

Como, Henry Burton is emblematic of the godly, railing against antinomians on the one hand and Laudians on the other, while being put in the pillory for his enthusiasms. In such a situation, “the godly community stood ready to implode. This implosion would come in the 1640s, leaving in its wake civil war and sectarian proliferation” (p. 414).

Como’s methods are prosopography and traditional intellectual history. In painstaking detail he traces the personal connections between antinomians (and, in some cases, their mainstream puritan associates). This has required trawling through many court cases, sermons, tracts, and letters. Surprisingly, though, he does not put much flesh on those connections; readers are not given much sense of the nature of antinomian sociability, for example. Como also identifies two major strands of antinomian doctrine — the perfectionist view, heavily indebted to the Family of Love, which held that believers had merged with God and that God saw no sin in believers; and the imputative view, closer to the ideas of Martin Luther and mainstream Puritanism, which saw Christ’s sacrifice as freeing believers from the burden of sin (pp. 38–40). While Como labours bravely to elucidate patterns in antinomian thought, much of it defies categorization, with preachers such as Brearly taking ideas from both strains. If nothing else, antinomians were consistently inconsistent, and some of the ink Como spills in trying to make them look consistent might have been better used in giving the reader signposts connected to his general thesis.

This highlights the major weakness of this book — it reads too much like a PhD thesis (out of which it grew) and not enough like a monograph. Certainly it is based on a great deal of research, and the topic is important due to the light it sheds on the impact of Laudianism and the religious context of the English Civil War. But Como could have used a good editor. In general, he writes thematically rather than chronologically, and there is nothing wrong with that, except that several of his themes overlap to the extent that he ends up repeating himself, making this book much longer than it needed to be. Perhaps it is good that each chapter can stand on its own, but it makes the book a bit of a plod for those who read it cover to cover. The author of a work such as this, which includes a prologue and an introduction, as well as an epilogue followed by a conclusion and five appendices, seems determined to include every possible element. Unfortunately, such determination may blunt its impact.

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COOK, Hera — *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception, 1800–1975*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. xiii, 412.

This book is about “contraception and sexuality”: “[T]he relevant physical sexual event is heterosexual penetrative penile-vaginal intercourse. For variety, this act is also referred to as coitus, intercourse, penetrative intercourse, sexual intercourse, and sex” (p. 5). Hera Cook approaches the subject by arguing that one can — indeed, one must — begin the discussion by referring to demographic statistics: “alterations in

fertility rates also tell us more than any other evidence can about the sexual experience of the majority of women but historians of sexuality have ignored reproduction” (p. 12). For Cook, this postmodernist oversight has had significant costs in that, for most women in the past, heterosexual penile-vaginal intercourse and its material consequences (pregnancy and childbearing/rearing) have been activities in which “desire is peripheral and risk is central” (p. 12). The issue of risk is central to Cook’s argument.

At the outset, Cook introduces the reader to “Gross Reproduction Rate 1751–1976” in Figure 1.1 on page 15. This graphic illustration of the massive shifts in the number of births per woman during the past 250 years depicts a roller-coaster ride in which fertility rose to a peak in the early nineteenth century, then inexorably declined to its low point in the 1930s, rising again to a new peak in the 1950s, before making its recent plunge in the context of reliable birth control provided by the estrogen pill. The initial rise, from 1750 to the 1820s, is of little interest to Cook and is treated rather cursorily in comparison with her main focus on the Victorians’ culture of control, which led to a truly epochal change in sexual behaviour that persisted into the second quarter of the twentieth century. Indeed, the discussion on this “culture of control”, its repression of sexuality, and the growth of “learned ignorance” about the body and reproduction is probably the most interesting part of the book.

Taking the long view, Cook argues that the element of risk always made sexual intercourse a game of jeopardy for women — because they were the ones who bore the consequences, as it were. Victorian women acted energetically to control that risk. Because abstinence was the only reliable method of birth control, Cook argues that the massive declines observable in the Gross Reproduction Rate can only be explained by highlighting the reduction in heterosexual penile-vaginal relations that would have led to pregnancy. Single women of all classes — for their own reasons — were less likely to engage in sexual intercourse before marriage; married women — for their own reasons — were less likely to engage in sexual intercourse after marriage.

Cook, then, contests the Foucauldian claim that sexuality was “everywhere” in nineteenth-century society. At least, she partly disputes this claim; what she suggests is that sex was evacuated from the respectable orbit of social relations and siphoned into the burgeoning sex trades. Cook notes that, while syphilis had a low rate of mortality, there were actually high death rates from syphilis “among men of the unskilled labouring class and men of the middle and professional classes” (p. 80). Deaths from syphilis rose especially fast in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Cook never says so in so many words, but male sexual “needs” are assumed to have had an almost metronomic constancy that could only be met by the expansion of the sex trade, outside marriage and also outside the orbit of respectable social relations.

This is hardly a new argument: Henry Mayhew’s surveys of London street life in the middle of the nineteenth century suggested it; so, too, did the campaigns against the “Contagious Diseases Acts” which criminalized women workers in the sex trades but not their customers. Indirectly, the massive growth of sexually transmitted disease — principally syphilis — can be charted from the fact that, as late as 1924

(some 50 years after the mid-Victorian scare), mortality from syphilis was higher than from cancer and tuberculosis (pp. 94–95). Unfortunately, Cook never delves into the details concerning mortality from syphilis during the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century. This would have been an illuminating addition to her discussion because of the key role that the mid-Victorian scare played in promoting the new climate of sexual fear and loathing that led to an increase in abstinence and to women's learned ignorance in their havens from the heartless world.

