placing of the book and its importance would have made the modern reader more aware of its overall worth.

Christopher McKee
Iowa City, Iowa


Hyacinthe de Bougainville (1781-1846) always had a hard act to follow. His father was Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1811), the commander of the first French circumnavigation of the globe. Bougainville fils entered the navy in 1799 and the next year joined Nicolas Baudin's expedition as a midshipman on *Géographe*. What might have been a springboard to glory proved otherwise. As a result of repeated clashes with his commander, Hyacinthe sought voluntary repatriation from Port Jackson on *Naturaliste* in 1803. Baudin's uncomplimentary report on his young subordinate might have destroyed his prospects in the navy had his famous father not intervened. After the collapse of the Peace of Amiens, Hyacinthe rose steadily through the ranks. He commanded a succession of corvettes and frigates - when not serving as a senior officer on larger men-of-war or languishing as a prisoner of the British (1814). In 1811, he was made a baron of the Empire but was also decorated under the Bourbon Restoration. He was given command of
an expedition in 1824, which visited Bourbon (La Réunion), Pondicherry, Manila, Macau, Surabaya, Port Jackson (Sydney) and Valparaiso in two vessels, *Thétis* and *Espérance*. Although Bougainville was expected to conduct hydrographic research during the voyage, his mission was not one of exploration but of political, strategic and mercantile reportage. A decade after Waterloo, a more confident, commercially expansionist France wished to show the flag, seek out trading opportunities and gather intelligence in case of any future war.

This book marries Bougainville's private diaries, kept during his return visit to New South Wales in 1825, with extracts on Port Jackson from the published *Journal de la navigation autour du globe* (1837). The former are part of the Bougainville family archives now held in the Archives Nationales in Paris. Among the appendices, Professor Rivière has included a detailed list of Bougainville's papers on Australia, his Port Jackson journal of 1802, and his confidential report on the colony's defences.

Although Professor Rivière's translation is praiseworthy, his explanatory annotations are at times frustrating. Historical translation often requires a grounding in numerous fields. It is sometimes difficult for historians and translators to secure the range of expertise required for a particular project. Nevertheless, there is no substitute for meticulous checking. Popular reference works such as Frances Bodkin's *Encyclopaedia Botanica* (1986), cited by Professor Rivière, should be used with caution. Tasmania's majestic Huon pine (famed as a timber for shipbuilding) has not been included in the genus *Dacrydium* (52) for nearly twenty years; rather it is a member of the restricted genus *Lagarostrobus*. The grass tree used by Australian Aborigines to make spear shafts (98) and as a source of resin to "fix the points of spears" (195) was the *Xanthorrhoea*, which can be seen in Joseph Lycett's illustration on the dust jacket of this book. Professor Rivière's square-bracketed textual inclusion, *Dracophyllum milliganii*, a member of the *Epacridaceae* family found only in Tasmania, is a serious ethnographic and botanical mistake. There are others. The "white-coloured myrtle" in the botanic gardens (65) is unlikely to have been *Melaleuca acuminata*, since this was first collected many years later. Indeed the botanist who described it, Ferdinand von Mueller, was born in the same year Bougainville visited Port Jackson.

While Professor Rivière makes admirable use of familiar Australian biographical sources, his textual notes lack symmetry with regard to French sources. I was very surprised to see no explanation for the general reader of significant French scientific figures such as André Thouin (after whom a bay is named in Tasmania) and Geoffroy de Saint-Hilaire. Their records could have been easily had from the *Dictionnaire de biographie française*. Furthermore, biographical details of Bougainville's officers would have been readily accessible among the dossiers of the Service Historique de la Marine.

Despite its editorial omissions and errors, *The Governor's Noble Guest* is yet another beautifully produced Miegunyah book, complemented by a fine selection of illustrations. Like Professor Rivière's earlier translations, it will undoubtedly prove a valuable historical resource, making accessible much candid material on familiar names in early Australian history, such as Governor Brisbane, Nicholas Rossi, John Macarthur, Samuel Marsden, John Piper, Allan Cunningham and many others. Furthermore, it offers valuable descriptions of early Parramatta, Windsor, Liverpool, the Blue Mountains, Cow Pastures and Emu Plains. From his narrative, Hyacinthe de Bougainville emerges as a thoroughly likable and endearing individual who very much left his heart in Sydney.

Edward Duyker
Sylvania, New South Wales


The title naturally invites comparison to Richard Woodman's *History of the Ship*, which might be considered a condensed version of the same firm's twelve-volume *History of the Ship* series. In fact, the layout and intention of the work being reviewed is substantially different.

The illustrator and author, Veres Laszlo, is a graphic artist and free-lance book-illustrator who lives in southwestern Hungary. Over the past twenty years, he has amassed a remarkable collec-
tion of illustrations and plans of ships, which currently totals about 1300 items. In part, to solve the question of storing this large collection, he developed a technique of reducing the plans to a scale of 1:200. Over a thousand of these plans are reproduced here, along with sixteen coloured plates, which illustrate everything from a Viking long ship to a modern Polish sail-training ship, and demonstrate his skill, developed as a medical illustrator, in handling the air-brush.

The explanatory text which accompanies the drawings is the work of Richard Woodman, who as a writer extremely well qualified for the job. He is best known to many of us as the author of fourteen nautical historical novels, which use the Napoleonic wars as background and feature his hero, Nathaniel Drinkwater. But it is when it comes to the general field of ships and the sea that his expertise is most impressive. He is a maritime historian of stature, being the author of the definitive book on the Arctic convoys (1994), and of a forthcoming work on the Malta convoys. A master mariner who spent a total of thirty-one years at sea, eleven of them in command, he is a keen yachtsman, with square-rig experience, acquired sailing in the replica of Endeavour and the brig Royalist.

Starting with a consideration of primitive sail and the beginnings of seafaring with Egyptian and Roman vessels, Viking ships and medieval galleys, we move on to the story of the cogs, caravels and carracks, and the great galleys of the Venetian republic. Then the stories of the development of the Dutch, English and French navies in the seventeenth century; the development of the frigate; the ships of the American Continental and Federal Navy are told. The section on commercial sail in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries covers the types of vessels found in British and in northern waters and offers a selection of plans of clipper ships, plus profiles of mammoth steel sailing vessels, like Preussen, which epitomised the last days of commercial sail. This is followed by a discussion of the smaller coastal craft of Britain, the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Red Sea, as well as the fishing craft of the Mediterranean and of North America, including the schooners which fished on the Grand Banks. The final chapters comprise a section on yachts and yachting; scientific and exploration vessels, and sail training ships.

The most interesting and useful sections of the book are those that discuss the differences between the eighteenth-century frigate, hekboat, barque, pink, flute and cat, vessels which sailed in the Baltic, as well as those dealing with the craft of the western Mediterranean - pinque, polacre, barque, tartane, chebec, and felucca - and the material which considers the craft which sailed on the coasts of Arabia and East Africa, such as the ghanja and baggala.

The work is thoroughly indexed and the sources on which the artist depended for each entry are indicated. Because of its encyclopaedic nature, this volume would make a useful addition to the library reference shelf, but will be appreciated by anyone who just enjoys browsing.

John Harland
Kelowna, BC


Granville Allen Mawer has undertaken to write for a general audience an overview of South Seas whaling in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He dwells chiefly on the American sperm whalers, claiming that "[i]t was they who broke whaling out of the ice of the North Atlantic and led it south to become the first truly global industry."

Tracing the sperm whale fishery from its inception in the early eighteenth century off the Atlantic coast of the American colonies, he follows it into the South Atlantic and around Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope as new grounds became accessible. In the Pacific, where Herman Melville's legendary Captain Ahab pursued his Moby Dick, American whalers led an international race that scoured the ocean to its farthest seas. By the latter half of the nineteenth century the sperm whale fishery went into serious decline, though the last of the New Bedford wooden whalers made short voyages through the First World War.

Mawer touches on the industry's progress through innovative new technology, marketing strategies, political arrangements, bold forays into unknown seas, and perseverance in finding new grounds when the over-exploited ones became depleted. He concludes that the wooden whalers
had little, if any, impact on overall numbers of sperm whales.

The international character of early sperm whaling and the competition for oil and markets are discussed, emphasizing the pursuit by pragmatic Nantucket colonists of opportunity to continue whaling from England and France in the face of America's revolution. We are told sparingly of British initiative in sending the first whaler around Cape Horn into the Pacific and of Spanish, French and British hostility during the wars of the late eighteenth century.

The book claims five maps and thirty-three illustrations but fails to list in the front thirteen very handsome colour plates. Endnotes are included. The glossary does not explain a number of terms that will be unfamiliar to a general audience. "Lay," a word referring to whaling grews' pay, is given in the text the mystifying definition, "net of the small stores." One is not told that it will be fully discussed on pages 109-112. This is one example of a number of inadequate explanations and obscure references which, unfortunately, are rather common.

Mawer's telling of history is so hurried, so glossed over, that a newcomer to the literature needs Edouard Stackpole's Whales and Destiny at his elbow to find out what was going on. Allusions to events or dates are not enough: a time line would have been helpful. His intent, Mawer announces, is to evoke the past as much as to explain it, confessing that:

)[the narrative is self-indulgent. It cannot be trusted at any particular point in time to be discussing the most important matters in the industry, but I hope that it will always be attending to the most interesting and revealing. (6)

His aversion for "the tyranny of chronological narrative" has strongly influenced his treatment of the subject. Mawer devotes whole chapters to the colourful aspects of sperm whaling, such as whaling gear and the hunt itself; processing whales; personal aspects of the whaler's life, such as pay, living conditions, discipline; and horrifying stories of mutiny. This is the stuff he loves.

The book, a combination of history, anecdote and description, is organized to present the themes in alternate chapters, naming the descriptive chapters "tailpieces." The resultant padding between the historical narrative chapters leaves the reader puzzled by a reference to something or someone fifty or more pages back. Fifteen little boxed descriptions further complicate the text's flow. They describe the making of spermaceti candles, the trade in sperm teeth to South Pacific islanders, scrimshaw, various aspects of life on a whaling ship, and the actual engagement between whaler and whale.

