

*Fleet* (1915), 202).

Another dubious assertion occurs on page 19 during a discussion of interwar thinking about the threat posed to ocean commerce by surface raiders, which, the reader is told, might be armed, high-speed merchant ships. Because their guns would have to be hand-served, rather than seated on elaborate gun mountings, the calibre would be limited to 6 inches since a shell of this size, weighing 100 pounds, was the limit of what a seaman could lift when loading a mounting. After explaining that this is why so many British merchant ships were armed with 6-inch guns, the text goes on to assert that this must also be the reason why the Admiralty considered that 6-inch guns were sufficient in interwar cruisers whose main role would be trade protection. In fact, the Royal Navy interwar cruisers were built after the London Naval Treaty of 1930 which limited the total tonnage but not the number of 6-inch-gun cruisers that Britain could construct.

A statement on page 53 that the Royal Navy and Royal Canadian Navy were largely responsible for Atlantic convoys when the USN entered the war is correct, but it is incorrect in asserting that the RCN was under British operational control. This had been exercised in the western Atlantic since August 1941 by the USN "Support Force", later TF 24, under Anglo-American agreements made at the Argentia Conference.

*British Naval Weapons of World War II. The John Lambert Collection Volume II* has been produced in an attractive large size that shows Lambert's unique drawings with their rich detailed interpretive notes clearly. The numerous excellent photographs and their comprehensive captions are a pleasure to study. This project by Seaforth Publishing and the US Naval Institute Press to make John Lambert's painstaking re-

search available is commendable.

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Johan Lund Heinsen. *Mutiny in the Danish Atlantic World: Convicts, Sailors, and a Dissonant Empire*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Press, www.bloomsbury.com, 2019. vii+224 pp., illustrations, notes, index. UK £39.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-350-10925-4. (E-book available.)

Historical echoes can be eerie. As I prepared to write this book review, cities across the United States erupted in protest over the violent murder of George Floyd by a police officer in Minneapolis and the systemic injustices African Americans regularly encounter. Protestors demand change. They demand their voices be heard. Similarly, repressed cries from the seventeenth century can be heard in the voices of the convicts, sailors, indentured servants, and the enslaved examined in Johan Heinsen's *Mutiny in the Danish Atlantic World*. They, too, acted. They mutinied, deserted, and turned pirate. They resisted and challenged an exploitative imperial and economic system meant to exert control over their lives and labour through violence. In this creative book, Heinsen attempts to recapture "the voices of those men and women whose labours built and shaped empires" (177) through the "echoes" ignored by generations of historians (Chapter Two: "Echoes"). This study reminds us of the need to listen to oppressed voices.

The study of convicts and seafarers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has many challenges, not least the shortage of first-hand accounts and the dominance of elite narratives. Heinsen identifies this problem early, asking readers to join him on a journey through

the archives and historiography to learn how to listen for subaltern voices. To construct this narrative, Heinsen centralizes a mutiny on board the *Havmanden*, a Danish West India and Guinea Company vessel voyaging to St. Thomas in the Caribbean, in 1683. This mutiny serves as both an historical catalyst and a means of exploring the broader grievances of exploited groups in the Danish Atlantic world. He imaginatively organizes the book into two parts with carefully planned and interwoven threads. The first part dissects the mutiny on the *Havmanden* in detail, closely examining the archival record to extract the motivations, experiences, and, most importantly, voices of the convicts and sailors who participated in the mutiny. The second part casts those experiences, motivations, and voices out into the wider Danish Atlantic world both spatially and chronologically. The reader enters the brutal world of early modern prisons, Caribbean plantations, and shipboard life—the world that shaped the men and women who mutinied on the *Havmanden*.

