

tortuous process by which the Canadian Legion emerged is given detailed treatment: only with the discrediting of MacNeil was the way open for senior officers to bring about amalgamation.

However, for all its strengths, there is a dimension missing from *Winning the Second Battle* — the outlook and position of the individual veteran himself. Only occasionally, amidst the blow-by-blow accounts of organizational infighting, bureaucratic intrigue and committee work do we catch sight of the subject of all this sound and fury. There is a good, if brief, section dealing with the attitudes of and towards veterans during the demobilization phase but for the most part, one must be satisfied with tales of “hard cases” cited as examples of governmental neglect. The explosion of discontent leading to the Bonus campaign of 1919 is described in terms of its general mood, its divisive effects on the GWVA and the nativist, anti-profiteer rhetoric that accompanied it. However, since we are assured that “hunger and unemployment were simply not factors at this point” (121), it is important to know more than we are told about what had happened to the actual economic and social status of individual veterans on their return to Canada.

Morton and Wright claim that civil resettlement established fundamental new principles in Canadian social policy which laid the foundation for the welfare state. This argument needs to be fully developed, since it is not clear by the end how far principles such as universality and entitlement had come to replace the stress on self-sufficiency, even with the adoption of War Veterans’ Allowances. The confusion is due in part to the book’s fragmented structure which makes it hard to see the larger patterns at work. As a result, some of the conclusions do not appear self-evident. For example, the statement that “deliberate government policy made soldiers poor” (223), because pensions were linked to low army pay, seems out keeping with the constant emphasis given earlier to high pension rates.

This volume is well produced and mercifully free from minor errors: I would note only that Lloyd George’s health insurance scheme was enacted in 1911, not 1908 (x); and that 1920 on page 209 is a misprint. As an added bonus, we are provided with twelve pages of excellent photographs and a useful statistical appendix. *Winning the Second Battle* marks an important first step in giving veterans the place they deserve in Canada’s social and political history. For this the authors deserve considerable credit. One hopes that others, in Canada and beyond, will follow their lead.

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Dian H. Murray — *Pirates of the South China Coast, 1790-1810*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987. Pp. xii, 243.

As Western historiography of China has evolved from broad studies of Chinese institutions and national movements or Sino-Western relations to more intensive examinations of Chinese society, regional and local history has come into focus. Dian Murray’s study of piracy follows this trend. Piracy along the China coast was an endemic problem since at least the sixteenth century, when Japanese pirates linked up with elements of the Chinese maritime population to ravage the coastal regions during

the Ming period (1368-1644). The Ming never successfully dealt with the problem, and pirate forces were a factor in the Ching campaign of conquest in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The most famous pirate, Koxinga, established an independent state on Taiwan that lasted for several decades into the 1680s.

The late-eighteenth-century resurgence of piracy examined by Dian Murray was linked with the earlier phase and shared some of its themes. In both cases, piracy transcended state boundaries and was in part engendered by events or conditions happening outside China. And in both cases, piracy subsisted in a semi-autonomous maritime world not entirely amenable to control or influence from the continent. The author describes the "water world" in which the pirates operated as geographically, socially and economically fragmented. Indeed, convinced that "it is no longer possible to think of maritime China as an undifferentiated watery realm stretching from the Yangtze River to Hainan Island" (2), she envisions several overlapping but differentiated water worlds. This study is set in the Cantonese water world extending from eastern Kwantung westward along the coast into Vietnam.

The "Tanka", a pariah group of Cantonese-speaking coastal people, and other linguistically and ethnically distinct boat people and fishermen of the coastal region lacked the strong binding forces of lineage organizations of the more settled population of the agrarian hinterland. They were limited largely to nuclear families living aboard small fishing craft and possessed at best very weak associations with any place. This lack of strong local attachments, plus the characteristic mobility of their way of life, made the transition to piracy a relatively easy and attractive alternative — a temporary "survival strategy" — in times of economic and social instability. Piracy, then, was a natural and plausible extension of activities of the water world.