Mawer's miscellany includes more than the usual collection of whaling lore. His reporting, for instance, of the efforts of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, USN, on behalf of the safety and success of American whalers is not common fare. Between 1838 and 1842, Wilkes' small squadron explored and surveyed the Southern Ocean, charting coastlines, islands, reefs and shoals, and attempted to arrange for the peaceful reception of visiting American whaling ships to the area. Further, based on his study of ocean currents, he devised, with input from successful whalers, a model of whale density correlated to abundance of squid carried by those currents. He even worked out departure times from New England to get whalers to the various grounds at the best time of the whaling season.

Newcomers to whaling literature will probably find this collection of anecdotes and descriptions interesting. As a serious history, it may be disappointing. But, then, Mawer did warn us!

Joan Goddard
Victoria, British Columbia


Of Ships and Stars is perhaps a misnomer. This book is not about ships or stars and it is not a catalogue of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, although it does indeed explain how the museum obtained some of its artifacts. Instead, it is mainly about the creation and development of one of the world's best museums, one that attempts to explain aspects of British seafaring, navigational astronomy and time-keeping.
Histories of maritime museums are, according to the introduction, rare commodities. Perhaps this is because there are so few, and many are small and newly formed. Here is one attempt to analyse how a museum got started and how it fit in with already established museums (Imperial War Museum, Science Museum, Royal Naval Museum, and National Portrait Gallery). The book deals mainly with the early phases of the rise of interest in the maritime past and the emergence of the modern maritime museum movement. It addresses the lifestyle differences between the Victorian and Edwardian eras and the post-Second World War era, with television and competing commercializations. The book formally stops in 1967 because that is the cut-off date for access to certain public documents needed to write a proper history. Nevertheless, Roger Knight, the museum's deputy director, summarizes those thirty years in the final chapter.

The Museum's history starts around the 1860s, with the International Exhibition at South Kensington and the Admiralty's transfer of ship models and engines to the South Kensington Museum. The Museum's buildings at Greenwich - the Old Royal Observatory, which was actively used as part of the time service into the 1950s; the Hospital and Asylum, founded in 1805 to look after orphans from the Napoleonic War; and the Queen's House, which dates to the early 1600s - are woven into the history. The buildings at Greenwich were also the home of the Royal Naval College and the Royal Naval Museum. The situating of a seafaring museum at Greenwich must also be put in the context of the alleged inaccessibility in a pre-automobile age outside a much smaller city of London.

The Museum was created largely out of the personal collection of a wealthy shipowner, Sir James Caird, and the scholarly and enthusiastic first director, Sir Geoffrey Callender. These two gentlemen orchestrated the restoration of HMS Victory and then acquired much of the art, artifacts and manuscripts that make the museum so outstanding. Later successes by the Museum were Cutty Sark and the clocks of John Harrison. The book does a good job of exploring the personalities that created and developed the museum, as well as describing the many frustrations en route.

According to the dust jacket notes, Kevin Littlewood is a freelance writer and researcher in London and Beverley Butler is a lecturer in museum studies and cultural heritage at University College, London. Together they have authored a book free of grammatical and typographical errors that is interesting to read, which makes it a pleasurable read. It certainly whets one's appetite to visit or revisit Greenwich. Even though I have visited twice, this book makes me crave to return for an even deeper examination.

David H. Gray
Ottawa, Ontario


Grief-stricken by the sudden death of his sea-captain father in 1913, the blossoming Maine writer, Lincoln Colcord, Jr., found consolation in sorting out the family's store of seafaring letters, until then left neglected in the attic of their Searsport home. Inspired by the memories they evoked of a childhood spent partly at sea, he embarked on a programme of transcribing them, and then, with his sister, Joanna, binding the collation into a coherent narrative with a running commentary. It was a task fated apparently to be unfinished, for it was put down at the start of the First World War and never resumed. Fortunately, however, the unfolding yarn was taken up by Professor Parker Bishop Albee, Jr., Curator of the Lincoln Colcord papers. His efforts have resulted in this very handsome volume.

Both Lincoln and Joanna were born on shipboard during their parents' honeymoon voyage on Charlotte A. Littlefield, 1881-1883. This, in that time and setting, was not uncommon: Joanna wrote afterward that the briny wave had been the birthplace of more than seventy citizens of the small town of Searsport. Nor was it extraordinary that the Colcord children should go on the occasional voyage with their parents, either separately or together, at intermittent intervals over the years 1889 to 1901. What was unusual was Lincoln's intense response to the experience.

In the spring of 1899, when Lincoln was not quite seventeen years old, Captain Colcord was given command of the great square-rigger, State
of Maine, for the first of four China voyages and, while he took his wife and daughter along, the decision was made to leave Lincoln at home. It was a good choice, made by wise and caring parents who were very aware that all the time an adolescent boy was at sea, he was not learning the skills that would serve him well in adult life. If Lincoln stayed too long on board ship, the only occupation open to him would be seafaring - and this at a time when it was obvious that the demise of the square-rigger trade was imminent. For Lincoln, however, it was a heartbreak he never got over. The disappointment, he wrote, "marked my character for all time. I never recovered from it." (77) This book, being a direct result of this obsession, offers a most privileged view into a seafaring family's private joys and pains.

The photographs are a particular delight, many of the best being the work of young Joanna, who carried a camera on State of Maine. Generous captions mean that Letters from Sea could be read as a coffee-table book without referring to the text. This would be a pity because the reader would miss out on Captain Colcord's marvelously vigorous writing style, so eloquent of his humour, love of the sea, deep regard for his family, and basic decency.

If Lincoln Colcord had recommenced the task of collating this volume after reaching maturity as a noted writer and literary critic, he could have edited out some repetitious material and put ships' names in italics instead of upper case. Unfortunately, this last is reflected in the index, which also lists ships with people's names as if they were people themselves, surname first. Thus, the barque Charlotte A. Littlefield is indexed as LITTLEFIELD, CHARLOTTE A. But these are minor flaws. This is a book that will live with the reader a long time, a highly recommended addition to the collection of any maritime enthusiast or social historian.

Joan Druett
Wellington, New Zealand


There are, says Howells, two Titanic's: the physical vessel and the enduring myth. It is the latter that captivates this author, who argues that the true historical significance of the White Star liner is revealed only when the "text" of the myth is properly "decoded." Undertaking this task, Howells charts a complex course which includes an excursion through Edwardian popular culture, an exploration of myth formation, and an examination of the persistently mythic elements of the western mind up to and including our own day. Altogether, staking a bold claim, Howells purports to offer "the first serious analysis of the Titanic as myth." (3) Taken in the most strict and literal sense, this is probably true. Thus, Howells brings the full arsenal of myth-analysis, from Malinowski through Geertz, to bear on his subject. But stripped of all this theoretical baggage, one wonders just how much he adds to our general understanding of the matter. With some justice, for example, John Wilson Foster might dispute the unalloyed claim to originality. His Titanic Complex (reviewed here in January 1999) anticipated many of Howells' observations, while drawing on a broader range of evidence over a longer period of time. In fairness, Howells and Foster were writing almost simultaneously. Thus, it would be understandable if the former were unaware of the latter. Howells, moreover, pens the more coherent of the two books. Still, while illuminating in detail, his general assertions strike the reader with something less than the force of blinding revelation.

Accordingly, after theorists from Lévi-Strauss to Adorno have been cited, after functionalism and the Annales school have been consulted, we are told that the Edwardians interpreted Titanic's story through the filters of gender, race, and class. Further, in their quest to find meaning in the face of tragedy, they applied the age-old hubris-nemesis formula to what, in fact, was a simple accident, while also transforming avoidable disaster into moral triumph. So, what's new? Howells is at his best when describing the cultural mechanisms at work in all this, but even here it is possible to take issue with some of his methodological assertions. For example, he is clearly enamoured of Robert Darnton and others who probe historical mentalités, a term that he translates too loosely as "attitudes."

(2) More properly, this concept is rendered in English as "paradigms," structures of thought that embrace the "thinkable" for the whole of society at any given moment in time. Thus, historians such as Darnton scour all levels of cultural expression, popular and
elite, in search of an era's "mentality." Howells, by contrast, excludes daily news articles as ephemeral, and contemporary informed dissent by the likes of Conrad and Shaw as literary and, therefore, marginal. He rivets, instead, particularly on two commemorative articles that set the tone for the *Titanic* myth. To some extent, his point is perhaps well taken, but this highly selective approach to the evidence leaves one wondering how much of the complex Edwardian mentality he has truly captured. This concern is only amplified when one considers that Howells himself perpetuates a long-discredited myth. He describes the disaster as having transpired at a time of "enormous national self-confidence." (156)

Yet this was the era of invasion scares, of Home Rule and suffragette turmoil, and of all the many anxieties documented by Samuel Hynes, Barbara Tuchman and others who have charted the mentality of the age. For those who wish to fathom the mind of that prewar generation, there are more subtle guides than Howells. All told, this is an interesting work, but neither the student of *Titanic* nor those familiar with the Edwardian turn of mind will find it wholly revelatory.

James G. Greenlee
Comer Brook, Newfoundland


A freelance newspaper and magazine journalist, who served in the US Navy from 1943 to 1946, A.B. Feuer has written a most curious book. The title is somewhat misleading. The introduction, an essay on camouflage, does not introduce the book. As much as one-half of the text is quoted material, yet there are no footnotes. The bibliography includes three books, none of which is among the standard works on the role of the US Navy in World War I. The rest of the bibliography consists of a handful of magazine and newspaper accounts and a short list of unpublished memoirs, letters and photographs. The reader is given no information on where these unpublished materials can be found. If this book were to be judged only on its mechanics and depth of scholarship, it almost certainly would not be found acceptable as an MA thesis.

Although Feuer adds little to our understanding of the deployment and effectiveness of the US Navy in World War I, he succeeds on another level. He has a crisp writing style and an eye for a good story. In twenty-four essays, some only three or four pages in length, he covers a wide range of topics, including aerial photo reconnaissance and balloons, the Yangtze Patrol, the Otranto and North Sea barrages, convoy duty, subchasers, ship construction (including experimental concrete ships and the "unsinkable ship" - which alas did sink - that was fitted with 6000 water-tight wooden boxes), and the operations of the Naval Air Force in the North Sea, Adriatic and elsewhere. This mixture may be a recipe for Maconochie's stew, but it certainly is not as indigestible as the infamous British Great War ration. One of the most interesting essays describes how homing pigeons saved the lives of naval aviators. Carried in a cage behind the pilot's seat, pigeons informed rescuers where the aircraft had gone down in the treacherous North Sea.