Intriguingly, Cook notes that the “feedback” from the purchase of extra-marital sexual services needs to be linked with the increasing control over sex in marriage, which is witnessed by the long decline in fertility, from its peak in the 1820s to its nadir in the 1930s. Unfortunately, Cook does not try to quantify this feedback by providing more analysis of the numbers of prostitutes, the numbers of clients, and the way in which these two categories were linked to abstinence from sex in marriage. In a sense, then, Cook gives us a list of the players but does not set them in motion; there is thus a static quality to this discussion. Something of the acuity and — dare one say? — penetration of her argument gets lost in the process.

To be sure, the “data” to make an empirical investigation of these linkages-in-motion are not available in easily digestible forms, but there is enough information, which Cook discusses, for her to have ventured bravely into the realm of conjectural history. Carlo Ginzburg tells us, “[I]f you start with different problems you have to look for different evidence.... I think that you also have to change the rules of historical method in some ways because you have to learn how to handle that different evidence. So you also have to change the standards of proof” (Keith Luria and Romulo Gandolfo, “Carlo Ginzburg: An Interview”, *Radical History Review*, vol. 35 [1986], p. 104). Cook's resolutely empirical analysis precludes much in the way of conjecture. This is a pity because her book provides a brilliant examination of the various elements in a multi-dimensional interaction that need to be considered in coming to terms with the massive shifts in reproduction that took place between the 1820s and 1930s. Anyone interested in the historical experience of declining fertility can benefit from reading Cook's work. It is, quite literally, good to think with.

One is led to wonder how specific these changes were to England (and the English) since the decline of fertility was a trans-Atlantic phenomenon that encompassed rural and urban dwellers, bourgeois and proles alike. To be sure, the timing of the decline varied among classes, regions, and nations, but the overwhelmingly significant aspect of this process is its universality. Sociologists have been quick to label this concatenation of social forces as “modernization”; historians have been equally quick to point out the extraordinary glibness of their heuristic construct. Yet the remaking of social and geographical public landscapes seems to have been paralleled by the remaking of internally disciplined private arenas. If the English example so artfully explicated by Cook points towards a system of control/abstinence, then what does this novel surveillance of the body — to let Foucauldian analysis slip in by the side door — have to do with the large-scale processes of public health, mass education, social welfare legislation, mass consumerism, and mass society triggered by the militarization of national economies in the second half of the nineteenth century? Furthermore, if Cook's argument concerning the female-

controlled “method” of abstinence is given its due, then what, exactly, are we to make of apparent differences in patriarchy between, say, England, Spain, and Poland when all three countries displayed roughly similar demographic trajectories, over roughly similar times? Finally, what about the role of sex trades in providing an outlet for the metronomic demands of the male flesh? Were prostitutes — like sewers and soap — crucial to creating the bourgeois culture of inner and outer cleanliness?

Cook’s book is far richer than I have indicated. Her treatment of “qualitative sources” such as sex manuals, social scientific surveys, biographies, memoirs, autobiographies, and novels makes for fascinating reading. These mid- to late-twentieth-century sources rather unbalance the book’s treatment of its subject, since perhaps two-thirds to three-quarters of its pages deal with recent times, as opposed to the nineteenth century. I am, however, on more unstable ground in assessing this material. That said, I was particularly impressed with her discussion explicating the mid-twentieth-century rise in fertility that emerged after the nadir of 1933 (when there was a below-replacement fertility rate of 1.72 births per woman) and was engulfed in the postwar “baby boom”, as well as her discussion of the impact of the estrogen pill in contributing to the “sexual revolution” of the 1960s and 1970s. Here, Cook is more willing to venture into the contested terrain of conjectural history — and her explication of twentieth-century “penile-vaginal sexuality” benefits thereby.

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DOULET, Jean-Michel — *Quand les démons enlevaient les enfants. Les changelins : étude d'une figure mythique*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2002, 433 p.

Qu'est-ce qu'un changelin? Selon une croyance autrefois largement répandue, des créatures surnaturelles, fées, nains, elfes ou démons, pouvaient enlever les enfants au berceau et les remplacer par leur propre progéniture. Ces enfants étaient alors appelés « enfants changés » ou « changelins ». Présentes sur tous les continents et à toutes les époques, ces histoires inquiétantes ont toutefois fait, jusqu'ici, l'objet de peu d'attention. C'est là l'un des mérites de Jean-Michel Doulet qui, dans son ouvrage intitulé *Quand les démons enlevaient les enfants*, s'efforce de lever le voile sur ce chapitre encore mal connu de l'histoire des mentalités européennes.

Tiré de sa thèse de doctorat, le livre de Doulet se veut, en effet, une étude des « mémorats », c'est-à-dire, des récits appartenant au folklore et où il est question de substitutions d'enfants. Adoptant une approche comparative pluridisciplinaire (histoire, anthropologie, ethnologie, folklore), l'auteur analyse ces récits et tente d'en dégager les fonctions et les enjeux sociaux sur une période qui s'étend du XII^e siècle aux premières décennies du XX^e siècle. Conscient que les mémorats revêtent plusieurs formes selon l'aire géographique où ils circulaient, celui-ci a donc choisi de limiter son étude à l'Europe occidentale, là où leur forme revient avec la plus grande régularité. Du même coup, il devient alors beaucoup plus aisé de définir une struc-