

for wartime plant expansion, and much else. In the long run, in McDowall's analysis, it all seems to have been worth it. Like Japan and South Korea, which also have a tradition of close cooperation between government and steel, Canada has succeeded in creating a modern and internationally competitive industry. In the United States, where cooperation between the industry and federal government virtually ceased during the Truman administration, the industry has entered a long and apparently terminal decline.

If it is easy to accept this argument in principal, it is a little more difficult to see merit in the kind of chaotic and haphazard relationship described in this book, at least for the first four decades of this century. For one thing, tariffs on primary steel imports, the principal federal contribution to the industry, are a two-edged sword; they help the primary industry but hurt secondary steel manufacture, potentially a greater source of employment. Provincial assistance tended to come and go in response to regional political pressures and was often of dubious value. Only under C.D. Howe was the industry part of a coherent industrial strategy, and that strategy died with Howe's political career. In recent years the relationship between steel and government in Canada has probably been closer to the American model than to that of Japan Incorporated. Further, it is significant that a disproportionate percentage of federal aid to the industry over the years has gone to Algoma and Sysco, the two companies without direct access to the major Canadian markets in southern Ontario and Quebec. With Algoma once again operating deeply in the red and Sysco established as a bottomless hole for government subventions, it is worth asking whether the whole thing has worked out that well after all.

Steel at the Sault began life as a doctoral thesis on Sir James Dunn, and the principal source for the expanded work remained the Sir James Dunn Papers at the Public Archives of Canada. The papers are probably the best source for modern business history in the PAC; Dunn knew all of the major businessmen of his time and most of the politicians, and he kept all of their letters. Clergue, unfortunately, left no papers — “a documentary fate,” as McDowall observes, “which often awaits those who fail.” McDowall had to track his story through the Laurier Papers and those of other Canadian political figures. Befitting its academic origins, the book is extremely well researched and documented. McDowall has not, unhappily, succeeded in writing a page-turner; reworked theses on Canadian business history seldom become best sellers. But *Steel at the Sault* is a very good book, and one that throws light on aspects of Canadian economic history well beyond the bounds of Francis Clergue's mill at Sault Ste. Marie.

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Kingston Penitentiary: The First Hundred and Fifty Years. DENNIS CURTIS, ANDREW GRAHAM, LOU KELLY, and ANTHONY PATTERSON. Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada in conjunction with Supply and Services Canada, 1985. xiii, 173 p. ISBN 0-660-11823-8 \$24.95.

Correctional Service Canada commissioned this work to commemorate the anniversary of the founding of Kingston Penitentiary. The authors trace the history of Canada's oldest penitentiary from 1 June 1835 (the day the first six inmates were committed) to the present time.

The impetus for the establishment of a penitentiary in Upper Canada came mainly from Hugh Thompson, member of the Legislative Assembly for Frontenac. In 1831 a committee of the assembly undertook a study of the penitentiary issue and presented the case that Thompson had been advocating since the session of 1826-27. The committee saw the penitentiary as an alternative to the death penalty, corporal punishment, payment of fines, transportation, and imprisonment in local gaols. It found that each had serious weaknesses. Common gaols were inadequate for the detention of more serious offenders because they were often overcrowded, lacked sufficient operating funds, and failed to classify and separate inmates properly.

The Provincial Penitentiary, built near a limestone quarry in the village of Portsmouth (now part of Kingston), was patterned after the Auburn Prison in the state of New York where the congregate system was in vogue. At Auburn Prison convicts worked together during the day at hard labour under enforced rules of silence and spent their nights alone in separate cells.

The authors indicate that from the beginning "the twin dilemma" of penitentiary philosophy has been how to reconcile confinement and reform. They point out that in the early nineteenth century confinement was ensured by the erection of thick prison walls and lofty lookout towers and by the exercise of strict control over the daily lives of the inmates. Reform, it was thought, could be attained by "meditation, penitence, and reflection upon a life of crime."