There is none of the anti-war sentiment found in the works of the trench poets in these first-hand accounts. Action, glory and heroism replace images of rotting corpses, futile attacks, and blundering generals. The reader, for example, is provided with the mental picture of hundreds of sailors bobbing in the sea singing patriotic songs such as the "Star Spangled Banner" and "The Navy Took Them Over, and the Navy Will Bring Them Back" while awaiting rescue after their warship, *San Diego*, was sunk by a mine.

Although not recommended for graduate or research collections, this work will find an audience among many World War I enthusiasts who desire an intimate description of the war up close from the perspective of American sailors and naval aviators.

David R. Woodward
Huntington, West Virginia


This book is essentially a presentation of the documentation housed in the Newfoundland
archives pertaining to the 1929 Burin Peninsula tidal wave disaster, published here as a compilation of raw data intended to facilitate further research and to inspire more books on the subject.

As the title clearly states, it is a list, arranged alphabetically by community, or "settlement," of which there are about fifty; and by survivors within each community, alphabetically by family (over 800). Each family name is accompanied by a list of possessions damaged by the tidal wave and an estimate of the cost followed by the amount of financial aid granted, if any. The index of family and place names provides a useful and convenient tool for the reader with specific research in mind. The names of the twenty-seven people who perished are italicised and presented with their community, but might perhaps have been better served by a separate list or some special mention in the index.

I confess that I was initially reluctant to read a book of lists, expecting it to be tedious and impersonal at best, but was quite pleasantly surprised to realize how much such data actually conveys and how interesting it proves to be. Moreover, Cranford wisely includes several excerpts from the Report of the South Coast Disaster Committee which was responsible for relief to the thousands of people affected. The content of the declarations that victims were required to submit in order to qualify for compensation provides not only a rich data base for future work but also a considerable amount of detail illustrating the way of life of fishing families at the time. The lists are terse, necessarily repetitious and in fact probably not at all meant to be read from cover to cover. The reader's eye is likely to scan over them rapidly and focus mainly on essential details: age and number of those who perished and of surviving family members, estimated value and kinds of possessions lost and finally the much lower amount of compensation provided (usually limited to a portion of replacement costs for a boat, stage, nets, lines to enable the fisherman to fish). An occasional brief sentence is added (by Magistrate Hollett?) to underline particularly worthy cases. The rare indication of the amount of "cash in hand" reflects the sad financial predicament of so many fishing families in early twentieth-century Newfoundland.

Flanker Press has done a very good job producing this book: the number of very minor typographical or proofreading errors is so low that they are scarcely worth mentioning. More irksome however, is the omission of the "Total payout" figure for all but a few of the affected communities, following the "Total losses." The sizeable difference between the two, especially in those cases where no compensation whatsoever was granted, seems to me a necessary statement of the harsh reality of the limits of earthquake relief which consisted entirely of charitable donations and not at all likely to be perceived as an indictment of the committee. Likewise the inclusion of a portion of what appears to be part of a recent road map of Newfoundland, which unfortunately gives a rather inadequate view of the area affected by the disaster; a much larger and more legible map of the Burin Peninsula, preferably at the time, would be a valuable improvement. These minor quibbles aside, Tidal Wave fulfils its promise to readers and supplies a rich store of unexploited material to researchers interested in this unique occurrence in Newfoundland history, who undoubtedly await the publication of other books with personal accounts, even photographs if available, relating the catastrophe in more detail.

Scott Jamieson
Corner Brook, Newfoundland


This book was originally published in 1935 under the title Old and Young Ahead: A Millionaire in Seals, being the Life History of Captain Abram Kean, O. B. E. Kean was a captain in the Newfoundland seal hunt for forty-seven years, spent twenty years in the cod fishery, was a member of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council, and operated vessels in the Newfoundland coastal service. His personal life was marked by a curious marriage at age seventeen to his family's housekeeper, who was seven years his senior. Surprisingly, his autobiography makes for very dull reading.

This re-issue includes an introduction, editor's endnotes, an index, and additional photographs. While the photographs are welcome, the introduction, endnotes, and index are perfunctory. Occasionally the editor attempts to shed light on some of the people and subjects mentioned in the
original text, but there is no rhyme or reason as to why he chooses to illuminate some and not others. Also, why the introduction should follow, and not precede, the original foreword by Sir Wilfred Grenfell is anybody's guess. The editor states that Kean's autobiography is "the first-hand account of sealing of [sic] Newfoundland's greatest sealing captain and is intrinsically valuable because of that." Yet, as the editor admits, Kean devoted more space to other subjects than to sealing, and it is also true that the information he did offer on sealing adds little to our knowledge of the subject.

This is not so much an autobiography as a catalogue of boasts and accomplishments, as underscored by the sub-title of the original edition. We are reminded ad nauseam that Kean was the first captain to land over a million seal pelts during his career. His first son "was destined to become probably the most popular young man in Newfoundland" (7); his trip from Trinity to Sydney, Nova Scotia, and thence to St. John's with a load of coal in 1888 "was said to have been the quickest on record" (19); his voyage to the seal hunt as captain of SS Wolf in 1889 was, again, "the quickest trip on record." (21) Kean tells us (57) that his studies of the lives of great men revealed that the true mark of greatness is the ability to overcome problems; just in case we miss the point, he reminds us that he survived three shipwrecks.

Real meaning and insight are missing. Kean's account of his role in the horrific Newfoundland sealing disaster of 1914 takes up only one page, but he devotes five to the impact of roving dogs on the quality of dried fish. Kean attributed Newfoundland's loss of responsible government in 1934 to the immorality and irresponsibility of its public men, an argument the editor quite rightly rebuts. Kean saw economic salvation for Newfoundland in the development of agriculture, then as always a pipe dream. Indeed, with public men like Kean, the real wonder is that Newfoundland did not experience economic and political collapse long before 1934.

If a re-issue with a nautical theme was absolutely necessary, there was far better material to hand - for example, The Log of Bob Bartlett, which offers genuine insight into the fishery, seal hunt, and Newfoundland culture in general, all served up with pathos and a self-deprecating sense of humour. Kean's book calls to mind an old joke, which I paraphrase: Question: Why do old sea dogs write their autobiographies? Answer: Because they can.

James E. Candow
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia


The appearance in 1987 of Paul Kennedy's book The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers has spawned a virtual cottage industry of scholarship, the objective of which is to assess the validity of Kennedy's thesis about the ebb and flow of international economic and military power over the past five centuries. Of particular interest to scholars, Brian McKercher among them, has been Kennedy's interpretation of the eclipse of Great Britain in the twentieth century as the greatest of the great powers and its replacement by the American giant on the other side of the Atlantic. The steady erosion of Britain's share of global manufacturing output in the late nineteenth century, and the deleterious effects of the Great War on British financial resources, Kennedy insists, meant that John Bull had already passed the torch to Uncle Sam by 1918. Kennedy sees confirmation of British decline in the loss of financial influence - as New York rose to challenge London as the financial capital of the world - and the surrender of Britain's naval dominance with the Washington Treaty of 1922. McKercher disagrees with this view, asserting that the period from 1930 to 1945 represents the critical time-frame when Britain gradually lost its "global pre-eminence" to the United States. To be sure, this is not simply a narrow debate about when one state supplanted another as the number one power but rather, as McKercher successfully argues, it is about the inevitability of British decline and the very nature of power in the international system.

McKercher's book begins with an effective discussion of the nature of international power which challenges Kennedy's somewhat reductionist concept of power as a nation's ability to translate its wealth into military prowess. In its place, the author offers what he describes as a "subter" definition. Embracing the view of scholars such as Gordon Mattel, McKercher
suggests that in a basic sense "power determines who gets what, when, where and how." But power is not only relative among states but is also, as the author perceptively notes, "relative according to circumstance, to the way particular situations mould it, and by it not transcending time and space unaltered."

Using this definition of power, McKercher then turns to an examination of the attempts by British and American policymakers to use the means at their disposal to shape and respond to international developments in the period 1930-1945. This era began with much promise, as Britain and the United States eased tensions in their relations, chiefly as a result of the London Naval Conference which brought to an end the Anglo-American naval rivalry of the 1920s. Naval historians and those readers interested more generally in sea power will find much of interest in the chapter on the London Naval Conference. McKercher agrees with the view recently put forth by Greg Kennedy that the London Naval Agreement in no way represented a surrender of British naval supremacy in the face of the American challenge. As McKercher concludes, in 1930, as in 1921, Britain surrendered the symbol but not the substance of sea power to the United States, especially when one considers Britain's massive lead in merchant shipping and that resource is added to the preponderance of fighting ships. The book speaks on a wide range of maritime issues, aimed at coming to grips with which of the two nations did indeed maintain a superiority in naval power after 1930 and how.

Although the end of Anglo-American naval rivalry opened the way to future cooperation of the two principal "English Speaking Powers" in upholding international peace and security, as the decade progressed the divergent views and interests of these powers militated against a common approach in dealing with the rise of Nazi Germany in Europe and an aggressive Japan in Asia. In fact, McKercher shows clearly and repeatedly that British policymakers were to a much greater degree than their American counterparts engaged in dealing with the series of international difficulties of the 1930s, starting with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria through the Italo-Ethiopian war to the Czech and Polish crises at the end of the decade. In other words, Britain exerted more influence than the US in international affairs until 1939. McKercher attributes greater British influence to a combination of factors, including different historical traditions of involvement in world affairs, strategic calculations based on these traditions and the realities of geography, imperial defense (especially naval) considerations and even the will of policymakers.

McKercher has produced a valuable contribution to the ever-growing literature on interwar international relations, naval disarmament, and rearmament issues. His analysis not only expands our understanding of Anglo-American relations in this period but also effectively places this relationship in a much broader, international context.

The main weakness in this book is the limited attention given to the wartime period, especially after 1941. As Richard Overy has demonstrated in his superb *Why the Allies Won*, it is the period from 1940 to 1943 that dramatically transformed the hierarchy of the Great Powers and set the stage for the postwar dominance of the US. As Overy astutely points out, the prodigious efforts of the American economy during the war surprised everyone, including the Americans themselves. Britain's decline, particularly in naval matters, and America's rise, may have been predictable after 1940, particularly after the fall of France, but the 1940-1943 era deserves close study to plot this "transition of power" in detail.

The above reservation aside, this is a fine example of international history that goes beyond the view from one national capital.
military apparatus, and often overshadowed by the exploits and sacrifices of the U-boats, the surface ships of the Kriegsmarine, with the notable exception of the doomed Bismarck, remain mostly forgotten.