The problem that Professor Murray addresses in the first part of her study (chapters 3-5) is how small scale pirate enterprise made the transition to large scale organized pirate confederations that presented a significant challenge to the Ch'ing. She finds that it was the pirates' involvement, across the Sino-Vietnamese border, in the Tay-son Rebellion in Vietnam in the late eighteenth century that propelled the pirates into a new and broader level of activity. When the rebellion was defeated by the early nineteenth century, the pirate forces had become transformed into a significant force on the South China Coast. Their survival beyond the end of the rebellion depended on "their ability to develop new forms of leadership and organization" (56).

In the second half of the book (chapters 6-8), Professor Murray mainly describes the efforts of the Ch'ing to suppress what had assumed the proportions of a rebellion in the water world. Here, we are presented with the all too familiar story of government indecision, divided priorities, ineffectiveness and lethargy in pacification. One weakness in this approach to the subject is that both the rise of piracy and its pacification are viewed mainly through the eyes of the official world that confronted it. This bias arises inevitably, perhaps, from the paucity of sources emanating from the pirates themselves. As is the case with many instances of popular upheaval in China, the documentary record is far more abundant on the government side.

More problematical in Professor Murray's understanding of the rise and fall of piracy on the South China Coast is her application of the useful concept of the "water world". After having first described the environment of the water world, she is less successful in explaining how it helps us understand the marginal world in which the pirates flourished. Does it have any significance beyond the somewhat different exigencies of combat and banditry at sea? The narration of battles, the rise of the pirate

confederation, the ineffectiveness of the Ch'ing countermeasures appear little different in character from those involving an internal agrarian rebellion. The latter, after all, were also frequently led by groups ethnically and socially at odds with their surrounding society.

Earlier, Professor Murray argues that patron-client relationships, and homosexual relationships as well, provided an organizational bond between pirates among whom the lineage relationships of "normal" society were lacking. When she comes to discuss the final collapse of the pirate confederation in her conclusion, she demonstrates that the explanation for the pirates' ultimate failure does not lie in either military countermeasures of the government forces or the organization of the local *t'uan-lien* (militia) defense system, but rather in internal dissension that dissolved the patron-client relationships. The argument seems strained. Why did piracy not relapse into a lower level of intensity where patron-client relationships could continue to survive? The question points to another answer. The symbiotic balance between pirates and their prey in the water world was broken by the massive ascendancy of the pirate forces. Even during their early phase, Murray makes the pirates seem so powerful and effective that one wonders how those on whom they preyed survived at all. Once they carried all before them, their activities became counter-productive; the combination of protection and expropriation only worked when the victims could still absorb reasonable losses. The pirates' success came close to destroying the society and economy on which they depended for subsistence.

Still, Professor Murray elicits a number of patterns characterizing piracy — homosexuality as a bond among pirates, and the important role of women — observed also in piracy and maritime enterprise elsewhere. Her study helps us to understand that the South China Coast was not a sharp dividing line but a continuum from one sort of society, the more settled agrarian mode of the interior, to another, the fluctuating maritime world of the "inner seas". In conclusion, Professor Murray appropriately observes that the Mandate of Heaven was not restored over the water world in the nineteenth century. In fact, if the Ch'ing may have gained nothing by pirate suppression, neither did it lose something it once possessed. The Mandate of Heaven had never been fully implemented over this ambiguous region.

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Doreen Evenden Nagy — *Popular Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England*. Ohio: Bowling Green State University Press, 1988. Pp. 139.

This book purports to discuss popular medicine in the seventeenth century by focusing on several specific themes — the role of geography, economics and religion in perpetuating reliance on popular practitioners, the similarity between the treatments of popular practitioners and those of their educated counterparts, and the role of women in popular practice. But even the author's rather modest expectations to produce a "better informed, albeit somewhat altered perception of seventeenth-century English health care" (3) are not met by this study.