

to traditional ideals, a growing number of women were leaving the parental home and entering the work-force. Connelly's treatment of the relationship between prostitution and immigration is also suggestive, and includes a good summary of the evaluation of federal law in the area, as found in the Immigration Act and the Mann Act. Also valuable is his treatment of the "white slavery" scare, which he argues was a reflection not of reality but of the fears of conservative Americans. The tendency to portray the alleged victims as children reflected, he claims, "an inability or unwillingness to confront prostitution as a manifestation of *adult* sexuality totally outside the prescriptions of civilized morality" (p. 127). This is part of a larger pattern of evasion, he maintains, in which the prostitute was variously seen as a victim of wage slavery, a deprived immigrant, or as "feeble-minded". His treatment of the anti-prostitution crusade during World War I, and its success in committing the armed forces to a policy of total repression of vice, is skillful; it certainly reinforces the view that the war represented the fulfillment of Progressivism. In his conclusion he argues that concern over the issue diminished rapidly after 1920 because "the cultural crisis of which anti-prostitution was so preeminently an expression was largely over by that date" (p. 153).

Readers may question some features of this work. Connelly is capable of making points which, if not flatly contradictory, certainly tend to run in opposite directions: thus on p. 34 the prevailing stereotype is of women as "asexual creatures" unwilling to enter a life of prostitution except out of dire necessity; on p. 39 we find the "absence of any insistence that women were innately moral". Again he is capable of downplaying the importance of the link between low wages and prostitution at one point, but emphasizing it at another. His points may be compatible, but it would be nice if it were clearer how this was so. Readers will further note the fact that while his bibliography is formidable, and seems to include all published primary and secondary sources relevant to the topic, no manuscript sources have been used. Also questionable is his assumption that the cultural crisis which created the movement was largely over by 1920. A final observation, not necessarily a criticism, is that while the book contains a number of sharp and original observations, it is solidly anchored within the by now orthodox views of both Progressivism and the history of sexuality in America. However, while it will not likely be viewed as a pivotal or revolutionary work, it is literate, intelligent and useful. We can hardly reasonably ask for more.

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CAROL M. JUDD and ARTHUR J. RAY, eds. — *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference*. Toronto; University of Toronto Press, 1980. Pp. viii, 337.

JENNIFER S. H. BROWN. — *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980. Pp. xxiii, 225.

SYLVIA VAN KIRK. — "*Many Tender Ties*": *Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980. Pp. 301.

Over the past few years the historical study of early Canada has experienced substantial revisionism, particularly in terms of a new focus upon society and the people composing it. Nowhere have the winds of change blown more fruitfully than across that vast expanse of space known as the Canadian West, and probably nowhere else in Canada has the emergence of a new social history been more surprising — or more welcome. Given the received versions of western history for the pre-settlement period before 1850, there has been in one sense little reason to anticipate new scholarship. Apart from the native peoples and the tiny community at Red River, after all, the early West was virtually unpopulated except for a handful of semi-barbarian fur traders, and the history of the first years of western activity has consisted almost entirely of fragmented accounts of the derring-do of a few individual fur traders (usually exploring) and the efforts of various external powers to incorporate the West within their own territory or sphere of influence. At the same time, the general disdain evinced for native culture and for the life-style of the traders, which resulted in a tendency to view the West as a virtually empty region to be settled and civilized from without, might have led to predictions of an ultimate reaction against such sterile interpretations. That reaction has now occurred, and one can only wonder how the new versions of early Western history will be incorporated into the standard textbook accounts of Canadian development — or what might be the political implications of the rapidly emerging reinterpretations.

As might be expected, a number of factors have coalesced to produce a new concentration on the internal development of an indigenous society in the early West. The sheer dynamic of historical revisionism, in which received versions are inevitably revealed by subsequent scholarship as inadequate and even wrong-headed, clearly has played an important role. So too has the rapid expansion within the academy of historical scholarship, both in numbers of practitioners and in their geographic location. The history of Canada is no longer being studied and written solely from the vantage point of central Canada, and is no longer so exclusively concerned with chronicling that region's desperate efforts to create a nation out of largely intractable and inhospitable territory. Within the academy itself, moreover, new sensibilities, often influenced by current affairs, have also emerged. The rise of the aspirations of "minorities", including native peoples and women, has produced a focus upon the historical development of such groups. Initial efforts at minority history, usually emphasizing unremitting victimization by the dominant culture and power, have now given way to more sophisticated analysis concentrating on the complex symbiotic relationships among cultures, peoples and social groupings. In the study of such cultural symbiosis, the early Canadian West offers an unusual, perhaps unique, laboratory for the social scientist with historical leanings.

Outside of a handful of specialists and the occasional generalist who have kept up with the work being published in the regional journals, the extent of the reinterpretation of early western history has until recently been virtually unrecognized. Some realization of a new scholarship regarding the native peoples has perhaps developed but not an appreciation of the dynamics of native-European relationships. The publication of the three books under review should serve to alter the picture. Although the book is often not the ideal medium for the communication of fresh scholarship, in a country as fragmented as Canada, it does serve the crucial function of drawing attention to the cutting edges of new interpretations which have already been advanced in specialized journals and at regional conferences and seminars. All three books have up-to-date bibliographies which should be consulted often — and carefully. In addition, the book does provide some opportunity for synthesis, although seldom as much as is necessary; these works are no exception.

