

The absence of the provinces from the picture creates other problems. National consciousness was generally much weaker than regional consciousness in Canada, except perhaps during the world wars (and at all times, of course, in Toronto). Most Canadians active in public life had much deeper commitments to their provincial or regional contexts than to national projects. Some of the most important political issues were fought out at that level. And some of the most important alternatives to national economic development strategies were posed at the provincial level. The thrust of most recent writing on regional history has been to suggest that the old framework of national history cannot capture these important dimensions of our past, and that a new conceptualization is necessary to recognize the parallel dynamics of region and nation-state. Bothwell, Drummond, and English remain unmoved by these pleas. Their book acknowledges such major phenomena as French-Canadian nationalism and Maritime Rights only as they affect federal politics. As in their earlier book, they disparage "provincialism."

Good general histories are damnably hard to write. Perhaps that is why so few historians have dared to redo the work of Creighton, Careless, McInnis, or McNaught. This book, however, is not a model for new synthetic writing in Canadian history. Twentieth-century Canada still awaits its historian.

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Caroline Brettell — *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986. Pp. xv, 329.

Jan Lucassen — *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600-1900: The Drift to the North Sea*. London: Croom Helm, 1987. Pp. 339.

Caroline Brettell and Jan Lucassen have undertaken the daunting task of studying the migration of Europeans over the long term, each from a unique perspective that has yielded an exciting and innovative work. Anthropologist Brettell carefully lays out the connection between the unusual household and labor force designations of rural northern Portugal and the centuries-old traditions of male emigration. There women were the agricultural workers, women could inherit land, and the family home was bequeathed by parental choice — often to the spinster daughter who cared for her parents; this situation responded to and freed men for emigration. This emigration was temporary in intention, if not in actuality; it carried the men first to Brazil, subsequently to Spain, and most recently to France. While Brettell studies a sending area over the centuries, Lucassen focuses on entire migration systems that provided the North Sea coast, primarily Holland, with temporary labor from western Germany. Lucassen traces the rise and fall of these systems between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and links the ability of men to participate in those migrations with the configuration of home agricultural and industrial work that allowed them to depart for specific reasons.

Brettell's study of the parish of Lanheses, twenty-five hamlets in Northern Portugal, emphasizes the continuing role of emigration as a survival strategy and the impact of emigration on family history and demographic change. Her study rests upon parish registers beginning in the seventeenth century, household lists beginning in the nineteenth century, electoral rolls, and interviews with the people of Lanheses. This range of sources enables Brettell to reconstruct the social and economic context of changes in marriage, celibacy, marital fertility and illegitimacy in the parish. She traces changes in the impact of emigration as patterns of movement changed, tracing emigration from its sixteenth-century roots in the Portuguese empire through the peak of Brazilian emigration in the 1870-1914 period, the growth of migration to Spain and southern Portugal which came to dominate twentieth-century movements, and emigration to France since 1960.

This study of Lanheses endows the reader with an unusually lucid view of the impact of migration on home society in general and upon the family and gender roles in particular. Because both the law and culture restricted the emigration of women from Portugal until the 1960s, but did not limit their ability to inherit or to work the land, family patterns developed that were unusual in the Europe or the Mediterranean. Women married late and many did not marry, yet spinsterhood was not onerous, because as a landowner and independent actor, the single woman was a socially viable person. When illegitimate offspring were born, they were accepted at every social level. Generally speaking, the citizens of Lanheses offer little support to a unique Mediterranean social or demographic system; rather they reveal a society in which emigration defines the experience of those who remain at home as well as of those who depart.

Lucassen's study of the North Sea System, by contrast, takes a systemic approach to the migrations which supplied Holland with labor after 1600: he therefore emphasizes both the areas which sent men to work away from home and those which attracted them. Lucassen's primary source is the inquiry promulgated in 1811 by the Minister of the Interior of the French Empire; he draws on replies from today's northern provinces of France, the German Rhine Valley, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and northwest Germany — all part of the Empire in 1811. He combines this source with others to reconstruct the North Sea System in 1811 on the "macro-level," defining push and pull areas; on the "meso-level" describing the many tasks performed by seasonal laborers in agriculture, forestry, industry, transport, trade and services; and on the "micro-level," placing the migrant laborer in the context of his household and home work cycle. A survey of Western European migration systems follows — of the seven migratory systems that each engaged at least 20,000 workers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lucassen shifts to an historical perspective in the third section of this book where he traces the rise and demise of the North Sea System; accounts for its rise by the impoverishment and proliferation of people in northwestern Germany who responded to the high wages offered by the Dutch, and for its fall by the appearance of a competing employer in the Ruhr valley during the nineteenth century.