In *Pocket Battleships of the Deutschland Class*, Gerhard Koop and Klaus-Peter Schmolke have outlined magnificently the history of a class of German warship - Deutschland/Lutzow, Admiral Scheer, and Admiral Graf Spee - three "political ships" designed to "bring Germany political respectability within international naval treaties and win allies." (220) They discuss in exhaustive detail the development in the 1920s of what became the Deutschland class. The first large ships to be equipped exclusively with diesel power plants, the Panzerschiff, with their heavy armament, light armour, and long range, were viewed as ideal commerce raiders. Many of Germany's potential foes thought that the ships violated the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty's limitations on size, in spirit if not technically.

The authors then proceed to discuss the unhappy operational histories of the three vessels. Deutschland, eventually renamed Lutzow to avoid an embarrassing propaganda defeat if such a national symbol were lost, suffered casualties and heavy damage in May 1937 in an attack by two Spanish Republican aircraft in the Mediterranean. In April 1940 Lutzow took minor damage from a Norwegian shore battery before it was hit by a torpedo from a British submarine. Left powerless and rudderless, the ship was lucky to survive, although it did not go to sea again for almost a year. Lutzow eventually met its fate in early May 1945, when it was scuttled in the Baltic Sea to avoid capture by Soviet forces. Admiral Scheer was only slightly more fortunate. Having managed to avoid the attack on Deutschland in 1937, Admiral Scheer had a fairly undistinguished career, first in commerce raiding and later as a training ship before it capsized in April 1945 after being struck in port by allied bombers.

Admiral Graf Spee's operational career proved far shorter. In late 1939 the ship sunk nine merchant vessels in less than two months. Such success did not go unnoticed, and soon Graf Spee had no fewer than twenty-nine British and French warships on its trail. On 13 December 1939, two British and one New Zealand cruiser found their quarry off the coast of Uruguay, leading to a day-long battle before Graf Spee took refuge in Montevideo harbour. Though Graf Spee had given better than it had got (HMS Essex had been forced from the battle with heavy casualties and considerable damage), the German ship had taken enough damage that it could not be repaired within seventy-two hours, the maximum period allowed a belligerent warship in a neutral port. With British warships hovering on the horizon, Captain zur See Langsdorff disembarked most of his crew before scuttling his ship. Half the sailors accepted internment; the rest opted to return to Germany, while Langsdorff committed suicide.

This book is chock full of useful and fascinating diagrams, maps, and dozens of extraordinary photographs that add greatly to the narrative. Though the ships' various technical details are highlighted, so too are the social aspects of a cramped shipboard life. Two cases of human interest stand out in the narrative: Adolf Hitler's participation in the 1937 burial of the dead members of Deutschland's crew and photographs of Langsdorff's funeral in Argentina. The technical material, along with the useful text, make this a reference book well worth having.

Galen Roger Perras
Lennooxville, Québec


This valuable book is another installment in M.J. Whitley's series of excellent single-volume reference works detailing different classes of Second World War warships. *Battleships of World War Two* follows the author's earlier publications on destroyers and cruisers. In the present volume, Whitley describes more than 100 capital ships (not exclusively battleships, despite the title). The "basic criteria for inclusion" was a ship's "existence in September 1939 or having been laid down but not necessarily completed before August 1945." Coastal defence ships and monitors are not included, although capital ships from neutral navies are listed. So Sweden's small First World War-vintage capital ships (7600 tons fully loaded) are described because they were armed with four eleven-inch guns. These ships, coastal defence ship/armoured cruiser hybrids, are
Whitley provides a brief introduction detailing the evolution of the battleship from the mid-nineteenth century until the Second World War. There follows a profusely-illustrated country-by-country listing in which the ships are introduced chronologically by class. The narrative is organized as follows: initial design characteristics; structural, technical and armaments modifications during service life; and prewar, wartime and postwar operational histories and fate of each capital ship. This method provides an abundance of information, with easy cross-referencing between classes and individual ships.

One drawback is the book's lack of meaningful discussion of the strategic context facing each nation. Each country's entry normally begins with a description of the first class of ships and much of the critical technical information. Unfortunately, the operational history which then follows sinks into a strategic vacuum. Similarly, there are no summations of each nation's battle fleet experiences. The little analysis is subordinated to the mass of information.

The largest entry is that for the United States (twenty-five ships). Readers are reminded of the staggering anti-aircraft protection aboard American battlewagens by 1944; that many were hit by Kamikazes; that most of the battleships damaged or sunk at Pearl Harbor returned to service; and that the majority of US battleships were of First World War vintage. It is also interesting to read of the lesser-known nations, such as Argentina and Brazil. The book is full of fascinating and little-known incidents about the ships of those nations. For example, who remembers that the dreadnought Sao Paulo provided seaward defence of Recife from 1942 to 1945? That Royal Sovereign was transferred to the Soviet Union in May 1944 and served as Archangelsk until handed back to Britain in 1949? That Revenge bombarded Cherbourg in October 1940? Or how rarely Italian capital ships put to sea due to crippling fuel shortages? Whitley also notes that in August 1945, King George V became the last British capital ship to fire its guns in anger when it shelled targets on the Japanese mainland. While several battleships are still in existence as museum ships in the US, the last operational survivors from this period are the /ovra-class, all four of which are in fleet reserve in America.

The book offers good production value, and Whitley has assembled some fabulous photographs among the 250 plates included in the book, including many from the Imperial War Museum and some from his own collection. There are some particularly stunning photographs of Provence, Richelieu, Gneisenau, Queen Elizabeth, Hood, Rodney, Duke of York, Texas and Tennessee. Although the line drawings for each class are not especially revealing, Whitley's concise text contains few obvious errors. This is a fine, useful book.

Serge Durflinger
Ottawa, Ontario


The First World War was marked by three developments in naval strategy and technology: telecommunications, submarines, and the beginnings of shipborne attack and fighter aircraft. While most navies adopted the first two, only three nations - the United States, Great Britain, and Japan - pushed aggressively to adopt the third. After 1918, the US and Royal navies developed the aircraft carrier into an effective instrument of war. (Due to the lack of documentation, undoubtedly caused by the destruction of World War Two, the Imperial Japanese Navy's development of aircraft carriers is less understood.) American and British Aircraft Carrier Development is a thorough, scholarly book on the American and British approaches to aircraft carrier development in the interwar period. An appendix deals with the known evidence of the Japanese approach. The entire book reads at times like a business school master's or doctoral thesis based on a conceptual analysis of the development of a new product. As such, it is a valuable addition to the growing body of naval historical literature.

The authors begin by describing pre-World War One attempts to bring aircraft into a naval environment. While these were unfruitful due to the fragile nature of early planes, the results did
indicate that technical advances held promise. This raised these issues. Could aircraft be integrated into naval services and, if so, how? The authors focus on the US Navy's General Board decisions. In the effort to build aircraft carriers, the USN was unwittingly helped by the Army Air Corps, whose famous bombings of captured World War One German warships gave aircraft carrier proponents additional evidence to strengthen their case that if land-based bombers could indeed sink ships at sea, then naval units would require their own complement of protective aircraft. The result was the USN's first aircraft carrier, Langley, as well as its successors, Lexington and Saratoga. The authors analyse the aircraft and carriers used by the USN.

The authors do not, however, focus exclusively on the USN. The RN's Fleet Air Arm (FAA) is also discussed thoroughly. Here the authors rightly focus on the creation of the Royal Air Force (RAF) in 1918. The RAF was created from the amalgamation of the Royal Flying Corps of the British Army and the Royal Naval Air Service of the Royal Navy. The RAF, therefore, absorbed all British military air assets. While some provision was made for naval aviation, the aircraft were owned by the RAF while the carriers were owned by the RN. It was not until 1938 that the RN regained control of its own naval aviation. In the interwar Royal Navy, then, naval aviation was the "poor relation" of the RAF - last in line for budgets and equipment. The authors accordingly dissect the disastrous effect this had on the FAA. Underfunded and caught in inter-service rivalries, the FAA entered World War Two in an inferior position relative to American naval aviation. It is fortunate that the FAA was opposed in the Atlantic and Mediterranean by German and Italian adversaries whose aviation equipment was not of the first rank. While the FAA had obsolescent aircraft, the German and Italian navies had no aircraft carriers and only a minimal amount of land-based naval airpower. Even with out-of-date aircraft, the FAA showed that some shipborne naval aircraft were better than no shipborne aircraft. A brief but well-researched appendix on the Imperial Japanese Naval Air Force completes the story.

Overall, this is a valuable contribution to naval history and aircraft history in general. The reader interested in this field will find much of value. But given its technical nature and the assumptions made about the reader's knowledge of prewar events, I would not recommend it as a "first read" for someone unfamiliar with naval aviation or aircraft carriers. It is, however, ideal for those with an interest and some expertise in those areas.

Robert L. Shoop
Colorado Springs, Colorado


The Battle of the Atlantic was the most important naval campaign in the European theatre of operations during World War II, and many feel that it was the most pivotal aspect of this conflict. Most accounts of this titanic struggle tend to be either general, covering the entire gamut of the campaign or are focussed on individual and well-known convoy battles. This slim volume veers slightly off the beaten path by looking at one of the many convoys that have been ignored in other narratives. This is the author's first full-length work, and he has relied heavily on personal contacts with participants from both sides.

The text is well-divided between thirteen brief chapters which are ably buttressed by a forward (penned by Jürgen Rohwer), introduction, epilogues, fifteen appendices, as well as an index, glossary and bibliography. Strangely, no notes are offered except for the brief quotations that introduce some of the chapters. The text is well-served by the photographs that are included and the few maps. The former depict the men and ships who participated in this battle.

There are many noteworthy aspects of this text, including the role of the US Coast Guard in escorting convoys and the danger of friendly fire from merchantmen striking their erstwhile defenders. A weaker example is the author's interpretation of the sentiments and psyches of Germany's submariners, but this element is clearly weakened by the lack of footnotes to substantiate his conclusions. One of the most appealing aspects is the author's detailed account of the history of U-175 from commissioning to role in the battle of HX-233. Another interesting
thread is the discussion of the *Khegsmarine*'s inability, or unwillingness, to believe the allies possessed the ability to pinpoint U-boat radio traffic. Indeed, the author's observations run the gamut from the strategies and tactics of both sides to the treatment of prisoners of war. Members of the merchant marine will be pleased by the fulsome praise and respect. In many ways, these insights give readers familiar with the Battle of the Atlantic a fresh perspective on this struggle.

