

au plutôt, pour montrer par des écrits et des faits que l'administration du diocèse de Montréal a toujours, dès le principe, été dirigée d'après les saines doctrines de l'Ultramontanisme, afin d'en extirper le Gallicanisme ».

Au total, donc, une biographie très valable qui ne devrait pas empêcher d'approfondir certaines questions moins développées par l'auteur.

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ARTHUR COCKERILL — *Sons of the Brave: The Story of Boy Soldiers*. London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd. (St. Edmundsbury Press), 1984. Pp. xi, 236.

War studies are enjoying a certain vogue today, and military history in general engages more attention amongst historians and non-historians than has been the case for many decades. The socio-political reasons for this swelling interest are manifold and complex. But in part it is recent developments in military historiography which are responsible. The new military studies are no longer focused upon the dry-as-dust tactical and organizational matters that dominated traditional military history. Instead they humanize the subject in a way exemplified by *Sons of the Brave*. Cockerill's book combines strengths and weaknesses in nearly equal amounts; however, it does introduce us to the hitherto invisible "boy soldier", who emerges alive and well as an engaging historical figure.

Cockerill provides us with the first historical account of the boy soldier, although social historians have now explored the child from a variety of other perspectives — at home, at play, and at work. But the child at work in a military role has remained invisible largely because until recently military history itself has continued to be considered the realm of the military specialist. Particularly during the last decade, however, numerous studies were published which explored the military past and military institutions from the perspective of social history. The focus of attention moved from the officer to the soldier and to his social origins and milieu — undoing the segregation of soldiers from civilians.

As the infusion of social history blurred the boundaries of military history, the latter became increasingly accessible to the non-military specialist — accessible, for example, to women's historians, labour historians, and also, we now find, to historians of the child. However, Cockerill is not an historian of the child, and his evident lack of familiarity with the literature in that field does weaken his book, particularly in that his aim is to write "this history from the boy soldier's viewpoint". Cockerill's own perspective is best seen in the light of his own history. He is a former boy soldier, educated at Britain's Duke of York's Royal Military School and then commissioned in the Corps of Royal Engineers where he served for thirteen years, resigning at the age of twenty-three.

Now residing in Ontario, Cockerill introduces us to yet another shadowy area of the Canadian past by revealing that boys in their teens and younger were a feature of the Canadian military establishment from its earliest origins right up to Paul Hellyer's restructuring of the Armed Forces in 1968. Masses of such youngsters fought in the Anglo-Boer War. And on the basis of his very extensive correspondence with and interviewing of numerous former boy soldiers, Cockerill has unearthed the fact that during World War I many Canadians saw active service overseas while still in their early teens. At the outbreak of World War II, however, measures were taken to ensure that the some 1,500 minors in the Canadian Army stayed home. And the revelation that the German troops included teenagers was met by vehement public disgust. By the mid-twentieth century, it was simply assumed that wars were to be fought by adult males.

Cockerill's point is that it has been conveniently forgotten that soldiering was not always for men only. When we look with distaste upon the military use of young persons today — in Africa, the Middle East, and Central America, for example — we are demonstrating what Cockerill describes as our "collective self-induced amnesia" regarding our own history. Moreover, his point is not to argue that the pot should not call the kettle black, but rather that we should recognize the merits of the pot. That is to say that Canada, like other Commonwealth nations, inherited the tradition of boy soldiering from Britain, and that it is an honourable tradition.

Turning to focus upon the history of the British Army, Cockerill develops his thesis that boy soldiering was good for the Army, good for society, and most of all, good for the boy soldiers themselves. He does persuasively demonstrate that, in order to maintain its fighting strength and to provide a broad basis of support for the military, the non-conscript British Army has included large numbers of youngsters. During the Napoleonic Wars, for example, some 11,000 boys were recruited — some as young as ten and most in their early teens. They served overseas as aides-de-camp and as buglers and drummers. In providing the signals for military manoeuvres they filled an important role on the battle front and demonstrated bravery in the face of danger.

Cockerill argues that they were often themselves the sons of soldiers — the sons of the brave — and thereby challenges the old Wellingtonian view of soldiers as the "scum of the earth" and of the Army as the last refuge of scoundrels. This was a view promoted by legislation permitting the pardoning of criminals who enlisted. And throughout the Victorian era soldiering remained amongst the very lowest-paid of occupations. Most historians have continued to accept the broad outlines of that traditional characterization of the rank-and-file. However, by introducing the role of the family tradition, Cockerill does present an argument for some revisionism in that regard.

