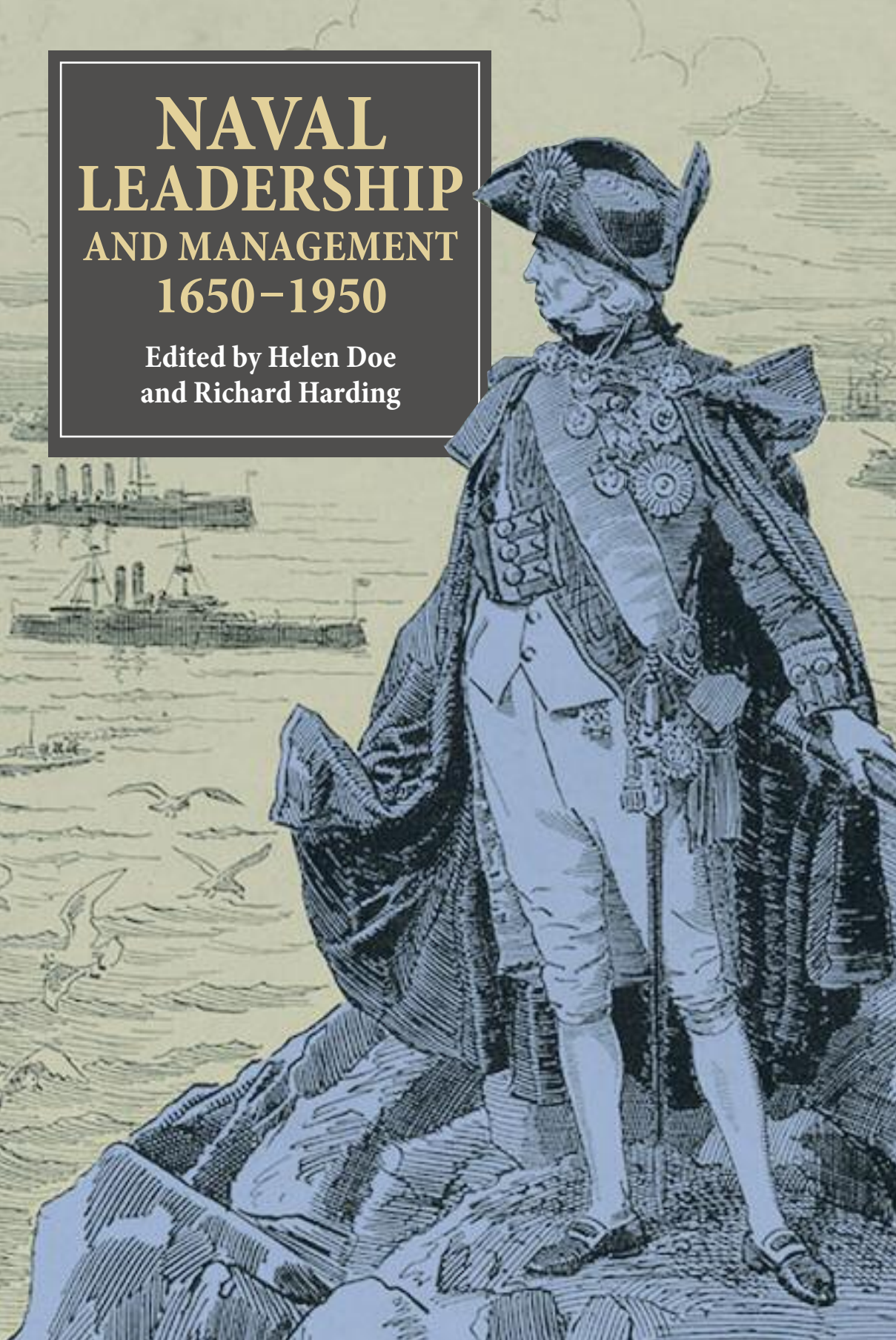


NAVAL LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT 1650–1950

Edited by Helen Doe
and Richard Harding



Naval Leadership and Management, 1650–1950

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Essays in Honour of Michael Duffy

Edited by
Helen Doe and Richard Harding

THE BOYDELL PRESS

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Peter Ward retired in 1997 after a career in international personnel management, consisting of employment with NV Philips, Hewlett Packard Corp., and 3Com Corp., in the UK, Europe, the US, and Hong Kong. He has a BA (Hons.) in Modern History from the University of Liverpool (1968), an MSc in Personnel Management (University of Bradford, 1975) and in 2003 he gained his MA in Naval History from the University of Exeter. He has recently been awarded a Ph.D. for his thesis on Admiral Rainier.