Unfortunately, the volume also has a number of deficiencies. Despite its relative brevity, the author devotes a substantial number of pages to discussions of aspects like convoy organization, aircraft patrol, and U-boat and escort tactics. Haskell also uses details from the actual battle of Convoy HX-233 to highlight his interpretation in the introductory chapters, which leaves us with a sense of *deja-vu* once we get to the battle itself. In addition, while the secret mission assigned to *U-262* certainly explains its lacklustre performance during this battle, it might have been better to discuss this assignment in an appendix. These tendencies lead the reader to wonder if Haskell has chosen the proper subject for a full-length study of a post-turning-point convoy battle.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that Haskell has given us a study of a relatively unknown convoy battle, and his use of "oral history" should inspire others to give other "neglected" or "understudied" convoy battles a closer look.

Peter K.H. Mispelkamp
Dollard des Ormeaux, Québec


The inside cover of this book makes the extravagant claim that the author traces "the complete history of the Battle of the Atlantic." The back cover is equally boastful in describing the contents as "the full and dramatic account." Given the length of the book this is a tall order.

Spencer Dunmore, a Canadian novelist of note and a self-confessed flying buff, has blended both these attributes in this relatively small but interesting volume. He traces chronologically this celebrated battle by starting the reader off with the sinking of *Athenia* on 3 September 1939 and describing various events until the conclusion of the war with Germany in 1945. Interspersed throughout are accounts describing the role played by various air forces in the defence of transatlantic convoys.

The author touches upon most of the major incidents including the sinking of *Graf Spee* and *Bismarck*, as well as the disabling of *Tirpitz*. The fate of some of the badly mauled convoys are graphically described, including how the encounters were viewed by the attacking submarine forces. This includes a full account of the pivotal role played by Admiral Dönitz as he orchestrated the attacks from his Berlin headquarters.

Emphasized throughout are the activities of the various airborne groups, including the *Luftwaffe*. Chief among these air forces were Coastal Command and the Fleet Air Arm, particularly the latter in the eventual sinking of *Bismarck*. Full mention is also made of the involvement of the RCAF and USAF, as well as the mid-ocean carriers, including CAM-ships and MAC-ships. The vital contribution of these forces is given fair commentary. As well, generous treatment is afforded the *Luftwaffe* as it inflicted mortal damage to the Canadian Pacific liner *Empress of Britain* off the Irish Coast in October 1940. The use of air power by all combatants in the Battle of the Atlantic is an important factor for Dunmore.

The author loses no opportunity to point out the coolness that on occasions developed between the different branches of the allied armed forces. Conflicts arose over command and control of areas of responsibility and scarce resources between the RCN and RCAF; between aircrews and ships' crews over tactical issues; between naval personnel and members of the merchant navy over convoy control and procedures; and between Canadian and American commanders trying to divide responsibility for operations and operational areas of control.

One sea battle that receives extensive treatment is the encounter between Dönitz's wolfpacks and convoys HX-229 and SC-122 in March 1943. Dunmore asserts that German sources rated this as the "greatest convoy battle," since a total of twenty-one merchant ships were sunk with the loss of but a single *U*-boat. The appearance of Coastal Command aircraft in once unreachable areas of the mid-Atlantic acted as a deterrent against further losses of that magnitude.
In contrast to that lengthy account, the magnificent effort by the armed merchant cruiser Jervis Bay in defending a convoy from total destruction by the German battleship Admiral Scheer earlier in the war is dismissed in one paragraph. The probable reason for the dramatic difference in emphasis of the one event over the other is that the former involved the use of aircraft while the latter did not. Also included, in keeping with the tenor of the book regarding air power, is an account of the tragic and highly controversial explosion that destroyed the RN aircraft carrier Dasher, resulting in heavy loss of life. Dunmore is content to accept the probable cause as being the action of a careless smoker. Finally, in this reviewer's opinion, an inordinate amount of space is given over to describing the TALLBOY bomb employed by the RAF to cripple Tirpitz.

This book is obviously written for a general readership, not for the historian or serious student of naval warfare. This approach is reflected clearly in the prose. In describing the atmosphere in a U-boat under attack, the submarine pipes are said to be bent "as if in pain," while the crew is painted as cringing and "feeling as if great steel-toed boots were kicking their guts."(259) Such poetic prose betrays the novelist rather than the historian. There are factual inaccuracies as well. It is claimed that Bosnia was the first British merchant ship to be sunk (5 September 1939), notwithstanding the fact that the author devotes most of the preface to the sinking of Athenia two days earlier. City of Benares was torpedoed in September 1940 not, as implied, in 1941. (75)

Inaccuracies, an inappropriate style and a prejudice toward air power distort the book. Yet it does provide glimpses of the Battle of the Atlantic from a different perspective. For that reason, it is worth borrowing from a library.

Gregory P. Pritchard
Blue Rocks, Nova Scotia


Unlike a few other similar wartime histories, this book is exactly as described in its title: anecdotal memories of those who were indeed "invaders," people who actually participated in seaborne landings during World War II. The memories of disembarkation on hostile shores by sailors, soldiers, marines and even airmen would appear to have been carefully edited by the author. Compared to too many similar collections, there are almost no detectable errors in names, locations, spelling, ship's names and dates. Instead, we are largely given well-edited recollections of "how it was" fifty-odd years ago for those who landed on enemy shores, or at least carried the soldiers and marines to the beaches. Bruce has elected to allow most of the narrators to provide some pre-landing context, such as where they trained and how. As well, other briefly told experiences are included, such as travel to the US to pick up and train in newly-built landing craft or ships.

The landing locations ranged from Narvik Fjord in 1940 to the North African landings; from Sicily and Italy (Salerno and Anzio) to Normandy, the South of France and finally the Scheldt estuary in the Netherlands. The last quarter of the book involves American landings on Pacific islands - Guadalcanal, Betio, Saipan, Tinian, Iwo Jima and half a dozen others, including Attu in the Aleutians. Finally, there is a British personnel chapter on landings and fighting in Burma.

The narrators included naval seamen and junior officers who served in beach parties and landing craft, men who landed in everything from early wooden LCAs to larger LCTs and ships such as LSIs and American AKAs (assault landing craft carrying purpose-built ships, and including the two-man crews of DUKWs, the self-powered supply "Ducks." ) Royal Marine and Army commandos, artillery fire-support batteries, "poor bloody infantrymen," and in the latter pages even some American seamen, marines and soldiers all have a voice in the tales told here.

Each story is set in perspective by Bruce, from a few of his bridging lines covering the individual's place in the invasion scheme to the larger scene. Many stories carry on for several pages of reminiscences of post-invasion duties and experiences, including some by men who were wounded and then evacuated. There are even a couple of stories by prisoners-of-war who were rescued by invading troops. Bruce includes in italics his brief, leading questions and then allows the narrator to explain what, how, where
and when he was involved as an invader. The range of duties, experiences and locations is enormous, but no effort has been made to cover every possible site or job involved in getting troops ashore to fight the enemy lodged there. There is only the briefest of general introductions and no summation. While it might have been valuable to look at lessons learned or seaborne invasion as a strategic scheme, those wider aspects are left for other authors and other books, of which there have already been several. These are, as the title says, experiences of the invaders rather than an analysis of strategic concerns or command perspectives. These personal stories of the realities of the front line make a valuable contribution to the corpus of wartime history, rather like Stephen E. Ambrose's *Citizen Soldiers* (New York, 1997).

Fraser M. McKee
Markdale, Ontario


By 1939, wooden fishing vessels were no longer a profitable merchant shipping option. Canada's most famous sailing vessel, *Bluenose*, rested alongside the wharf in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. In 1942 light, fast merchant shipping vessels were needed to carry freight between the Caribbean islands, and *Bluenose* was purchased for this purpose. In May the schooner departed from Lunenburg on a new adventure, never to return to its home port again.

Andrew Higgins is the son of Thomas Higgins, who, with Jesse Spalding, purchased *Bluenose*. He has undertaken to give an account of that ship's adventures in the West Indies until it was stranded on a reef off the south coast of Haiti in 1946. The *World War II Adventures of Canada's Bluenose* gets underway with Tom Higgins' experience as a teenage volunteer with the Grenfell Mission. Started in 1892 by Sir Wilfred Grenfell, the Grenfell Hospital Missions visited the seagoing communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. Mission doctors made their rounds in the hospital ship *Maravel*, as well as on snow shoes and using dog sleds, doing their utmost for these hard-working, poor people who had almost no access to regular medical care. In the course of his travels with this group, Tom Higgins saw *Bluenose* and grew to admire the craft.

In early 1942, German submarines commenced attacks on shipping in the Caribbean. Apart from the terrible destruction of merchant ships and tankers, inter-island traffic also suffered. In New York, Higgins suggested to a friend, Jesse Spalding, that internal trade in the West Indies would justify the establishment of a small shipping company. Higgins had in mind purchasing *Bluenose* for that purpose. Spalding agreed and in January of that year journeyed to Lunenburg to purchase the elderly vessel.

Captain Angus Walters, the chief owner of *Bluenose*, had retired from the sea and had become a dairy farmer. He and his shareholders sold the ship, complete with two diesel engines, to Spalding for $20,000. Spalding also bought an ex-Coast Guard cutter, a very fast vessel, for another $15,000. He then returned to Halifax, formed the West Indies Trading Company, and proceeded back to New York. Both vessels were put into the best possible condition before leaving Lunenburg. *Bluenose* was loaded with a cargo of cod for its first voyage under new management. Both ships were manned by Lunenburg crews. Spalding and Higgins left for Cuba to await the arrival of their company ships. The cargo of cod was sold for $7000, covering all the company's operating expenses to date.

In the Caribbean, the first cargoes for the two ships were 200 tons of avocados and grapefruit each. Spalding had many important friends, including Admiral Emory Land of the United States Shipping Administration. Admiral Land provided the West Indies Trading Company with an Al Defence Transport Pass and suggested that it might carry aviation bombs for the USN. He also recommended that the ships be used to haul dynamite and blasting powder to help build additional airfields throughout the Caribbean. The company's two vessels ranged from Florida to the north coast of South America to Central America. In early 1943 the ex-Coast Guard cutter sank in heavy seas off Cuba, but all hands survived.

