

This authenticity is in many ways one of the most valuable aspects of the book, creating an emotional connectedness that hooks the casual reader, while also providing the kind of information that scholars find so tantalizing. These gripping accounts cover the globe, representing experiences of merchant sailors who were in Manila as it fell, who had to hurriedly evacuate sinking ships in nearly every major body of water, who aided in the invasion of Okinawa, and even those who were captured by German naval auxiliary units. Those with an interest in the Second World War in the Arctic, will certainly appreciate three different accounts from survivors of the ill-fated PQ-17 convoy, as well as outsider descriptions of wartime life in Archangel and Murmansk, Russia. Although not an exhaustive collection of accounts, the book highlights the enormous contributions made by members of the U.S. Merchant Marine in the Second World War.

Gillen deserves a large amount of praise for his skill as an interviewer, particularly given the numerous decades that had passed before he recorded his subjects' accounts. In reading these memoirs there is little sense of the length time that has passed, or of major holes in the narrative. This leads interested readers to a better understanding of the various subjects' experiences and provides researchers with a greater level of evidence. As a former merchant mariner himself, Gillen is deeply familiar with the terminology and enjoys a level of credibility that is a major part of the book's success—from which we all benefit. The downside to the long time that it took for this project to reach fruition it is that any research interest it generates in the U.S. Merchant Marine in the period will be blunted by the inevitable deaths of those veterans. On the other hand, the book finally turns

the spotlight on the role of the merchant marine in the Second World War. As these men were not granted veteran status until 1988, it can be hoped that *Merchant Marine Survivors of World War II* will promote more research into their contributions and grant the merchant mariners their rightful place in the history of that war well before the centennial of their service.

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Brett Goodin. *From Captives to Consuls: Three Sailors in Barbary and Their Self-Making Across the Early American Republic, 1770-1840*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, www.press.jhu.edu, 2020. xii+201 pp., illustrations, notes, index, bibliography. US \$49.95, paper; ISBN 978-1-42143-897-9.

In *From Captives to Consuls*, Brett Goodin has written a scholarly, collective biography that explores the lives of three Americans who shared two characteristics: all were mariners in the early republic, and all were held as slaves in the Maghreb, the Barbary world of North Africa. Goodin, a post-doctoral fellow at New York University, Shanghai, has amassed impressive details about the lives of Richard O'Brien (1758-1824), James Leander Cathcart (1767-1843), and James Riley (1777-1840) from all sorts of hitherto unknown sources. Using concepts of "Othering" and Orientalism, Goodin tries to demonstrate that these men drew on their Barbary experiences to influence the non-elite American "Village Enlightenment" understanding of the Islamic world. But Goodin goes far beyond their captivity experiences. Through the three not-quite-parallel lives of these men, Goodin illustrates

what it meant to be a “self-made man” in early-nineteenth-century America, a phrase, he notes, was coined by Henry Clay in 1832. Goodin attempts to illuminate the emergent United States of the period by focusing on these three lives, to comment on American nation-building and evolving concepts of liberty, masculinity, and nationhood in the early republic through the Jacksonian era.

O’Brien was born in Maine to Irish immigrant parents. His early life is obscure, but he likely served as a captain in the Pennsylvania and/or Virginia State Navies during the American Revolutionary War. After the war, he was a merchant shipmaster before Barbary “pirates” captured his ship, the *Dauphin* out of Philadelphia, in July 1785. While in captivity, eight of O’Brien’s letters were published in American newspapers.

Scots-Irish by birth, Cathcart came to America as a child, likely served on an American privateer or Continental Navy warship before he reached his teenaged years, but when he was captured, he reasserted his British identity to avoid imprisonment (Goodin unkindly says Cathcart “defected,” and elsewhere refers to his “negotiable loyalties”), and as the price for a pardon, served briefly in the Royal Navy. Postwar, with a revived American commerce and a revived American allegiance, he returned to the sea, but Barbary pirates captured his ship, the *Maria* from Boston. Both O’Brien and Cathcart were slaves in Algiers, from 1785 to 1796. Through his wits, luck, and networking, Cathcart rose to become the chief Christian clerk to the dey. Goodin’s research has uncovered some important new information, including that Cathcart, who in Algiers temporarily reasserted his British origins, petitioned King George III for assistance, and that he wrote to

William Wilberforce, the great English abolitionist, for help with their ransom.