He is less persuasive in arguing that boy soldiering was also socially efficacious in that it provided the youthful recruits with a moral training and education which made ex-boy soldiers into fine citizens and good workers. This contention is part of his over-arching thesis that the practice was most of all a boon to the boys themselves. They were, he argues, substantially better off than their civilian counterparts. The Army, in fact, served as their "surrogate mother". Many of them were recruited directly from poor houses, and many were orphans. Boy soldiers were, perhaps, better off than this comparison group in spite of the fact that soldiers' mortality and morbidity rates remained substantially higher than civilians' — largely because of horrendous barracks conditions.

Cockerill argues further, however, that the military has demonstrated tremendous solicitude "through the ages for the care, succour and education of young soldiers ... (showing) a far greater awareness of the needs of young boys in their care than society at large". But much evidence suggests that, until the early twentieth century, the military schools lagged behind their civilian counterparts. And by Cockerill's own evidence boy soldiers were worse off in the eyes of the law than were their civilian counterparts who were treated as minors. Long after corporal punishment was abolished in the Army (in 1871), as Cockerill tells us, it remained very much in effect for boy soldiers. In the military schools the boys were routinely flogged and put into solitary confinement for such offences as bed wetting and disobedience. And, as the author himself advises, the idea that such boys exercised "free consent" in choosing to enlist in the Army must be viewed with caution, since "free consent implies rational judgement — which children brought up in a closed military society would certainly lack".

In the light of this vivid delineation of the regimentation and structuring of virtually every aspect of the boy soldier's life, one is surprised to be informed that boy soldiering provided a valuable lesson in self-discipline and a purpose in life. But much of the correspondence from former boy soldiers still living today, which has been selected for inclusion in the book, does tend to bear out this argument. On the other hand, Cockerill's conclusion/prediction that "should another conflict occur, enterprising Canadian youth will find new ways of inveigling their way into the uniform" fails to recognize that, by much of his own evidence, boy soldiers became boy soldiers out of necessity — not by choice.

Clearly this is a book which can be expected to generate considerable controversy. It does provide a rich picture of the world surrounding these boys although it may not be as discerning about how they saw that world. And it does raise important new questions which should serve to further the perception that military and social history have much to gain by joining forces.

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JUDITH FINGARD — *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982. Pp. 292.

For those still enamoured with the mythology of iron men and wooden ships associated with sailing in the nineteenth century, Judith Fingard's study of merchant sailors in Halifax, St. John and Quebec City will provide a much-needed cure. While presenting some background on the early and late years of the nineteenth century, Fingard's study concentrates mainly on the golden age of sail from the 1850s to the early 1870s, when sailing ships carried the bulk of transatlantic cargo, and details the rough, violent, dangerous lot of seamen and their thriving sailortowns in these three Canadian ports. The book covers the sailor labour market in general, the conditions of life at sea and in port, and sailors' attempts to defend their rights, both by legal and illegal means. It discusses the role of boarding house keepers, crimps and social reformers in shaping Jack's fortunes.

The strength of the work is clearly in its detailed portrait of the sailor's lot, much of this culled from the local press in Halifax, St. John and Quebec City and supplemented by government reports and archives, private business records and some personal papers. Fingard distinguishes between the few career sailors, of respectable behaviour and usually with family connections to shipowners, who could hope to proceed beyond the station of sailor, and the young, somewhat wild men who made up the bulk of the labour force and who rarely stayed in the life beyond thirty years of age. As she details the uncomfortable, difficult and dangerous working conditions that sailors encountered in port, and the leaky vessels and tyrannical captains they endured at sea, it is easy to understand why. The rough nature of sailortowns' night life only balanced the equally rough working day.

The most interesting part of the study examines the sailors' attempts to receive adequate payment for their labour. Given the chronic shortage of labour in North American ports, British and European sailors found it advantageous to look for work here, even though this meant deserting ship in Canada rather than returning to Europe as originally contracted. Court action by captains to force return of crew members, and charges by sailors to force payment of wages or lawful discharge, were common. By examining these litigations in some detail, Fingard is able to illustrate the limits of power which the legal system allowed to both sellers and buyers of labour and to provide an interesting study of this specialized labour market.

The role of boarding house owners and crimps as labour agents between ship owners and sailors and as providers of entertainment and accommodation to sailors in port is also explored. Quebec City crimps were noted for their eagerness to recruit deserters and for considerable violence in accomplishing their ends, while St. John crimps (while equally successful) opted to form a Boarding House Keepers Association which allowed them to effectively control the local labour market without resorting to the strong-arm tactics of their Quebec counterparts. While reformers and government officials branded crimps and boarding house keepers as exploiters of sailors, Fingard clearly draws the common class ties between these residents of sailortown and the sailors who kept sailors' wages high and often acted as guides to foreign sailors through the legal and police system in port. Government attempts to regulate or suppress crimping clearly failed, and ships' captains recognized the advantages of the illegal system in providing men.