

remarked that some studies “showed that total hours in gross anatomy (and other anatomical disciplines) decreased since earlier surveys dating back to 1955; specifically decreasing from almost 350 total hours in 1955 to 149 hours in 2009” (S. Carmichael, “Does Clinical Anatomy Deserve Another 25 Years? Reflections on How Clinical Anatomy Has Changed in the Past Quarter Century,” *Clinical Anatomy*, vol. 25, 2012, p. 143). The “time available for study of anatomy” continues to be reduced and, in some medical schools, removed. Research carried out in Berlin shows that autopsies had diminished to such extent that they almost disappeared (<http://www.deathanddeadbodies.eu>). The decreasing time devoted to anatomy is connected with training in new imaging techniques and in learning minimally invasive surgical techniques. In contrast to the early years of medical training studied by Helen MacDonald, the bodies in the morgue may be, literally, relics of the medical-scientific past..

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Museo de La Plata/CONICET

*Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens: Commercial Sex in London, 1885-1960*, by Julia Laite. Basingstoke, UK, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. ix, maps, 299 pp. \$85.00 US (cloth).

Buying and selling sex has never actually been illegal in Britain. However, solicitation and other activities that facilitate commercial sex were increasingly prohibited by legal statute and police action since the late nineteenth century. In *Common Prostitutes and Ordinary Citizens*, Julia Laite explores the complex and contingent experience of prostitutes in relation to the criminal justice system. Laite questions both the motivations and utility of criminalization, arguing that it “helped to make prostitution about specific demons in society that could be managed by specific laws, rather than a sign of something very wrong in the fundamental structure of society or the state itself” (p. 216). More often than redressing exploitation and the dangers associated with commercial sex for women, Laite argues, criminalization instead created dynamics which encouraged the involvement of third-parties, organized crime, and women’s increased vulnerability to physical harm. Present-day positions and policies on prostitution, Laite concludes, fail to recognize these histories or the harmful consequences of past legal interventions.

Laite extends the study of British prostitution through the first half of the twentieth century, from the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act to the 1959 Street Offences Act, a critical period in which prostitution was increasingly the fodder of tabloid sensationalism, public concern and state intervention. During this period prostitution “came to be more circumscribed than it had been at any other time in Britain’s modern history” (p. 2). Critical to understanding commercial sex and its treatment by the criminal justice system is the “common prostitute,” a term never legally defined, but pervasive in the ongoing criminalization process. Statutes

against solicitation were based on an understanding of the public nuisance caused by the "common prostitute," an "unrespectable" urban character distinct from the respectable "ordinary citizen."

Women entered prostitution for many reasons. Some with dependent children, parents, or partners valued the income and flexible time commitments. Others were coerced or believed they had no other options. Some enjoyed the work. But they all did it, as Laite points out, because there were customers for commercial sex. These included a similarly diverse range of men and motivations. Despite historians' focus on prostitute women, it was men who comprised the majority of individuals participating in commercial sex. Laite's chapter on male clients, and references to male third-parties, pimps, touts, and landlords recognized that on many levels prostitution was inflected by a variety of gender relations. Unlike prostitute women, men were never legally liable for their role in commercial sex and therefore remained largely invisible in the historical record. Still, Laite reminds us that their role cannot be discounted; "clients' sexual desires, their spending and earning patterns, their mobility, their leisure patterns and their attitudes were highly determinative of the forms that commercial sex would take" (p. 44).

Criminalization was, according to Laite, an ongoing process that was both contingent and historically specific. Legal reforms never reduced the incidences of commercial sex, and instead increasing prostitutes' reliance on third-parties, while also undermining women's ability to work safely. Pimps offered real assistance, but could also contribute to the violence and danger women experienced. Many women, therefore, were forced to "measure the potentially coercive or abusive relationship they might have with their pimps or other third parties against the drawbacks of harassment, arrest, imprisonment and the dreaded reform home" (p. 97). Laite also pays close attention throughout to changing laws, technologies, patterns of leisure, and forces of commerce, and how these affected prostitute-women's experiences, relationships, and personal security.

Race and ethnicity play an important role in Laite's study with regard to both prostitute women and pimps. Domestic British women faced particular prejudices when failing to conform to understandings of the imagined victim or "white slave." At the same time, foreign prostitutes were faced with expulsion or "voluntary repatriation." By the post-war period and increased immigration from Commonwealth territories, concerns about the foreign-born pimp contributed to demands for "measures that would enable the courts to repatriate offenders and prevent them from entering the country in the first place" (p. 181).

The perception of an expanding commercial sex industry, fear of its control by foreign elements and organized crime, and a series of sensationalized exposés in the tabloid press encouraged the government to call an independent commission to review the laws on solicitation and prostitution. The Wolfenden Committee's 1957 report contributed directly to the 1959 Street Offences Act, the most significant legislative reform since the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act. The committee recommended maintaining the term "common prostitute" and dropping the need to prove annoyance for her arrest. The concretization of beliefs about the "common prostitute" promoted by the Wolfenden Report and enshrined into law

by the Street Offences Act, argues Laite, seriously calls into question the trajectory of permissiveness in mid-century Britain.

The strength of Laite's study is her careful treatment of the complexity and subtlety at the heart of interrelationships between cultural bias, legal change, and lived experience. Laite's writing is engaging and accessible, and the foreground of specific anecdotes, based on historical interviews and autobiographical testimony, will appeal to many readers. However, some undergraduates may struggle to link together the subtle arguments of contingency and possibility that are threaded throughout individual chapters. Nonetheless, the whole book would make an excellent source of reading in a senior undergraduate or graduate seminar, where it could be paired against Judith Walkowitz's *Prostitution and Victorian Society* (Cambridge, 1980) or even more recent studies of sexualities and the city. Matt Houlbrook's *Queer London* (Chicago, 2005) overlaps almost perfectly with Laite's period, even focusing on many of the same acts and legislative actors. And Frank Mort's recent *Capital Affairs* (Yale, 2010) similarly questions historians' understanding of permissiveness in mid-century Britain.

In the end, Laite concludes that "women who sold sex ... were (and are) demographically like most other working-class women and that their experiences and choices associated with prostitution are related to broad inequalities of gender and class" (p. 218). In essence, common prostitutes were themselves also ordinary citizens.

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*Strategy and War Planning in the British Navy, 1887-1918*, by Shawn T. Grimes, Woodbridge, UK, Boydell Press, 2012, xiv, 263 pp. \$115.00 US (Cloth).

The history of the Royal Navy before and during the First World War has been an area well worn by historical interest. Despite hundreds of monographs and articles, scant consensus has emerged regarding the direction of British naval policy for much of the period. The Navy's war plans, or lack thereof, has been an area in which historians have been especially critical of the Admiralty. This trend was begun by intellectual officers such as Herbert Richmond, who attacked the Admiralty heavily on this score during and after the First World War. Claims that the legacy of Sir John Fisher was "no thinking department, no plans for war, no knowledge of an enemy's plan or movements" and that the Navy had "a very big body with a very small brain" have proven to be enduring.

In this book, based upon the author's 2003 doctoral thesis, Shawn Grimes conclusively rebuts these claims. The reader might be excused for wondering how the opinions of such august service luminaries might be effectively addressed. However in by far the most cohesive, well researched and thorough treatment of