In 1830s and 1840s, during the harsh regime of the first Warden, Henry Smith, repression predominated over reform. The authors indicate that at that time, penal officials placed particular emphasis on the rule of silence and forbade convicts to "speak, look, wink, nod, laugh or gesticulate to anyone, except by hand signals to the keepers, and only then in connection with work duties and wants." The "Brown Report" of 1849, the first public inquiry on penitentiary affairs, documented several cases of unusually harsh punishments for breaking the rule of silence and for other seemingly minor infractions. It was especially critical of the punishment inflicted on children such as Sarah O'Connor, aged fourteen, who was flogged five times within a three-month period, Antoine Beache, aged eight, who was flogged forty-eight times in nine months, and Peter Charbonneau, aged ten, who was lashed fifty-seven times in eight and one half months. As a result of this criticism, corporal punishment was not administered as frequently after 1848, although strapping continued for more than a century and was not formally abolished until 1972.

As noted, the brutality of corporal punishment at the penitentiary first received popular attention as the result of a public inquiry. By contrast, prison escapes and riots are events brought to public attention by the sensational publicity that the press and media tend to give to them. The planners of this work found these appealing topics as well. John Vandoremalen, the managing editor, claims that one of the objectives was to produce "a history that was as gripping as a good thriller" (*Let's Talk*, Correctional Service Canada, 15 July 1985). In an attempt to achieve this goal, the authors produced a chapter on the subject of escapes. They point out that "one of the most famous escapes from the penitentiary" occurred in 1923 when Norman "Red" Ryan and four other inmates set fire to a barn and, in the confusion which followed, scaled over the wall by ladder to the outside. But the Ryan case did not end there. Recaptured in Minneapolis, Ryan served another twelve years in Kingston Penitentiary before being paroled in 1935. He appeared to have become a changed man. Prime Minister R.B. Bennett visited Ryan at Kingston Penitentiary and declared that he had been reformed. Nonetheless, in 1936 Ryan was shot

dead during a liquor store hold-up (not a bank hold-up as the authors write) in Sarnia. Although overlooked completely, it is generally known that the escapades of "Red" Ryan had an adverse effect on the parole system long after his demise.

Chapter ten is devoted to the sordid events surrounding the penitentiary riots of 1932, 1951, and 1971. The latter, which the authors describe as "the longest and most violent riot ever to take place at Kingston Penitentiary," occurred in April 1971. At that time inmates took six guards hostage, demolished several cell blocks, and brutalized fourteen "undesirables" (all sex criminals or informers) resulting in the death of two of them. Regrettably, the authors do not attempt to analyze the causes and effects of the riot, suggest how it might have been prevented, or mention what convictions resulted from it. They do acknowledge that the destruction nearly caused the penitentiary to close its doors. Shortly thereafter Kingston Penitentiary was transformed into a regional reception centre for processing and classifying inmates from the Ontario area, and later it became a prison for protective custody inmates or "undesirables."

Another of Vandoremalen's objectives was to produce a history "full of information for the historian or researcher." (*Let's Talk*, 15 July 1985) Since three of the four authors are employees of the Correctional Service, and one of them actually served as Warden of Kingston Penitentiary, they provide some keen insights into life inside the penitentiary. They explain, for example, that one of the current problems at this institution is the trafficking in amphetamines, hashish oil, and other "recreational drugs." When an illegal still is discovered, the authors assure us it is usually destroyed or adulterated with a diarrhetic so that "the distiller and his clients will be caught with their pants down." More serious are the effects caused by "mood altering drugs." An overdose can produce a violent or suicidal state. The authors note a bizarre case which occurred in 1984 when a "valium-filled mass mania left a stack of mattresses so soaked with the blood of attempted suicides that they had to be discarded."