While one ought not to demand synthesis from a published collection of conference papers, in a curious way, *Old Trails and New Directions* provides the most useful overview of the new scholarship presently available within the covers of a single book. For any reader seeking to catch up, it is the ideal place to begin. The work's coherence is a tribute to the skills of the conference organizers, to the extent of overall agreement on interpretive direction (if not detail) among the participants, and also to the richness of the records held in the Hudson's Bay Company archives. Most of these papers rely heavily on the Company's archival resources, which offer one of the best documentary bases for the study of an early period of European contact with native people in the world. Although the papers are divided into six thematic sections, the key ones are "Native Societies", "Social History", and "Economic Aspects", representing the areas in which most of the new research has been executed. For the specialist there are few surprises in the texts of the papers, except perhaps an enriched awareness of the extent to which revisionism has now given us an understanding of the indigenous mixed society — neither native nor European but well suited to the country — which had taken shape in the Canadian West by the opening years of the nineteenth century. At the risk of singling out one of many distinguished contributions, this reviewer was particularly impressed with John Nicks's detailed analysis of Orkney Scots in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the period 1780-1821, and especially by the extent of research in Scottish archives which had gone into the preparation of the paper.

Two of the major contributors to *Old Trails and New Directions* have recently published their own full-length studies on complementary aspects of fur trade society. Neither Jennifer Brown nor Sylvia van Kirk has chosen to locate her findings in the particular context of early western Canadian history, both looking outside the region for broader implications. Brown, an anthropologist, has placed her work in the framework of social science literature on childhood and the family, while van Kirk, an historian, has decided upon women's studies as her larger perspective. Both authors emphasize a difference in social patterning between the hierarchically structured and paternalistic Hudson's Bay Company and the more individualistic (and less benevolent) Canadian trading companies. The Canadian traders come off less well in this context than the men of the Bay. Both authors inevitably — and understandably — concentrate on what might be described as the "aristocracy" of the fur trade, focusing attention on the relationships engendered by the leading officials of the fur-trading companies, for whom the documentary record is quite surprisingly excellent. As a result, the Roman Catholic French-Canadian mixed blood (usually seen previously as the prototypical metis) receives relatively little direct attention in either of these excellent studies, which tend to emphasize what another recent scholar has labelled the "country born", largely British and Protestant of European origin. Brown and van Kirk by implication perpetuate the increasing practice of drawing a sharp social, economic and cultural distinction between the European-oriented Anglophone mixed bloods and the native-oriented Francophone metis. While it is useful, and one of the major contributions of the recent literature, to appreciate that there were several strands of mixed-blood peoples and not simply one single group of buffalo-hunting metis, the distinctions are perhaps now more definite than they ought to be, and some corrective will probably have to be made on this front.

What is absolutely clear from the studies by van Kirk and Brown — and by other scholars noted in their bibliographies — is that we can never again return to the old view of the Canadian West as a virtual social vacuum before the arrival of agrarian settlement. An indigenous society was rapidly emerging by the opening years of the nineteenth century, one neither European nor native, but based instead

upon a certain practical modicum of racial tolerance and the requirements of the fur trade economy. That society, as Brown and van Kirk well document, was never given an opportunity to flower. Unstable at best, it found itself unable to withstand the assault of "higher civilization" represented by European religion and the values of European culture, including the cult of "femininity". On this view, the arrival of settlement and civilization in the West was hardly progressive and liberating, but retrogressive and stultifying. The point seems worth considering. Over to you, central Canada.

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JOHN MCCALLUM. — *Unequal Beginnings: Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. Pp. 148.

In this monograph based on his Ph.D. dissertation, John McCallum combines traditional literature, more recent work, and a considerable body of census and trade statistics to produce a scholarly and lucid account of economic development in Quebec and Ontario from 1800 to 1870. His book provides an excellent introduction to the period and also offers a new interpretation of why the two provinces followed divergent growth paths. McCallum explains economic growth using a "modified staples thesis". He argues that good agricultural land allowed Ontario to become a successful exporter of wheat, and these exports, through linkage effects, led to more rapid industrialization and urbanization, and promoted increases in the output of other agricultural products. Quebec, on the other hand, lacked an important export staple and it was mainly for this reason that the province developed more slowly.

The focus on wheat as a staple export helps to unify what is mainly a descriptive work. It allows McCallum to relate agriculture to diverse aspects of economic growth, most notably commercial, industrial and urban development. He begins by comparing Ontario and Quebec during the period prior to 1850. He points out that whereas Ontario grew rapidly with the emergence of wheat as a staple export, Quebec languished in a prolonged agricultural crisis. From 1850 to 1870, wheat declined in relative importance in Ontario, but the province continued to advance as wheat was replaced by other cash crops. Quebec also experienced somewhat of an upswing during this period with sales of barley and oats becoming significant. Nevertheless during these two decades,

the ratio of the cash income of the average Ontario farmer to that of the Quebec farmer varied between 2.5 to one and 10 to one, and for the period as a whole the ratio would have averaged 4 or 5. That these enormous differences had profound effects on the general development of the two provinces is the central argument of the book. (p. 47)

McCallum argues that inequalities in resource endowments rather than differences in culture explain the greater reliance on cash crops in Ontario. This is an important insight and is consistent with some recent findings by Marvin McInnis and me on Quebec agriculture in 1850. I find less persuasive his argument