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where he was later awarded a MA and Ph.D. His doctoral thesis focussed on the development of the British Marine Corps' doctrine and identity from 1755 to 1802. He is currently engaged in writing articles on a variety of issues centred around the British Marine Corps of the eighteenth century, as well as preparing his thesis for publication.

Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without the enthusiasm of the authors and their willingness to respond cheerfully to the editors' queries and requests. We are grateful to those all who attended the conference at the University of Exeter in September 2009, whose criticisms and comments stimulated the idea of this book. We are also grateful to Peter Sowden of Boydell and Brewer who has been constantly supportive and whose advice was essential to bring this project to a successful conclusion.

Finally with this book we thank Michael Duffy whose friendship and support we have valued over many years.

The Editors

Abbreviations

AWO	Admiralty Weekly Orders
BL	British Library
MO	Monthly Orders
NMM	National Maritime Museum
TNA	The National Archives

Michael Duffy: An Appreciation

ROGER KNIGHT

It is not easy to write an appreciation of a moving target, which perhaps best describes Michael Duffy at his retirement in the autumn of 2009. He has not found it easy to leave a busy teaching job after forty years. At the time of writing, he still has five Ph.D. students working on their theses, to add to the remarkable total of twenty who have already been through his hands over twenty-seven years. The growing list of books which his students have generated now stands at nine, and more than a dozen substantial articles. It is typical of Michael that he takes more pleasure in their success than from his own very long list of publications, which can be seen after this preface. The list of works by Michael Duffy and his students' publications will have many additions in the coming years.

It all started at Oxford, where Michael was taught by Piers Mackesy and then supervised by P. G. M. Dickson, and his early research for his D.Phil. was on British diplomacy during the French Revolutionary War. He was appointed to the post of Assistant Lecturer at the University of Exeter in October 1969. He first wrote a study of eighteenth-century satirical prints, and through them he gained a thorough view of the eighteenth-century political world. He went on to edit a series on the subject, selecting six other young scholars, including John Brewer and Paul Langford, every one of whom has gone on to a distinguished career, an early indication of Michael's ability to make a shrewd assessment of his colleagues.¹ He also demonstrated at that time a willingness to take risks and to spread his wings, when he took on the supervision of a thesis on eighteenth-century religion.²

What established Michael's career was the publication by Oxford University Press in 1987 of what has proved to be his most influential book. In writing *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower: The British Expeditions to the West Indies*

¹ The English Satirical Print 1600–1832 series, General Editor, Michael Duffy (Chadwyck-Healey, London, 1986), and see the bibliography below.

² Robert J. Hole, 'The Role of Religious Arguments in Political Thought in England 1760–1832', Ph.D. 1986. Subsequently published by Cambridge University Press as *Pulpits, Politics and Public Order in England 1760–1832* (Cambridge, 1989).

and the War Against Revolutionary France³ Michael used political, naval, army and ordnance records in an exemplary study of the workings, and the limitations, of the British government at the beginning of the Great Wars. He reversed the traditional negative thinking on these unpopular and costly expeditions, showing that, in spite of terrible losses to the British army through disease, the capture of the French West Indies islands was a critical part of the eventual defeat of French economic power. Thirty-five years later the book's authority is undiminished. The same strengths can be seen in the work of his first Ph.D. student, Christopher D. Hall. Hall's thesis on Napoleonic War strategy resulted in two books, which arguably have had the most impact of the work of any of Michael's students; *British Strategy in the Napoleonic War* and *Wellington's Navy: Seapower and the Peninsular War*.⁴ These wars have been in the centre of Michael's interests for over thirty years. A recent rush of completed theses include the supply of ordnance to the Royal Navy and the expansion of the Hydrographic Office after 1808.⁵

The decade of Michael's maximum effort was the 1990s, when he came to what was then the rather terrifying arena of south-west maritime history, dominated and fought over by Walter Minchington and Basil Greenhill. Both were retired, from Exeter and Greenwich respectively, with enough time on their hands to make life difficult for each other and for all around them. Firstly, Michael saw the opportunity to found the Maritime Historical Studies Centre at Exeter, which he did with Stephen Fisher. They won a Leverhulme grant in 1992 to research change and adaptation in the maritime sector of the British economy since 1880. David Starkey, who had been at Exeter since his undergraduate days, stayed on as Research Fellow, together with Alan Jamieson. Both produced books for the Exeter Maritime Studies series, which now stands at eighteen volumes published since 1990. The two volumes of the *New Maritime History of Devon* in 1992 and 1994 also resulted.⁶ Nicholas

³ M. Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower: The British Expeditions to the West Indies and the War Against Revolutionary France* (Oxford, 1987).