Upon their return to America, President John Adams sought to take advantage of the recently freed captives’ knowledge of the Barbary world by appointing O’Brien as consul to Algiers and Cathcart as consul to Tripoli. In Algiers, O’Brien and Cathcart had been friends, but in returning to the Mediterranean with his new, teen-aged wife, Cathcart apparently tried to seduce his wife’s maid, who promptly fled to O’Brien, who married her after a whirlwind courtship. Cathcart took this embarrassment as an affront. He never forgave O’Brien, tried to undermine him, and dealt with him only on official business; for his part, O’Brien often did not deign to respond. Cathcart left Tripoli after the bashaw declared war against the United States in May 1801. After being declared *persona non grata* in Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, Cathcart spent more than a decade in consular posts in the Madeira Islands and in Cadiz, before returning to America. Although he badgered presidents for positions, he received a short-term appointment as a navy agent to survey wood in Louisiana, and then received a minor, stultifying post in the Treasury Department for the last two decades of his life. Although he never made it to the West, he encouraged his children to go, and a Cathcart enclave was established in LaPorte, Indiana. The highlight of his career was certainly in Tripoli. Cathcart wrote detailed and colourful letters, both official and private, about his posting in Tripoli and his diplomacy with the bashaw, many of which were published in American newspapers. More than a half-century after he died, a daughter published two books containing his early letters, *The Captives: Eleven Years a Prisoner in Algiers* (1899), and then *Tripoli*[:]

First War With the United States[:] [The] Letter Book [of] James Leander Cathcart, First Consul to Tripoli and Last Letters from Tunis (1901).

In 1803, O'Brien was superseded in Algiers, and although Goodin does not mention it, O'Brien stayed in the Mediterranean to try to assist in negotiations to ransom the 300 American sailors held captive in Tripoli, after the frigate *Philadelphia* ran aground. Like Cathcart, as a consul, O'Brien wrote letters about the Barbary world that American newspapers published. When he left the Mediterranean, O'Brien moved to Philadelphia and served a single term in the Pennsylvania legislature, then settled on a farm outside of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he died in near obscurity.

Riley's life did not intersect with Cathcart's or O'Brien's. Riley was too young for Revolutionary War service, and apparently avoided the War of 1812. With the return of peace, he commanded a merchant ship, the *Commerce*, which ran aground on the West African coast. Riley spent three months as a slave, traversing the Sahara as a captive to nomadic tribesmen until being ransomed by the British consul. Riley wrote *Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce* about his experiences, a work that went through many editions. According to Goodin, unlike Cathcart and O'Brien, Riley was dispassionate about his captivity, indeed he saw the humanity of his captors, and helped break down an Orientalist or Othering stereotype about Muslim people. Goodin approaches Riley primarily as a literary figure, tracing the impact and focus of the various editions of his work. Interestingly, at age 51, Riley went back to sea, and spent the rest of his life as a shipmaster and entrepreneur, dying in the Caribbean.

One of Goodin's broad themes is that these three men went to the "mari-

time frontier" as young men, and later, as archetypal self-making Americans of their time, they turned to the Western frontier for new opportunities. But none of the three fit neatly into that theme. After a few years in northwest Ohio, Riley went back to sea; after some years in Philadelphia, O'Brien settled on a farm in Carlisle, which was hardly the "West" when he moved there, and Cathcart was a contentious job seeker and office holder, who stayed in Washington.

