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The raid was ultimately a success, as *Tirpitz* was badly damaged and out of action for several months (in fact, the damage to some sections of the ship was never repaired) and this allowed her to become an easier target for RAF bombers which sank the battleship in November 1944.

The book is well illustrated and the maps are useful in describing the attack. A cut- away diagram of an X-Craft, showing the layout of the vessel, should have been included to assist the reader identify the X-Craft design and equipment described in the book. Equally, a side and plan view of Tirpitz would have been useful as well to complement the written descriptions of the ship.

Additionally, I would have liked to have seen a bit more on the honours and awards bestowed on X-Craft crew-members. The Victoria Crosses awarded to Donald Cameron (X-6) and Godfrey Place (X-7) are well described but the other awards, less so. The author is incorrect in stating that the crew of X-5 (commanded by Australian-born Lieutenant Henty-Creer) received no posthumous awards. X-5 was seen near Tirpitz but sunk by German forces, possibly after she had laid her charges, but this has so far been unconfirmed. Henty -Creer and his crew were all awarded a posthumous mention in dispatches (London Gazette 1 August 1944) as having lost their lives. The honours and awards rulings of the day could only authorize the award of the Victoria Cross or a mention in dispatches. For those interested in more on X-5 the book *The Mystery of X-5: Lieu*tenant H. Henty-Creer's attack on the Tirpitz by Frank Walker (1988) should be consulted.

Overall, Konstam has done a good job in describing the why, when, where, who, what and how of the 1943 X-Craft attack on *Tirpitz* in Norway.

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Buddy Levy. *Labyrinth of Ice: The Triumphant and Tragic Greely Polar Expedition*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, www.macmillan.com. 2019. 376 pp., illustrations, maps. US \$29.95, cloth; ISBN 978-1-125018-219-7. (E-book available.)

This is an inspiring and harrowing tale crisply told. In fact, author Levy's spare prose and straight chronological retelling of the Greely Expedition of 1881-1884 amplify the history's emotional punch. There are no dramatic flourishes here; none are needed. Labyrinth of Ice recounts the story of a maritime venture carried out by a ground force, the U.S. Army. In the brief Arctic summer of 1881, a multinational company of soldiers commanded by Lieutenant Adolphus Greely steamed northward from St. John's to Lady Franklin Bay, an inlet along the east coast of Ellesmere Island. Ellesmere lies west of northern Greenland across a narrow sea.

There the adventurers constructed Ft. Conger, the northernmost encampment in the world at the time. Their chief goal was scientific research. Commander Greely's ulterior goal, or personal "grail," was to plant the U.S. flag "Farthest North," breaking a centuries-old British record (44). If possible, he wanted to reach the North Pole. The explorers indeed eclipsed the British record by a few miles. They mapped much of the region for the first time and conducted painstaking scientific observations. They also endured sunless winters lasting over 130 days, fraught with almost unimaginable cold and hardship. During November 1881, for example—before the worst of the long night set in—temperatures averaged -24º F.

The Greely Expedition's accomplishments and derring-do at Ft. Conger constitute the inspiring part of the story. The back half of the book relates the harrowing part. The summer of 1881 was mild by Arctic standards, permitting the expedition to reach Lady Franklin Bay with little trouble. The summers of 1882 and 1883 were unusually severe. Ice kept resupply ships planned for each summer from getting through. The lead vessel, Proteus, found itself icebound and was crushed in 1882. Greely opted to evacuate Ft. Conger in 1883 rather than try to wait out another long night. His orders directed him to retreat south that summer, while stores were starting to run low. The party managed to reach a designated rendezvous point at Cape Sabine, far to the south, yet was forced to improvise shelter to await a third relief expedition that might never come. The soldiers' plight dismays.

Salvation did come—for some of Greely's party—in June 1884. By then eighteen soldiers had succumbed to starvation or the elements. Seven survived, including Greely himself. Barely: physicians on scene testified that the rest would have perished within a day or two had ships not anchored off Cape Sabine when they did. Such a nick-oftime rescue would never pass muster in Hollywood. Afterward Greely and fellow survivors heatedly denied speculation that members of the party had cannibalized fallen comrades. While press sensationalism tarnished the expedition's reputation to a degree, Congress eventually awarded Greely a seldom-seen peacetime Medal of Honour, the U.S. armed forces' supreme decoration for valour.