⁴ Christopher D. Hall, 'Factors Influencing British Strategic Planning and Execution during the Napoleonic War, 1803–15', Ph.D. 1984 (subsequently published by Manchester University Press as *British Strategy in the Napoleonic War 1803–15* (Manchester, 1992, repr. 1999)); Christopher D. Hall, *Wellington's Navy: Seapower and the Peninsular War 1807–1814* (London, 2004).

⁵ Gareth Cole, 'The Ordnance Board and the Royal Navy 1790–1815', Ph.D., 2008; Adrian Webb, 'The Expansion of British Naval Hydrographic Administration, 1808–1829', Ph.D., 2010.

⁶ Michael Duffy, Stephen Fisher, Basil Greenhill, David Starkey and Joyce Youings, *A New Maritime History of Devon, Vol I: From Early Times to the Late Eighteenth Century* (London, 1992); and *A New Maritime History of Devon, Vol. II: From the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present Day* (London, 1994).

Rodger and Roger Morriss also joined the Centre, providing an impressive critical mass of naval and maritime historians. As the subject became more popular, the teaching load of undergraduates and Masters students became a greater burden, of which Michael, as Director of the Centre from 1991 to 2007, took his full share.

A further boost came with taking the south-west maritime history conferences under the wing of the Centre. These meetings gained a higher profile and organisational improvement such that they are now a cornerstone of the British maritime history calendar: in 2011 the Exeter Maritime History Conference will hold its forty-fifth meeting. Michael's interest in the south-west has also been reflected by his research students. Ian Skinner wrote on the role of the south-west in the Second World War. Michael guided two M.Phil. theses on South Devon coastal communities and a study of East Stonehouse.⁷ Perhaps the most 'left field' of all research topics would be Clare Greener's thesis on 'The Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon'.⁸ However, Michael was again playing to his strengths as gardening and gardening history are also great interests of his.

At this time Michael also took on the editorship of the *Mariner's Mirror*. It is difficult to overestimate the difference he made to this journal, which had fallen on very hard times, with too much Mediterranean archaeology and articles of very doubtful worth, selected by the then editor on unadvised hunches and whims. For some reason, for some periods of time the editorial hand excised all footnotes and references. The nine Duffy years, starting in 1991, steadily improved the standard of articles and reviews, and confidence in the journal returned. At the same time, Michael was writing a very good short study on William Pitt the Younger, which appeared in Longman's 'Profiles in Power' series in 2000.⁹ Anyone writing on this subject has always to bear in mind the three great volumes by John Ehrman, the last one of which appeared in 1996. Ehrman was Michael's Ph.D. examiner and knows him well, and had acknowledged Michael's contribution to his second and third volumes.¹⁰ Michael added and developed two themes in journal articles on Pitt's management of the House of Commons and his handling of public opinion. Then in this short book, he told the story of this remarkable prime minister with

⁷ Geoffrey Doye, 'Communities in Crisis: A Social History of South Devon Coastal Communities, 1815–80' (M.Phil., 2007); Geoffrey Burnard, 'The Development of the Town of East Stonehouse in the Nineteenth Century' (M.Phil., 2008).

⁸ Clare Greener, 'The Professional Gardener in Nineteenth-Century Devon' Ph.D., 2010.

⁹ Michael Duffy, *The Younger Pitt*, Profiles in Power (London, 2000).

¹⁰ John Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt*, 3 vols. (London, 1969–96).

delightful and telling anecdotes, etching a very sharp, readable and accessible picture of Pitt the man.

But Michael reckons that he got a great deal out of those ten years, particularly from the many subjects and periods on which he had to read articles submitted for *Mariner's Mirror*. Now there was no research student that he would not take on, as can be gauged from the theses completed at this time: current maritime museum philosophy; early Royal Naval hospitals; the Marine Corps between 1755 and 1802; officers in the late Victorian and Edwardian navy; the new navalism of the 1890s; the Chilean naval mutiny of 1931; Anglo-Polish naval relations between the two world wars; the inter-war Fleet Air Arm; amphibious assaults and convoys in the Second World War.¹¹ Helen Doe's thesis on women in shipping and shipbuilding was published in 2009 as *Enterprising Women and Shipping in the Nineteenth Century*.¹² How Michael managed to fit all this into the working week was and is a mystery – and he was Dean of Arts between 1994 and 1997 and Head of History from 1999 to 2003.