Lucassen tells the reader what makes migration systems develop: conditions at home which inspire departure such as seasonal underemployment in combination with poverty; the high wages and employment offered by pull areas. He demonstrates how these conditions change over time to produce new migration systems and obliterate old ones. Lucassen combines this general historical understanding with a detailed study of seasonal changes in the household routine of smallholders that freed them for emigration. By its breadth, Lucassen's study presents an explicit challenge to narrowly-focused studies of migration.

This ambitious and wide-ranging study has gaps and problems — problems caused less by the thorough scholarship of its author than by the nature of the sources and the scope of the study. The Napoleonic inquiry of 1811 was promulgated when temporary migration was at a low point in a Europe torn by war; this is its fundamental flaw. In addition, some prefects replied to the inquiry with much greater specificity and accuracy than others. Finally, the inquiry is particularly ill-suited to the study of the supply of labor to the North Sea coast because in 1811, that economy was crippled by the embargo on English trade imposed by the Napoleonic regime. Lucassen poses bold and encompassing questions for which answers will be slow to develop; for example, the existence of large-scale migration streams raises compelling questions about the relationships among migrants which can be answered only by detailed studies. There are few gaps in Brettell's study of Northern Portugal, on the other hand, because this study has a more specific focus and because the author has more control than Lucassen over the sources.

Each book is a remarkable achievement, partly because each integrates the domestic lives of historical actors with the world around them, and village life with the world economy. Each works at three levels, enriching our understanding of the rural household and its work routine, the group travel and group work that were the stuff of seasonal and temporary migration, and shifts in the global economy that drew workers to Portugal, to the Netherlands, and to the Ruhr valley. Indeed, Brettell's *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait* and Lucassen's *Migrant Labour in Europe* are profoundly complementary studies of European migration; their short suits as well as their strengths mesh with

one another. While Brettell's study yields a detailed picture of shifts in migration and the impact upon those shifts at home, Lucassen is able to sketch a broader range of geographical movement and to suggest the familial and demographic dimensions of migrant behavior. Together the studies do not answer the questions posed by the other, rather they hint at the shape those answers might assume, indicate sources that may be investigated, and inspire further questions about the movements of men and women in European history.

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Jay Cassel — *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1836-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987. Pp. 340.

In 1914 the Canadian Expeditionary Force boasted the highest level of venereal disease of any of the military units serving in western Europe. Of the thousand hospitalized men in 1915 of the First Canadian Contingent — which as a result of a typographical error is here happily christened the "First Continent" — 564 had VD. The impact of such diseases on the country's armed forces, Jay Cassel reminds us in this interesting book, underlay the launching of the national campaign against VD in the 1920s.

Cassel begins his story almost a century earlier in plotting the growth of the scientific investigation of VD from Ricord's separation of syphilis and gonorrhea into two distinct entities in the 1830s to Ehrlich's transformation of the treatment of syphilis by his discovery of Salvarsan in 1910. Cassel's sympathies lie very much with the doctors and he accordingly provides useful accounts of both the growth of scientific knowledge and medical methods of disease control. The first five chapters of the book do not, however, contain much new information on either the evolution of the Canadian medical profession or nineteenth century attitudes towards sexuality. The author only hits his stride when he turns to the question of the response of the army to VD in 1914 and then the reaction of the Canadian government to the threat of such diseases at home in the 1920s.

The question posed by syphilis and gonorrhea in the early twentieth century — as by AIDS today — was how "respectable" society could combat such diseases without appearing to sanction the deviant practices that were believed to produce them. Cassel argues that doctors' success lay in advancing the argument that the well-being of the community depended on forceful government intervention to provide for inspection and treatment. He points out that the Department of Health was established in 1919 as a result of such lobbying and its campaign against VD was one of the first cost-sharing measures worked out between the federal and provincial governments.

Much of what Cassel reveals of the various efforts to both care for and control VD patients is fascinating. But one of the dangers of looking at the treatment of VD primarily from the authorities' point of view is that it can lead to an overemphasizing of their scientific concerns and a downplaying of their moral and political preoccupations. The fact that doctors refused to supply patients with condoms on the grounds that the provision of such protective devices might be taken as a sanctioning of promiscuity suggests that it was not as easy to disentangle medical and non-medical concerns as Cassel seems at times to imply. Although he makes a point of expressing his dissatisfaction with A.M. Brandt's excellent social history of VD in America and S. Buckley and J.P. Dickson McGinnis' pioneering study of VD and health reform in Canada, *The Secret Plague* would be a more satisfying account if Cassel followed these authors' lead in saying something about the way in which the fear of VD was used even by the most progressive doctors to shore up sex and class power relationships.

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