Levy leaves the lessons from the Greely Expedition mostly implicit, but they stand out for all that. First and foremost, to describe the far north as forbidding operating grounds consti-

tutes an epic understatement. Natural barriers obstruct human movement on a colossal scale. For instance, Greely's band encountered one ice floe that was a full fifteen miles long. It took nine hours to pass while drifting southward. The icy north's fickle dynamism is likewise striking. Ice floes were perpetually in motion. Seafarers watched for "leads," or narrow sea lanes, to open as bergs jostled against one another. Sometimes a lane would open, then—as with the luckless *Proteus*—close around a ship to fatal effect. On one occasion the soldiers confronted a seemingly impassable iceberg, only to discover a fortuitous narrow cleft through the berg and make their getaway.

Second, Levy's account arouses historical vertigo. For instance, the late nineteenth century was not that long ago, yet cartographers speculated that an "open polar sea" lay beyond a rim of ice (31). The top of the world was a tropical paradise! The Greely Expedition helped dispel such fancies. The book shows that the past is a foreign country, in earth science as in so many disciplines.

Third, logistics, bureaucracy, and politics were pivotal and intermingled. The expedition was an army affair, but Secretary of War Robert Todd Lincoln saw Arctic exploration as a waste. Lincoln dithered constantly, delaying the 1882 and 1883 relief missions while encumbering their prospects for success. Levy casts Henrietta Greely, Adolphus' well-connected San Diego wife, as a hero of the story. Working through press and government contacts, Mrs. Greely shamed the U.S. government into mounting a third relief effort—an effort orchestrated by the U.S. Navy when many thought hope for rescuing Greely and his men was forlorn. Professional mariners took great trouble to outfit ships capable of withstandBook Reviews 101

ing pressure from ice floes. And they got moving. The navy flotilla set out in time to reach Cape Sabine early in the summer of 1884, helped by Queen Victoria's loan of a suitable Royal Navy ship. No more dawdling.

And lastly, some years ago the U.S. Navy's chief oceanographer forecast that warming temperatures will cause the polar icepack to advance and recede with the seasons. Warming will open Arctic sea routes to shipping on a more regular basis, but it could accent the geophysical dynamism Buddy Levy documents so vividly. *Labyrinth of Ice*, then, furnishes a historical baseline for seafarers to think about northern operations in the coming years and decades. This reader profited.

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Donald A. Maxton (ed.) *Chasing the* Bounty: *The Voyages of the* Pandora *and* Matavy. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., www.mcfarlandbooks.com, 2020. x+190 pp., illustrations, maps, appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. US \$39.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-4766-7938-9. (E-book available.)

This work is a chronological compendium of surviving first-hand accounts detailing the often overlooked aftermath of the HMS *Bounty* Mutiny. Drawing from letters, journals, official reports, and poetry, editor Donald A. Maxton has created an objective accounting of the voyages of the *Porcupine* Class post ship HMS *Pandora*, sent to hunt down the mutineers, and of the *Matavy*, a 30-ton sailing vessel built by some of the mutineers on Tahiti to sail back to civilization. For possibly the first time, the perspectives of captured mutineers and their Royal Navy jailors are presented

side-by-side, detailing the days before the crew's capture, the exploration of uncharted islands, the conditions inside the *Pandora*'s makeshift jail, the loss of said ship, and the largely forgotten independent journey of the Matavy. Images and maps of both period and contemporary vintage are interspersed throughout the work to aid in visualization, along with scans of excerpts from the original source materials from the assorted eyewitnesses. The texts are presented as they were written, with letters having a smaller font size than that used for published works. In his introductory note, Maxton discusses the condition of the sources and the type of corrections made to both earlier and new transcriptions. A useful glossary of period terms is provided at the end of the work to help modern readers with various idioms and archaic phrases found throughout.

Maxton keeps his analysis to a minimum, with his own text concentrated within the introduction and several leadin paragraphs for some of the chapters and appendices. Despite the brief nature of these sections, they offer a great deal of context in a succinct, well thought out manner. He covers the public fascination with the *Bounty* mutiny and the relative dearth of historiography on the subsequent mission of HMS *Pandora*, along with the backgrounds of the text authors and the circumstances around the publication/preservation of their works. It is this background material that is of special note, providing context for the actions of those involved. The treatment of the captured Bounty crewmen by Captain Edwards of the Pandora comes across as cruel, bordering on sadistic, but Maxton's introduction reminds us that Edwards had previously survived a mutiny and attempted assassination on HMS Narcissus in 1782 (5). While not excusing his conduct,