Naval leadership has been a long-held interest, intrinsic to his book on the West Indies amphibious expeditions. It was developed in Tom Wareham's thesis on frigate captains which flourished into two books; *The Star Captains: Frigate Command in the Napoleonic Wars* (2001) and *Frigate Commander* (2004).¹³ With Roger Morriss Michael edited essays on the battle of the

¹¹ Robert Hicks, 'The Ideology of Maritime Museums, with Particular Reference to the Interpretation of Early Modern Navigation', Ph.D. 2000; Kathleen Harland, 'The Early Development of Royal Naval Hospitals', Ph.D. 2003; Britt Zerbe, '"That Most Useful Body of Men": The Operational Doctrine and Identity of the British Marine Corps, 1755–1802', Ph.D. 2011; Mary Jones, 'The Victorian and Edwardian Naval Officer-corps', Ph.D. 2000; Oliver Walton, 'The Social History of the Late Victorian Navy', Ph.D. 2004; Roger Parkinson, 'The Naval Defence Act of 1889 and the Origins of the New Navalism of the 1890s', Ph.D. 2007, published as *The Late Victorian Navy: The Pre-Dreadnought Era and the Origins of the First World War* (Woodbridge, 2008); Carlos Tromben Corbalan, 'The Chilean Naval Mutiny of 1931', Ph.D. 2010; Wanda Troman, 'Anglo-Polish Naval Relations between the Two World Wars', Ph.D. 2000; Philip Weir, 'The Fleet Air Arm between the RAF and the Royal Navy in the Inter-war Period', Ph.D. 2007; Ivor Howcroft, 'The Role of the Royal Navy in the Amphibious Assaults of the Second World War', Ph.D. 2002; Dennis Haslop, 'Learning and implementing lessons of convoy warfare in the Battle of the Atlantic: a comparative study' Ph.D. 2011.

¹² Helen Doe, 'Enterprising Women: Nineteenth-Century Maritime Businesswomen', Ph.D. 2007, published as *Enterprising Women and Shipping in the Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2009).

¹³ Thomas N. R. Wareham, 'The Role of the Frigate Captain in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', Ph.D. 1999, subsequently published as *The Star Captains. Frigate Command in the Napoleonic Wars* (Chatham, 2001).

Glorious First of June (2001).¹⁴ In 2009 a fruitful partnership developed with Ruddock Mackay in New Zealand, entirely by e-mail, which resulted in the analysis and comparison of the leadership styles of Hawke and Nelson.¹⁵ Two studies on this long-term theme have been completed in 2011. Peter Ward focused on a completely different type of leader, the skilful management of Peter Rainier in the East Indies in the Napoleonic War, while Byrne McLeod examined the mid-eighteenth-century navy through the eyes of Captain Thomas Burnett.¹⁶

For the University of Exeter Michael has striven hard for forty years. He has served on every committee, and was always the first in the know when it came to cross-university intelligence. He has also been an important figure on the Councils of the Society for Nautical Research and the Navy Records Society. Quick-witted and cheerful, he has been difficult to resist. Invariably optimistic, determinedly informal, he has worn the laurels of his distinguished career very modestly. If there is a pattern to what he has achieved, it is that he has simplified issues for the sake of others. Several times he has taken an underdeveloped or complex situation and has made it accessible to all: the book on Pitt and his editorship of the *Mariner's Mirror* would be two differing examples of this quality. Through his efforts he has left naval and maritime history more popular and friendly, more defined and more studied, not only at Exeter but through his colleagues and students, much more widely. And we look forward to more from his pen.

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¹⁴ Michael Duffy and Roger Morriss, eds, *The Glorious First of June: A Naval Battle and its Aftermath* (Exeter, 2001).

¹⁵ Ruddock Mackay and Michael Duffy, *Hawke, Nelson and British Naval Leadership 1747–1805* (Woodbridge, 2009).

¹⁶ Peter Ward, 'Admiral Peter Rainier and the Command of the East Indies Station 1794–1805', Ph.D. 2011; (Anne) Byrne McLeod, 'The Mid-Eighteenth Century Navy from the Perspective of Captain Thomas Burnett and his Peers', Ph.D. 2011.

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