Individual and collective stories, rumours, and knowledge knit together the first three chapters of *Mutiny in the Danish Atlantic World*. Heinsen utilizes stories about the mutiny, often told by elites or legal institutions, to understand why and how the mutiny occurred on board the *Havmanden*. Chapter One provides an excellent example of Heinsen's method. Why, he asks, did crew members like boatswain's mate Hans Biermand and the convicts target Governor Jørgen Iversen, throwing him overboard first? According to accounts, Iversen had recently confronted the captain, Jan Blom, about poor conditions on the vessel and the need to find a harbour for water, provisions, and repairs, a major concern for all on board the *Havmanden*. To answer this

question, Heinsen posits the historian "must interrogate these writings [the accounts] and read them against their grain" (24). He proceeds to analyze the ship's supercargo, Simon Braad's account of the mutiny in conjunction with knowledge of Iversen's first stint as governor of St. Thomas from 1672 to 1680. Apparently, Iversen made quite a few enemies during this time and accusations of murder, rape, and indiscriminate abuse towards workers, especially unfree workers, followed him home to Denmark. Heinsen finds concrete evidence that rumours of Iversen's reign of terror circulated Copenhagen's waterfront well before the *Havmanden* set sail. Fear of Iversen, and visions of a brutal life on St. Thomas under his rule, prompted the mutineers to toss the governor into the sea. Heinsen continues to read against the grain to answer similar questions like how did Jokum Gulliksen, a seafaring convict, earn the captaincy after the mutiny and what transpired under his leadership that led to the dismemberment of nine mutineers, including Gulliksen and Biermand, in Copenhagen?

The gruesome scene of dismembered bodies in Copenhagen served as warning to convicts and sailors alike to maintain their proper place in society but the damage to the Danish West India and Guinea Company had already been accomplished. In Chapter Six, Heinsen demonstrates that the mutiny on the *Havmanden* helped create a lawless space on St. Thomas where smugglers, maroons, and pirates could thrive. Dreams of a mercantilist Danish empire collapsed before this motley crew. In 1697, the Company reformed its expectations and slowly regained control of its West Indian possessions, primarily through the labour of enslaved Africans. After the *Havmanden* mutiny, white convicts were seen as potenti-

al instigators of rebellion and, similar to the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion (1676-77) in Virginia, racialized enslavement became the norm in the Danish Caribbean.

Heinsen's approach to the *Havmanden's* mutiny takes courage. He notes in the conclusion, "to make it all the way to the lower deck, we [historians] need to put our own imaginations at work" for "we cannot listen in on the worlds of convicts and sailors without taking a leap of interpretation" (177). In light of George Floyd's appalling murder and the groundswell of resistance and protest, I cannot help but postulate that this way of listening to oppressed people in the past can open our ears and eyes to the injustices of today. Heinsen's *Mutiny in the Danish Atlantic World* demonstrates that great historical writing resonates, and it deserves a wide readership.

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Manuel-Reyes Garcia Hurtado (ed.) *Soltando Amarras. La costa noratlántica ibérica en la Edad Moderna*. La Coruña, España: Universidade da Coruña, www.usc.es 2019. 398 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, notes. Euro 25,00€, paper; ISBN 978-84-9749-750-3.

The maritime history of northern Spain, and in particular of Galicia, is strictly connected to the government decision to establish the naval arsenal in Ferrol in 1724, making it the most important Spanish port overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. Before that, Ferrol was only a small fishing village. The establishment of the arsenal of the Spanish Armada also determined the urban growth of other cities in Galicia, such as Vigo and La Coruña, the latter of which be-

came the main port connected to the Americas and Asia, after the establishment of commercial maritime routes in 1763.

This interesting book is a collection of articles, written in French, Portuguese and Spanish, by professors and scholars from France, Poland, Portugal and Spain. Their main objective is to investigate the economic and social dynamics that characterized the northwestern part of the Iberian Peninsula during the Modern Age, including the northern provinces of Portugal and the Spanish region of Asturias.

As the editor asserts in the introduction, Spain's maritime history is not as rich as that of France or England, and until the 1980s, the scope of national maritime studies was limited to foreign policy, without considering the economic and social implications of nautical history. Further research was complicated by a failure to fully catalogue documents collected by the General Archive of the Spanish Navy, rendering the work of historians and researchers more difficult.

The thirteen essays can be grouped into seven main areas: the geographic description of the North Atlantic coast of Spain considered in this book; commercial relations between Spain and Portugal, based mainly on the salt trade; the role of harbour captains; contraband in goods and precious metals; the figure of the corsair; Spain's foreign policy adopted during the eighteenth century of acquiring wood from the Baltic area for its ships; the religious practices connected to fishing activities; and, the system of public communication during the Modern Age.

The maritime history of a country is always related to commerce of goods and natural resources. For centuries, salt has represented one of the most important trade goods for the Iberian Pen-