It would appear that the author's perceptions of some of the broader aspects of the history of the penitentiary are not as sharp as their insights into what goes on inside it. For instance, in 1844, the authors note the flogging of Alec Lafleur, aged eleven years, for speaking French. This brings up a vexing point not dealt with — the apparent lack of facilities at the Provincial Penitentiary for French-speaking inmates during the Union period. Richard B. Splane in *Social Welfare in Ontario* points out that the Union did not result in the reception of large numbers of prisoners from the lower province. Splane writes, "Even though Canada East did, after a few months, begin to commit prisoners in considerable numbers, Upper Canada always provided a disproportionate percentage of inmates, and the penitentiary continued to be essentially an Upper Canadian institution." Further research on this subject is needed especially for the period prior to the establishment of St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary in 1873.

Although the authors dwell a good deal on the pre-Confederation years, another subject not explored is the confinement of children in the penitentiary. As early as 1849, the "Brown Report" had recommended the erection of a refuge for young offenders. In 1858 a reformatory was established at Île aux Noix, Canada East and forty-seven juvenile boys from the Provincial Penitentiary were transferred to it. The following year, a similar institution was built near Penetanguishene, Canada West. In 1880 the Mercer reformatory for young female offenders opened in Toronto.

As far as layout and graphics are concerned, this work is quite pleasing. It contains over two hundred superb photographs and illustrations of inmates, officials, and penitentiary buildings chosen from six institutions mentioned in the preface. Unfortunately, they are not properly credited, nor are the negative numbers indicated. This omission represents a great obstacle for researchers. For the most part, the photographs and illustrations have been carefully selected to go along with the text and, probably, for that reason the captions on them are unduly brief. Except for the "Colour Photo Essay" (pp. 140-47), they are done in sepia which gives them a certain historical appearance. Examples abound of the authors' reliance on essentially the same photographs twice. In so doing, two photographs of John A. Macdonald are identical except that one of them is the reverse of the other. In addition, the same apparatuses for smoking appear in two different photographs but in a slightly different order. The lack of an index, footnotes, and bibliography is also regrettable. Readers who intend to check newspapers, government publications, original penitentiary records, and other sources mentioned in the text will, no doubt, have a difficult time locating many of them. One should note that a large and important collection of letter books, Wardens' journals, medical registers, Inspectors' minute books, and other original records of Kingston Penitentiary, some dating back to 1835, is in a penal museum located in the former Warden's residence in Kingston. The Federal Archives Division of the Public Archives of Canada is attempting to acquire these valuable documents, many of which the authors used extensively in this work.

Overall, this account of Kingston Penitentiary is interesting but superficial. Even the authors admit that it provides only a brief look into some of the main issues. Beyond tracing the history of the penitentiary, this work covers the establishment of a prison for women and an institution for the criminally insane. Also included is the relationship and importance of the penitentiary to the City of Kingston. The main theme, however, is the importance of the penitentiary as a monument to punishment and reform. The cruelty and strict discipline that the prisoners were subjected to, especially in the early years, are clearly in evidence. The authors demonstrate how the penitentiary gradually changed from a place of repression to one of reform. They seem somewhat reluctant to explain the success or failure of the penitentiary's rehabilitative programmes, but they do admit that "well over half the inmates of Kingston Penitentiary throughout the years of its existence, have been repeat offenders." It would seem, therefore, that the rate of rehabilitation has been less than satisfactory.

Although conditions for inmates are more humane today than they were in the past, one wonders whether the expenditure on keeping so many offenders in the penitentiary is justified. The authors point out that "the perfect solution to criminality continues to evade even the most civilized and sophisticated of human societies. There are only a range of imperfect solutions, of which the penitentiary is one." It is hoped that this work will stimulate us into thinking about other more positive ones.

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Gunboat Frontier: British Maritime Authority and Northwest Coast Indians, 1846-1890 BARRY M. GOUGH. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984. xvi, 287 p. illus. maps. ISBN 0-7748-0175-1 \$27.95.

The third of Professor Gough's volumes dealing with the maritime history of British Columbia looks closely at relations between the advancing white man and the indigenous