Spalding eventually bought out Higgins and moved the operations to Florida. Higgins used his money to buy a tramp steamer in Lunenburg, but this vessel capsized and sank in the fairway on its
arrival at Tampa. At about the same time a New York firm expressed an interest in purchasing Bluenose. Spalding sold the craft to the International Shipping Company, which converted it to a purely cargo ship. On a typical voyage in July 1945 Bluenose carried 250,000 whole coconuts in bulk from Honduras to Tampa.

In January 1946, Bluenose was ordered to pick up a cargo of bananas at Aux Cayes, Haiti. Running at night and without cargo, the vessel passed through a dangerous channel near the Isle of Vache. Local navigation lights were not on and as a result the venerable old ship ran aground on a reef. All efforts to float the schooner were unsuccessful and it was abandoned as a total loss on 29 January 1946.

This series of events is supported by copies of documents, letters, family correspondence and numerous photographs, together with anecdotes about the Duke of Windsor, Ernest Hemingway, German submarines and the United States Coast Guard. For Bluenose fans, this book completes the history of a remarkable vessel.

L.B. Jenson
Queensland, Nova Scotia


Every now and again, our esteemed former Reviews Editor, Olaf Janzen, was fond of flitting about like an economy-size Tooth Fairy and dropping surprise packages in our mail boxes - you never knew what you would find underneath the pixie dust and bubble-wrap. In this particular instance, rather than a lump of coal, this reviewer was given one of the most enjoyable reads he has had all year.

To Render Safe is the autobiography of a Royal Navy seaman - a wartime Gunnery Branch rating who became a Clearance Diver and officer. He includes everything from his initial training at HMS Royal Arthur in 1943 through his first ship (the destroyer Myngs) until his retirement just after the Falklands War. In short, we are given quite a lot of service, many miles steamed, and all the colourful stories one would expect.

In fairness, there are a few flaws with the book, most of which could have been corrected by a more stringent and careful editor. There are a few factual errors on the periphery of the account: HMS Royal Oak rolled over when sunk (14); the US took only a single German cruiser for the Bikini tests (53); it was the battlecruiser Derfflinger, not Durflinger (85); and it certainly was not the cruiser HMS Edinburgh in the Mediterranean in 1936. (136) The account of the loss of HMS Lapwing in March of 1945 is spot-on, but it does not appear that the submarine that Myngs' flotilla "was credited with" (25) was actually sunk. Most annoyingly, the book is written around a character named "Dave," and nowhere does Churcher mention that this is actually himself. And of course a few illustrations would have been welcome.

Yet the guts of the story ring true, and are a fascinating peek into the wartime lower deck. Best of all, there are accounts of seamanship not often written about - the explanation of the mooring to buoys in Sliema Creek in Malta, and foul-weather preparations in destroyers, are both detailed and understandable. There are several pieces of interest to Canadian readers, including a description of the torpedoing of the RCN-manned HMS Nabob. Thoroughly enjoyable are the yams dealing with the mythical "shovewood" and "Pincher Martin."

The book splits naturally into two parts, the second being concerned with Churcher's training and subsequent career as a diver. Primitive oxygen rebreathers and the classic hard-hat are explained well, and stand in contrast to the comparatively comfortable and easy-to-use equipment of today. This book is an interesting segue for those who have read Harry Grossett's Down to the Ships in the Sea (diving in the first part of this century). Divers will enjoy the description of how the RN created and tested "saturation tables" for depths down to 1000 feet. Unfortunately, this highlights one other quibble: the author has included very few dates, making it difficult to put events into chronological perspective. In this instance, providing a year would have made it possible to connect these tables with advances in diving technology not covered by the book.

In short, not only is this a book to read for pure enjoyment but it is also worth looking at for the many naval vignettes. It is too bad that it did not appear under the imprint of a more rigorous publisher.

William Schleihauf
Pierrefonds, Québec

*Arctic Odyssey* provides the reader with an account of a voyage through the Northwest Passage in a twenty-seven-foot auxiliary sailboat. *Dove III* was designed and built by Winston Bushnell, owner/skipper and very experienced round-the-world sailor.

The author, Len Sherman, from Nanaimo, British Columbia was the third member of the crew. He may be described as a fair weather sailor in his own sailboat *Dreamer II* and with very limited knowledge of ocean sailing. He is honest about his capabilities and has self-doubts about his contribution to the venture. Sherman's own boat is well named as he is himself a dreamer with artistic and poetic bents. Sherman tells the story in the form of a personal diary which is effective but gives little insight as regards Bushnell's navigation problems and his decisions in coping with heavy ice. Fortunately, the other new member, George Hone, was also an experienced long-distance ocean sailor.

The route for the voyage was from Vancouver Island to Pangnirtung on the east coast of Baffin Island and spanned four months and 11,500 kilometres. The small steel-hulled vessel, with its twenty-three-horsepower engine, encountered difficult ice conditions and on occasions bad weather. The author was susceptible to sea sickness and is commended for his endurance in some miserable personal conditions.

After crossing the Gulf of Alaska, *Dove* met its first ice and finally reached Point Barrow. From there, along the Alaska coast and especially in July, heavy ice can be expected, which is what transpired. But the little ship made a good passage close inshore and reached Herschel Island in Canada in nine days. Ice-strengthened ships, with powerful engines, have been stopped for days in this area. The diary continued with descriptions of places visited and much hospitality from local people. The author gives vent to his innermost thoughts in his poetry offerings and is careful to use politically correct language in describing his impressions of the Arctic people. There are no references to their difficulties in everyday life in a hostile environment, or to over-population or lack of employment.

The most surprising event occurred in *Dove* *III* 's eastbound transit of Bellott Strait. There was hardly any ice. This is a very dangerous narrow passage with fierce currents and usually filled with moving ice. In 1943, Sergeant Larsen in *St. Roch* nearly lost his ship. The author gives credit to Larsen in a quote from Larsen's report. Good fortune continued to favour *Dove III* and it was agreed that the voyage would end at Pangnirtung on eastern Baffin Island rather than challenge the Davis Strait and Labrador Sea with their bad weather in September.

There have been over the years a number of small-boat voyages through the Northwest Passage - some successful and some not - in a variety of designs. Considering that the crew of *Dove III* had no known experience in ice-covered waters and that their progress was by trial and error, this voyage was surprisingly successful.

The author illustrates the book with very competent pen-and-ink drawings of places, people and life on board. The maps are also well-done and in such a book are essential.

T. A. Irvine

Nepean, Ontario


Today, the Central Intelligence Agency is notorious for being America's huge spy agency that dominates the world by the use of sophisticated technology. So it is particularly interesting to read Frank Holober's account of CIA maritime activities with primitive equipment in East Asia during its early years. His book tells how in the 1950s the Agency was still a fledgling outfit mainly comprised of enthusiastic beginners learning how to play the game of subversion.

*Raiders of the China Coast* reveals a previously obscure story of some CIA operations during the Korean War. Holober's book adds yet another set of initials to our knowledge of various "black op" services. Western Enterprises Incorporated - WEI - was the cover name of the organization, which was set up by the US during the Korean War to launch seaborn raids against
mainland China and the various foreign-flag merchant vessels that brought it supplies. The short-lived, clandestine outfit was founded soon after China intervened in the war by sending huge numbers of "volunteers" to reinforce North Korea against the Allies defending South Korea. WEI was intended to aim diversionary military sorties at China's soft underbelly, the coastal area opposite Taiwan. The American unit became known as the "Quemoy Partisans," comprised of a swashbuckling mix of American military officers, civilian adventurers, and anti-Communist local fishermen. Their role was to divert Communist military resources from use in Korea, through the conduct of coastal raids, the interception of merchant ships, and the establishment of coast-watching parties to report enemy activities. They did so with the use of a small fleet of motor gunboats and armed junks. The area was ripe for seaborne guerilla warfare, with over fifty islands scattered across the Taiwan Strait.

WEI units had numerous combat clashes on land with the enemy, but their most important activities were in harassing merchant ships and tankers from Europe, mainly the Soviet Union and Poland. Political circumstances made it a topsy-turvy kind of illicit warfare. While British and Canadian troops of the Commonwealth Brigade were fighting in Korea, vessels of both nations were trading with China, which though really an active enemy was officially still "neutral." This situation created some danger of diplomatic embarrassments, especially when Royal Navy warships intervened to prevent WEI craft from boarding British merchant ships. The accompanying photographs, many of which are of the snapshot variety, nevertheless convey a strong impression of the camaraderie and informal atmosphere that prevailed among these little-known clandestine warriors. But it is a pity that the two sketchy maps in the book are so inadequate.

To research his book about the Quemoy Partisans, Holober contacted many of his old comrades-in-arms, then set out on a voyage of nostalgia to visit the scenes of combat, fifty years on. The result is a detailed account, with many character sketches of some remarkable individuals. Holober sums up the activities of WEI by musing:

What did we accomplish? Any contribution to the Korean War was modest at best. Any real success was local, mixed with failure, and of short duration. Early on, lofty expectations gave way to lure of adventure. And I sincerely salute the adventurers.

That sentiment is well placed, as this reviewer thinks that most readers of this tale about maritime adventures in the East China Sea will join him in his salute to those fondly-remembered days.

Sidney Allinson
Victoria, British Columbia


Daniel Madsen opens this account of the US Navy's post-World War II mothballed ship programme with a discussion of its antecedents. Earlier examples, the author notes, included ships laid up "in ordinary" during the age of sail. Another precedent resulted from the ambitious building program undertaken by the American navy in World War I. Many vessels produced at that time were placed in reserve following the armistice. When it became necessary to activate World War I ships during the 1930s and 1940s, they often displayed an alarming amount of deterioration. But the lessons learned from the interwar program were put to good use in managing the reserve fleet established after 1945. One key development was recognition that low humidity levels had to be maintained within a ship's hull to insure preservation. New sealant materials also were introduced to protect ordnance and equipment from the elements.

Madsen demonstrates that the reserve fleet concept paid off handsomely during the Korean War, when the American Navy activated many World War II vessels to create the large forces required by the conflict and, in the longer run, to wage the Cold War. Some mothballed ships were converted to missile vessels or to other new warship types. The navy activated Iowa-class battleships in the early 1950s, during the Vietnam War, and for a third time in the 1980s as part of
the Reagan defence build-up. Madsen pays considerable attention to the battleship's role in the Gulf War. In addition, he briefly refers to the reactivation from the Maritime Administration's reserve fleet of merchant ships to project national power halfway around the world in the Gulf War. Despite the cranky performance of some of these vessels, they probably were more important than battleships in assuring the defeat of Iraq.