Another Goodin theme postulates on the effect of the writings of these men on popular American understanding of the Barbary world, and perhaps, of the wider Islamic world. With the many editions of his *Authentic Narrative*, and readership in the thousands, Riley certainly had influence, even, it is said, on Abraham Lincoln. But before Cathcart's letters were published in books at the turn of the twentieth century, some of his and O'Brien's letters from Barbary were published in newspapers when they arrived in America. Cathcart and O'Brien may well have framed a distinct Orientalism, as Goodin proposes, but it is unclear how wide an audience, and how much influence, they enjoyed with the non-elite Village Enlightenment, based on the short half-life of letters in newspapers.

From Captives to Consuls is a valuable book. Unfortunately, some factual errors have crept into the narrative. For example: during the 1798-1800 Quasi War, the French did not capture 1,800-2,300 American merchant ships; Richard Henry Lee was a Virginian, not a Pennsylvanian; the frigate *George Washington* was neither "brand new" nor "the pride of the young U.S. Navy" (she was a converted merchant ship) and when Captain William Bainbridge moored her under Algiers' gun batteries, it was not any failure of O'Brien's

diplomacy but rather Bainbridge's extraordinary gaffe (which Goodin mentions only as an afterthought) that allowed the dey to humiliate the United States by using the *George Washington* as a transport for his tribute of exotic animals and slaves to the Sultan in Constantinople. Goodin makes other questionable interpretations, such as asserting that Cathcart's personal diplomacy with the bashaw, and his efforts to engage in private trade, "eroded hope in a lasting peace," as opposed to the Barbary regime's rapacity for tribute payments; suggesting that Jefferson welcomed war with Tripoli in 1801 as a way to put the United States on a par with Britain and France; or claiming that Jefferson and Secretary of State James Madison had little foreknowledge about using Ahmet Karamanli, the deposed brother of the Bashaw of Tripoli, to attempt "regime change," when in fact they knew all about those plans.

In *From Captives to Consuls*, Goodin has discovered interesting and previously unknown biographical information about Richard O'Brien, James Leander Cathcart, and James Riley. He demonstrates how they perceived and reacted to the Barbary world as slaves and as diplomats, and how they portrayed that world to Americans. On their return to America, each tried to network themselves into economic betterment and higher stations. Using their lives as an interpretive vehicle, Goodin makes provocative and insightful points about the early republic.

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Gelina Harlaftis. *Creating Global Shipping: Aristotle Onassis, the Vigiiano Brothers, and the Business of Shipping, c.1820-1970*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, www.

cambridge.org, 2019. xxiv+375 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, appendices, indices. US \$120.00, cloth: ISBN 978-1-108-47539-6.

Professor Harlaftis, the preeminent historian of modern Greek shipping, has produced an ambitious comparative study of the most successful Greek shipping family of the nineteenth century, the Vigiiano brothers, and of Aristotle Onassis, the most famous shipowner of the post-1945 era. Onassis was a celebrity before he married the widow of an American president, while the three Vigiiano brothers were major players in opening the Russian Black Sea grain trade to world markets. *Creating Global Shipping* argues that these four Greek shipowners were in large part responsible for the development of modern bulk shipping as a multinational business. The author draws on a vast range of archival sources from Imperial Russian court records, the Vigiiano Brothers' accounts in the Bank of England and the Aristotle Onassis papers held by his private foundation in Greece. Harlaftis appears to be the first scholar to have had access to the Onassis records. Thus buttressed, she makes her argument forcefully but there are qualifications to this thesis that are not discussed.

The book is divided into two roughly equal parts, with an introductory chapter and a conclusion. Chapters two through five analyse the careers of the three Vigiiano brothers, Marino (1804-1896), Panagi (1814-1902), and Andrea (1827-1887). Aristotle Onassis' business activities are the subject of chapters six through nine.

All three Vigiiano brothers began as ship's captains with the eldest, Marino (Mari), commanding a small coasting vessel in the Sea of Azov in the early 1820s. After he established himself as a successful grain trader and shipown-