

demonstrates how women students are inculcated with male professional values and are unable to make common cause with nurses because nursing is seen as a failed form of professionalization.

Taken as a whole, the essays in this collection broaden our understanding of nineteenth- and twentieth-century nursing, midwifery, and medicine. They challenge current and future researchers to rethink their focus on medical men and medical science and to pay attention to the real health care providers and their not-so-passive recipients.

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John C. Weaver — *Crimes, Constables, and Courts: Order and Transgression in a Canadian City, 1816–1970*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. Pp. xii, 323.

John Weaver has written an erudite book, rich in ideas and important for its scholarly contributions. He focuses on Hamilton and places the changing roles of the police and criminal justice within an urban perspective as the city evolved over the 150-year period of his study. His book effectively demonstrates how the apparatus of the state, supported by the emergence of professionals, has supplanted the local community and the volunteer constable as the real agent of criminal justice. For Weaver, the growth of the modern police force, as exemplified by the experience of Hamilton, represents the triumph of technology over what he terms "localism" and "amateurism". The history of criminal justice he presents is one "of growing centralization, regulation and professionalization" (p. 271). He locates the historical roots of North American law and order in municipalities. Hamilton is therefore a useful mirror in which to trace the changes in the patterns of law and order over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but in the context of similar patterns emerging in the rest of North America: "in its criminal justice activities, as in so much else, Hamilton was a North American city" (p. 165).

Although Hamilton's experience paralleled in many ways those of cities elsewhere in Canada and the United States, Weaver does find some significant differences between Hamilton and its neighbours like Toronto. For example, as he shows, Hamilton's police force was "a far more reluctant agent of moral order" (p. 110) than the Toronto police force in the late nineteenth century. When stimulated by a deputy chief who was determined to clean up the city on the eve of World War I, the force significantly increased the number of prosecutions for morals offences, but this zeal was short-lived. Weaver's study certainly portrays a force which, in his words, was "far from being a well-oiled crime-fighting machine" (p. 119).

Hamilton's police force, along with the rest of the criminal justice system in the city, remained "an entirely male enterprise" (p. 271) until the middle of the twentieth century. Women were not hired on the force until 1944; without strong pressure from a popular female city councillor, even this minor breakthrough likely

would not have occurred. Two female constables were hired that year and another in 1947, to look after the female prisoners. In the 1950s their responsibilities were expanded slightly to include morals offences and a variety of clerical work. Even by 1973 the Hamilton police force of some 500 included only eight women. Hamilton apparently lagged behind other centres in hiring female officers, a delay Weaver finds “inexplicable” (p. 271). When more women were hired in 1973, many constables reportedly “seethed aloud” (p. 182). As Weaver recognizes, “gender stratification” continues to plague police forces.

Part of the explanation is the cult of masculinity which pervaded Hamilton’s police force throughout the period of this study, just as it dominated other police forces. Masculinity went hand in hand with a paramilitary culture of uniforms, hierarchy, and weapons. Male constables were hired when they were young — 21 was the usual age for joining the force between 1900 and 1914 — and the most important criterion for hiring was physical size. There was less emphasis on fire-arms as an essential part of the policeman’s equipment in the nineteenth century. He was expected to keep order through “brawn”, aided by his truncheon if he was forced to use it.

Amidst the wealth of historical details which Weaver has amassed on the Hamilton police force are key signposts of the fundamental changes brought by new technologies. From the telephone, first installed in the chief’s office in 1878, through the adoption of fingerprinting in 1912, to the most important innovation of all, the automobile, Hamilton kept pace with its North American urban neighbours in the embrace of new technology. The automobile transformed law enforcement and policing, as Weaver skilfully demonstrates. He summarizes the three most important changes it caused: it consumed more police time as they dealt with the increasing burden of traffic violations, parking tickets, and accidents; it involved the police in regulating vehicle traffic; and, most important of all, it transferred police officers from their foot patrols of the city to their more contemporary role as mobile protectors of the community. He also identifies the tensions within police work as technology, especially in the age of the computer, pits increasing professionalism against the traditional reliance upon what Weaver terms “street wisdom” and “coarse experience” (p. 180) in the solution of crimes.

Weaver clearly had a didactic purpose in writing his book: “to help educate contemporary society on issues of law and order, to make it more familiar with criminal justice institutions and to promote critical thinking about crime” (p. 264). These are laudable goals, but in pursuing them Weaver ranges over many topics, especially in the latter half of the book. This detracts from its thematic unity even if he does succeed in posing penetrating questions about issues such as the validity of generalizations on rising or falling crime rates and what constitutes theft. His chapter on “The Meaning of Trends in Crime Rates” is a refreshing historical analysis of a complex historical and criminological problem. His close examination of the character of Hamilton offences during the Depression and World War II, using a data set of criminal occurrence reports from 1934–1935 and 1942, yields valuable nuggets of social history, even a vivid recreation of the sights and sounds

of a now lost urban environment, as he illustrates the enduring continuities of crime with an abundance of local examples.

Weaver concludes that one of the signal achievements of the Hamilton police and their compatriots in other cities has been to reduce “a great variety of risks” (p. 21) for the urban inhabitant. Those who live in today’s large North American cities might be sceptical about such a claim, given prevalent fears for personal safety, but he makes a persuasive case. He is even more convincing in some of his other main points: the increase in state power, the role of the police in enforcing state regulations, the centralization and professionalization of the instruments of the criminal justice system, and the growing domination of science and technology in criminal justice. Weaver himself acknowledges nagging concerns about the cumulative effect of these changes on civil liberties. He certainly has succeeded in raising profound issues about the system itself in this far-reaching case study of Hamilton. These issues deserve wide debate, and Weaver’s book is an excellent starting point. It should be mandatory reading for the police themselves, from chiefs to constables, and not only in Hamilton.

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Stanley R. Barrett — *Paradise: Class, Commuters, and Ethnicity in Rural Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. Pp. xiv, 315.

Ontario lacks an indigenous anthropological tradition. The province that has refused to be one, preferring to think of itself as the nation writ large, has concentrated on describing other peoples in remote areas of the world, occasionally turning to aboriginal peoples or isolated northern communities as sufficiently exotic to be of interest. The rural history of Quebec has been enriched by anthropological studies dating from the middle of the nineteenth century, but Ontario’s rural history has turned instead to economic and social historians for extended commentaries on the decennial census. Historians of ethnic groups such as the Irish and Italians breach the gap to a more humanistic outlook through longitudinal inquiries, but by their nature such studies must be partial. While the twentieth-century United States is brought into focus through such monumental ethnologies as *Middletown* (1929) and William Lloyd Warner’s Yankee city series, the only major portrait concerning the southern part of Ontario has been of suburbia, *Crestwood Heights* (1956).

Just as the discipline of history has approached anthropology over the past three decades, so anthropology has abandoned the pursuit of the other to help us understand ourselves better. As seen in the work of the American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins or the Canadian Frans Schryer, ethnology has branched out to include the documentary as well as the oral record, in a manner that only varies in emphasis from that employed by historian Joy Parr in her award-winning *Gender of Breadwinners* (1990). Following studies of a religious community in west Africa and