Today, most World War II-era vessels have been scrapped and the American mothball navy is relatively small. Nevertheless, Madsen demonstrates that the massive US inactive fleet was an invaluable strategic reserve of American seapower throughout most of the Cold War era.

The rise, decline, and significance of the mothball navy is an important story that can readily be appreciated by reading the Forgotten Fleet. Unfortunately, the greater part of Madsen's book consists of the World War II - and, to a lesser extent, the post-war - operational histories of many of those vessels. The ship histories that Madsen contributes are well written and display the author's love of his subject. But this material is extraneous to the story of the reserve fleet. Further, unlike the mothball navy, the history of World War II maritime campaigns is hardly a forgotten subject. In my opinion, readers interested in the operational history of the war at sea between 1939 and 1945 will be better served by reading the secondary works that Madsen used as sources. Among these accounts one should certainly include the classic fifteen-volume history by Samuel E. Morison and the narratives of individual ships contained in the US Naval Historical Centre's multi-volume Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships.

Dean C. Allard
Arlington, Virginia


At 0955 on 19 April 1989 there was an explosion in Turret II in USS Iowa. Forty-seven sailors were killed. The battleship had been conducting a gunnery exercise north of Puerto Rico at the time of the mishap. Even as the actions that led directly to the accident were being performed in the gun room, up on the bridge the commanding officer, Captain Moosally, was telling Vice Admiral Johnson, Commander Second Fleet, that the gunners of Turret II were his best crew. His comments were interrupted by the explosion.

The USN quickly determined that the explosion was caused by a deliberate act that had its origins in a homosexual love affair that had fallen apart, as was widely reported in the press:

This conclusion was clearly in the Navy's self interest, exonerating them of any responsibility for the tragedy due to faulty equipment, procedures, or training. It provided the navy with a clean bill of health on operational safety, permitting the retention of the four World War II-vintage dreadnoughts in active service, (xi)

The facts, which took rather longer to establish, were otherwise. The real cause was ultimately determined in spite of the naval establishment by Congressional committees that reviewed the Navy's investigation, eventually rejecting the findings and requesting an independent investigation. Sandia National Laboratories of Albuquerque was asked to do it. The author of Explosion Aboard the Iowa, Dr. Richard Schwoebel, led that investigation. His first stated objective in writing the book was "to highlight important systemic deficiencies that characterized the investigation conducted by the Navy." (xxi)

In the lingering wake of the Canadian Forces' reluctance to accept responsibility for certain problems in Somalia, and more recently questions about the medical treatment of veterans of the Gulf War and peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia, this scientific detective story of reconstructing what really happened and challenging the naval establishment to act on it is of more than passing interest.

Schwoebel has written a first-hand account of the work of his investigative team from its formation in December 1989 to the submission of its final report in August 1991. In addition to his chronology and discussion of that work, he has quoted extensively from the minutes of various hearings and from official reports. While this may lead to some repetition, as different committees covered the same ground, it serves to emphasize
the stonewalling of the navy as new information challenged its interpretation of events. Even after Sandia Laboratories had demonstrated how an overrun, could have happened, the Chief of Naval Operations stated at a press conference that "no plausible accidental cause can be established." (224) Schwoebel is clear in his conclusion:

the explosion...was caused by an inadvertent overrun....There may have been several factors contributing to this... including inadequate training of some members of the centre gun crew; a poorly briefed and executed firing plan...and, possibly, a malfunction of the rammer" (222)

Schwoebel's conclusions have an obvious impact on personnel, crew stability, the conduct of training exercises, and the operational deployment of ships. None of this would have come to light had Congress lacked the independence to call for an outside investigation. The importance of this book extends beyond what it says about the cause of the explosion on 19 April 1989.

William Glover
Kingston, Ontario


The papers of the third Naval War College-Yale conference on maritime and naval history (June 1997) have been published in this very impressive collection. Treated chronologically, from antiquity to the post-Cold War era, the scope of this work is immense. Divided into four parts of unequal length, the reader is provided with a series of fine analytical works on the relatively more distant past, the era of the World Wars, the Cold War period, and the present end-of-century era. Each succeeding section increases in length and number of articles, with a certain amount of crossover in each section and in some of the papers. The contributing works are all written in a fine scholarly style and are complete with ample footnotes. A detailed index provides an invaluable means of cross-referencing the various authors' presentations. In sum, this is a very fine collection that has been masterfully edited.

The breadth of this collection is sufficiently encompassing to suggest that the title does not do justice to the content of the book. Indeed, these papers are about much more than just naval strategy and policy. In particular, the final section is really about maritime strategy in its fullest sense, where naval policy is only one part of the greater subject. With articles on such security issues as the environment, human migration, and the Law of the Sea, to name just a few, the continuing importance of the Mediterranean Sea to a highly diverse segment of humanity is brought home forcefully. The complexity of the maritime issues that manifest themselves in the Mediterranean are well documented and analysed.

The broadened scope of the book leaves open to question what maritime security issues should have been included in the final section. Although all those presented are of merit, there is no separate treatment of the maritime shipping environment or of the Suez Canal. The building of the canal radically changed the strategic significance of the Mediterranean as a shipping route, while the current trend towards inter-modal shipping of containerized cargo through hub ports in ever-enlarging cargo ships has decreased the canal's utility. A focussed examination of intra- and trans-Mediterranean shipping activity would have been a valuable addition to the volume.

In one major sense the book is a disappointment: it does not adequately treat the role of the major regional maritime powers in the Mediterranean. Although two of the three chapters in the second section deal with France and Italian naval policy during the World Wars, one treats France and Italy together and the other looks at Italy in conjunction with Germany. In neither case does the approach clearly illustrate French or Italian policy, as the methodology of contrasting the countries' security issues tends to blur rather than clarify the distinctions. The same can be said of an article from the Cold War-era section which again treats France and Italy together rather than separately. This blurring effect is particularly true in Gerhard Schrieber's work on wartime Italy and Germany, where the Italian aspects are almost entirely submerged by the author's main thesis,
which is clearly Anglo-German in orientation. This was a lost opportunity to bring a fresh and long-overdue analysis of Italian wartime naval policy to the fore, a subject that is, sadly, not well understood. Spain fares even worse in that its treatment is limited almost entirely to the first chapter. As a relatively new NATO member and an emergent naval power of considerable capability, this too represents a missed opportunity to address an obvious change in the maritime and naval dynamics of the Mediterranean Sea.

Despite these limitations, this is a major work which will be of lasting value to all manner of scholars and researchers, professional and amateur alike. As Paul Kennedy declared in his second foreword, the rekindled interest of historians in maritime affairs is an exciting development.(xiii) More exciting still is the broader interest shown by economic, political, military, and environmental strategists. This important book will help to increase recognition of the great and common influence of the seas on all of mankind's activities.

Kenneth P. Hansen
Toronto, Ontario


This book is one of a series from the Plymouth Institute of Marine Studies intended to examine maritime matters in various parts of the world. The general format is that an academic participates alongside a postgraduate student so that some general expertise may be combined with deeper knowledge from a local specialist.

After an introduction, we have a description of Turkish history, politics and economic development, concentrating on recent years. Separate chapters then cover various aspects of the Turkish maritime sector. Much of this is public sector-related: Turkish Maritime Lines and Turkish Cargo Lines in shipping, various state bodies and municipalities in ports. When this study was written some ten government departments were involved. It is not surprising that the Turkish Chamber of Shipping wanted this reduced, prefer-

ably to one Ministry of Shipping, and that there are moves towards privatization.

Over ninety percent of Turkish overseas trade moves by sea and less than half of this is carried in Turkish ships. Although many of the ships are ferries or general cargo (break-bulk) ships, sixty-five percent of the deadweight tonnage is in bulk carriers or OBOs. The median age is over twenty years, with the highest medians in the general cargo ships, bulk carriers and the "miscellaneous" group. The bulk carriers are mostly handymax or panamax, but these other two groups consist mainly of small ships used principally over short routes and to a variety of often small ports. Overall, sixty percent of Turkish ships were built domestically, often at low cost but with long delivery dates and simple designs. Less than a quarter of Turkish merchant ships are owned in the public sector and most of these are fairly small. Private sector ship operators are mostly long-established and the ships are oftenflagged-out.

Some curious statements appear in the book, perhaps having been uncritically taken from elsewhere: The Economist is quoted as asserting that there are about "2,500 shipowners in Turkey" (75); however, table twenty-five suggests that fewer than 1000 ships are owned in the private sector. This paradox is not resolved.

Wars in the Gulf and in Yugoslavia have induced new Ro-Ro services, e.g., between Italy and Turkey. New or expanded services in the Black Sea have also enabled war-torn areas to be by-passed. Most large Turkish ports are "comprehensive" in that they provide all services, including cargo-handling. As well, some privatization has taken place, apparently with success: an example is cited where the numbers employed have fallen from 140 to twenty-six, though we are not told what has happened to throughput or whether some services now come from outside. Brokering and insurance services are not well-developed or regulated, and often seem to involve uncertain legal positions and interested parties.

This is a useful study of an oft-neglected part of the world that concentrates mainly on the presentation of facts derived from published (often secondary) sources and occasionally some rather unsophisticated analyses. There does not seem to have been any collection of original data or interviews. Even so, in the format provided it should make a good basis for further studies, though these will be hampered by the absence of
an index, a fault as well of two previous works in this series. In some respects, therefore, it may seem that value is being sacrificed for volume.

R.O. Goss
Pershouse, Worcestershire


Moya Crawford is a wife, mother and business partner with her husband Alec - not so unusual until one realizes that the business is the recovery of valuables from shipwrecks, a high-risk ventures in dangerous conditions, and with large investments required before rewards are won.

This is very much Moya's story, starting in 1975, when at age seventeen she met Alec Crawford for the first time. He and a partner were free diving from a rubber raft off the Shetland Island of Foula, recovering the bronze propellers from Oceanic. Alec was a single-minded mechanical marvel and at first "[there were no concessions to my presence of any sort: diving and the Oceanic came first, the [business] partnership came second; and I came third." The story continues with their marriage and Moya's deeper involvement in the shore-side end of the business while juggling a family which rapidly included four children. The story culminates in Moya's current role as managing director of Deep Water Recovery & Exploration Ltd., which allows Alec to concentrate on research, development and recovery. She is also active in scientific and technical circles, and is the first female Fellow of the Society for Underwater Technology.

Her fluid writing, personal touch and grasp of the technical makes for a unique story. The book's generous illustrations are well chosen and complement the text. The occasional view of attractive Crawford children reminds us of the contrasts in Moya Crawford's life.

Far from being desecrators of historically important artefacts, the Crawfords work entirely within the law, with government permits, and concentrate on salvaging commercially valuable cargoes from sunken ships. The world's supply of recoverable cargo was rapidly diminishing using conventional methods. Recovery technology was largely unchanged from the 1920s when the Italian concern SORIMA developed the "eye and tool" system. A diver in an observation chamber accompanied a clamshell grab down to the wreck. Risdon Beazley Ltd., the British firm which was active in the years following World War II, continued to use this system until the 1960s. Eventually Alec was able to salvage and rebuild an old trawler to his own specifications. He then designed and built a deep-water recovery system with a hydraulic umbilical cord and orange-peel grab which, coupled with television cameras, allowed him to reach untouched wrecks.

Moya Crawford tells the stories of the wrecks and the considerable research needed to identify and locate suitable recovery candidates. She also tells of the financial struggles to develop the equipment and to buy materials with humour, grace and a steelly determination. All this is combined with the danger of the work and entanglements with bureaucracies around the world. When Alec was thrown into an Italian prison for carrying undeclared explosives, Moya worked from England to free him, but finally went to the scene, where her formidable willpower eventually proved too much for the authorities.

The most recent account concerns their record-setting deep-water recovery of cargo from the French François Vieljeux in 1250 metres of water, forty-five miles southwest of Cape Finisterre. The ship sank in a storm in 1979, and in 1990 the Crawfords arrived with some untried new equipment to try to recover 6600 tonnes of copper and 700 tonnes of zinc anodes from the wreck. They had invested £10,000 of their own money in umbilical cable alone. The agonizingly slow work, punctuated by delays caused by weather and breakdowns, would eventually result in the recovery of £1.5 million of cargo on behalf of its owners over more than a five-year period.

While the story ends there, the author outlines future plans, which include a 3500-metre recovery using refined equipment, and plans for working at 11,000 metres using a new £15 million ship. Moya Crawford's last words say it all: "Long may our resolution to withstand the pace continue. There is still so much more to achieve."

M.B. Mackay
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Glen Herbert's objective is clear. To "educate and inform about the importance of the oceans to [their] way of life" (63), the "Factbook is designed to provide the reader with a basis for further research and understanding of Canada's oceans dimension."(3) In this regard, he has met his goal. Canada's Oceans Dimension is an important resource for a broad range of scholars, policy-makers, business leaders, lawyers, and special interest groups. The author's audience is Canadians, but this work is important to anyone interested in Canada and its "oceans dimension."

Recognizing Canada's historic and current dependence, exploitation, and development of its three oceans, Herbert begins by briefly placing Canada in a global context. A short description of the marine environment, commercial use, and geopolitical and strategic importance of the Pacific, Atlantic, and Arctic oceans follows. "Important trends, opportunities and challenges" in each ocean, covering "marine resources...transportation and trade, maritime security and defence, oceans industry, science and technology, and recreation and tourism" (3) further define Canada's oceans dimension. Endorsing the 1997 Oceans Act as "a comprehensive framework for oceans management and policy" (ix), he analyses Canada's record.

While the bulk of this slim book is descriptive, Herbert raises important issues. For example, the researcher investigating Canadian-American relations in waters claimed by Canada will find several relevant sections. International oceans governance is described with regard to United Nations' agreements, such as the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea. And while there is no specific discussion of the controversial issue of the Northwest Passage, the reader need only turn to the "Oceans Sector" chapter to find Canada's naval resources and capabilities. Herbert not only lists Canada's equipment but also laments that the Navy's "modernization program to maintain its capabilities [as an instrument of government policy] is floundering." (38) Further, in "Managing Canada's Oceans," the Oceans Act is described and issues of Arctic and maritime security and enforcement are noted. A researcher could then consult the endnotes and references to find sources, including web sites that would prove very helpful for further investigation of the issue.

The synergy between oceans resources and man's cultivation of them is another interesting topic. From "overfishing and ineffective resource conservation" (29) to shipping, tourism and the offshore oil and gas industry, Herbert elucidates the various challenges facing Canada. He urges Canadians and their government to address these issues systematically. Herbert emphasizes Canada's "stewardship of [the] oceans and marine resources" (61) and praises the increasingly cooperative efforts at all levels of government, much of it in collaboration with various nongovernmental agencies. He remains convinced that growing awareness among Canadians will lead to better protection of the ocean resources. Certainly his Factbook is a good place to begin.

Elizabeth B. Elliot-Meisel
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Lencek and Bosker, respectively professors of Russian and medicine at front-rank universities in the United States, have apparently written "more than nine books selling over two million copies." The UK price of this solidly-built hardback certainly suggests that they have an excellent agent, and four research assistants are credited. Their scope, too, is ambitious, covering the beach from most perspectives between geological origins and current problems and opportunities. There is a lot to interest the maritime historian in their text, but (suspiciously) I found them most interesting and informative on the areas I knew least about, and careful examination of their presentation of chapters where my expertise was firmer confirmed more general impressions that the whole book is frustratingly lacking in scholarly rigour, to such an extent that, despite its gestures towards academic apparatus, it is almost unusable by professional historians as well as being systematically misleading to the "general reader" for whom it seems to be intended.
The book takes beach environments, and human perceptions and uses of them, through from prehistory to classical antiquity, the revolution in fashionable perception that made beaches attractive again in the eighteenth century, the successive démocratisation of the beach holiday in the ages of the railway, the automobile and the aeroplane, and the changing attitudes to bodily exposure and physical activity which accompanied these developments. It is particularly interested in beachwear, the subject of a previous book by these authors. The geography of the story is confusing: it is European until the mid-nineteenth century, but then becomes almost entirely centred on the United States until it trickles into the sands of the 1960s, with only the most perfunctory of epilogues. The methodology is even more confusing: at times informed by approaches from cultural studies, sociology or anthropology, there is no system or overall argument, and too often the story is advanced by hyperbolic assertion, spurious rhetorical linkage or purple passage. Here is an example from one of the imaginary vignettes, spuriously attached to particular places and times, which introduce most of the chapters:

By mid-afternoon, they are ready for another excursion. With the beach to their backs, elegantly dressed men and women load into carriages for a ride through the fig-filled paradise of Provence, where velveteen hillsides sprawl like sheared sheep loins, and shaggy eucalyptus hover over peach-colored villas. (114)

Beyond this kind of absurdity, which makes it hard to take any of the book seriously, there are frequent internal contradictions and errors of detail. The British, for example, were both kept away from continental Europe during the French wars between 1793 and 1815, and attracted to it as tourists in large numbers. The text is profusely illustrated, but the allusive captions seldom give any indication of when or where the pictures were produced, or to what end. There is an extensive (but badly-flawed) bibliography, but the absence of footnoting makes it impossible to source statements or even quotations, and several extensive passages are clearly based on sources which are absent from the bibliography. There is also, oddly, a list of the authors' favourite beach hotels, with the overwhelming emphasis on ostentatious luxury. Telephone and fax numbers are provided should readers wish to book.

It will be clear that this is a very strange book. I found it particularly interesting on the Romans and on the nineteenth- and twentieth century US, but it was frustrating not to be able to track down statements or identify the most useful secondary sources. Primary material is confined to the odd novel and some poetry, although the bibliography contains an extensive list of Victorian periodical articles, which suggests that one of the research assistants had done a conscientious job without the results of this labour being incorporated into the text. On Britain and Europe, on the other hand, whole swathes of historiography are completely omitted: for example, there is nothing by historians on the Grand Tour, or eighteenth-century consumerism, or spa resorts, and nothing by John Urry, while the extensive literature which has proliferated over the last twenty years or so on the development of English seaside resorts is ignored completely. The authors rely on Anthony Hern’s journalistic Beside the Seaside of 1967, with even Pimlott’s excellent The Englishman’s Holiday, published twenty years earlier but still valuable, left to languish. Alain Corbin’s The Lure of the Sea is also missing from the bibliography, but not from the text, which reproduces large chunks of it almost to the point of plagiarism. It also reproduces Corbin’s misconceptions about English seaside resorts, including his mangling of a primary source (which the authors cite elsewhere, but seem to have used only to pull out a single plum for quotation purposes) to claim that Blackpool had 1500 houses at a time when its entire population was considerably less than that figure, clustered under the cliffs where they would have been washed away immediately by the first high tide. If I had space and time such examples could be multiplied ad nauseam.

Despite some appearances to the contrary, this is a self-indulgent, pretentious and unreliable book, assiduously marketed as an easy read for a public with limited critical faculties. This is all the more frustrating because of the interesting nature of some of the material which has been assembled. If it is used at all, caution must be exercised, and time-consuming cross-checking procedures applied. Let the buyer beware.

John K. Walton
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Vasco da Gama was a Portuguese explorer and navigator, and the first person to sail directly from Europe to India. Vasco da Gama was born in about 1460 into a noble family. Little is known of his early life. In 1497, he was appointed to command an expedition equipped by the Portuguese government, whose intention was to find a maritime route to the East. The expedition then rounded the Cape of Good and, after sailing up the coast of east Africa, took on an Arab navigator who helped them reach the Indian coast, at Calicut (now Kozhikode) in May 1498. This voyage launched the all-water route from Europe to Asia. Da Gama returned to Portugal. The king immediately dispatched another expedition to secure a trading post at Calicut.
Vasco da Gama was a highly successful Portuguese sailor and explorer during the Age of Exploration. He was the first person to sail directly from Europe to India, around the Cape of Good Hope. His discovery was monumental in the history of navigation as well as instrumental in establishing Portugal as a major colonial empire. A route to India. Da Gama was born in 1460 to a family of nobles in Sines, Portugal. His father, Estevao, was also an explorer. Several decades earlier, Henry the Navigator had patronized several successful voyages in North and West Africa. These voyages were Portugal’s first steps at becoming a major maritime and colonial power. In 1487, Bartolomeu Dias discovered that the Indian and Atlantic Oceans were connected.