

ethnicity, and class that women occupied, it is important to acknowledge how such diversity produced very different boundaries within which women were forced to operate.

This volume offers a much more complex picture of the lives of immigrant, ethnic, and racialized women. More importantly, especially after 9/11, this collection documents the impermanence of national boundaries, and by recognizing multiple and shifting identities and loyalties, the authors have raised important questions about citizenship and definitions of nationhood. The activities of the state are informed by who and what it means to be a 'Canadian' and the authors of this collection have attempted to unpack such categories as unnatural, socially constructed, and subject to revision.

*Sisters or Strangers?* is written as a response to an earlier work on the history of immigrant and ethnic women in Canada entitled *Looking into My Sister's Eyes: An Exploration in Women's History*. A groundbreaking work, *Looking into My Sister's Eyes*, was a collection of articles published in 1986 that used the concept of 'sisters' or 'sisterhood' as an organizing framework. This 1986 work emphasized the connections between women despite diverse backgrounds, and tried to locate a 'middle' or 'common' ground that all women occupied based on a shared experience of 'sisterhood.' In contrast, *Sisters or Strangers* seeks to complicate the framework of 'sisterhood,' "recognizing that the historical experience is so often characterized by dichotomies" (6). Instead of trying to trace the similarities that exist between women, the authors of this collection have sought to excavate the multiplicities of women's experiences. Epp, Iacovetta, and Swyripa recognize and assert that women can simultaneously be oppressed and oppressive, that agency and victimization are not mutually exclusive, and that common ground can co-exist quite comfortably alongside alienation and marginalization. These authors argue that questions of difference and diversity are an essential component of understanding the lives of women in Canada.

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**Nadja Durbach, *Bodily Matters: The Anti-vaccination Movement in England, 1853-1907* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).**

The received image of the nineteenth century anti-vaccinationist as an ignorant, anti-modern extremist tilting against the incontrovertible evidence of the benefits of vaccination has started to dissolve in recent years. While the movement did attract more than its share of cranks and eccentrics, more recent scholarship has tended less towards ridicule than to rehabilitation, rendering anti-vaccinationism as a genuine expression of a sometimes radical proletarian culture and its proponents working-class heroes defending themselves against the depreda-

tions of the state. Nadja Durbach's *Bodily Matters* is the first scholarly monograph on Great Britain to fall within this latter tendency, and while occasionally frustrating, it should be welcomed by students of health, gender, and citizenship.

Eschewing the local studies approach that dominates British health history, Durbach approaches her subjects through their cultural production, seeking to render intelligible the discourses embedded in pamphlets, periodicals, and other anti-vaccinationist ephemera. This demands that she transcend the hyperbole characteristic of anti-vaccinationist writing, and also that she confront the heterogeneity of beliefs and the fragmented nature of the movement. To do so, she deploys the body; for Durbach, bodies are the sites where the discursive and the material meet. Bodies were, after all, objects both of the lancet and of the ravages of smallpox, and it is the different bodily experience of vaccination that cleaves the working-class anti-vaccinationists from their middle-class allies.

The thrust of this argument is that while middle-class anti-vaccinationists were able to forge cross-class links through their appeals to popular constitutionalism, most were ultimately animated by libertarian concerns about the reach of the state. For middle-class activists—who were not liable to be targeted by the Poor Law authorities for compulsory vaccination—anti-vaccinationism tended to be about abstract questions of politics, whereas for the workers, artisans and petty bourgeois that constituted the greatest part of the movement, it was about very material questions of bodily autonomy. Arguing that public vaccination literally inscribed class identity onto real bodies, Durbach analyses the rhetorical strategies that workers used to claim property in their own bodies. She observes, for example, that workers used discourses of citizenship to contest the pathologization of their bodies, re-casting them not as a danger to the state, but as vulnerable to violation and contamination by an over-reaching state and its agents. Moreover, by situating compulsory vaccination within a spectrum of other bodily intrusions that asymmetrically affected the lower orders—for example the dissection of paupers' bodies authorized by the 1832 Anatomy Act—she renders comprehensible popular outrage at what she calls the 'parliamentary lancet.'

The strongest sections of the book treat the gendered discourses of anti-vaccinationism, which had different ramifications for men and women and manifested in rhetorical strategies that appealed to Victorian ideals of masculinity and femininity. In appeals to the working class man, the rhetoric of anti-vaccinationism deployed the language of free thought, liberal individualism, and political rights. Anti-vaccinationist rhetoric, for example, suggested that the franchise was only one component in a wider struggle for citizenship, meaningless unless a man had sovereignty over his own body and family. Moreover, such rhetoric invoked the idea that the projection of an appropriate masculinity was predicated on a man's ability to remain independent of the state. Public

vaccination, administered by the Poor Law Guardians and inextricably bound to the systems of Poor Law relief, was constituted within paternalist rhetoric as a basic threat to the citizen-self. By contrast, maternalist rhetoric turned on an essentialist discourse that was decidedly emotional and instinctual, calling on women to refuse to let the state and its agent—the male physician—interpose itself in the relationship between mother and child.

Such rhetoric also blurred the easy divisions between male and female, public and private, and Durbach's analysis usefully reveals the imbrication of class and gender. In charging mothers to defend their children, anti-vaccinationists rendered the private political. Similarly, in linking resistance to the state to the act of mothering, they appealed to working-class ideals of motherhood predicated not just on sentiment, but also on a mother's duty to work for her children. And the movement also appealed to domestic forms of manhood; conscious of the deployment of tropes of a male working-class brutishness by the other side, anti-vaccinationists evolved a counter-discourse of nurturing fatherhood, one which at once humanized the working man and provided him with a legitimate avenue for the expression of sentiment.

Durbach's project is to rescue anti-vaccinationists from the condescension of posterity, a task she undertakes with obvious sympathy and passion. This is to be commended, especially in a series that celebrates politically engaged scholarship, but there are times when her partisanship draws her into the rhetorical strategies of her subjects. While she provides the reader with lengthy passages in which the horrors, real and imagined, of vaccination are described in morbid detail, no similar treatment is accorded to the ravages of smallpox itself or the terror created by epidemic disease. While the rather gothic renderings of the arm-to-arm vaccination do much to help the reader appreciate the anxiety and revulsion that the procedure produced in its object, Durbach's asymmetrical treatment sometimes leaves her appearing credulous. Moreover, this approach elides the complexity of the state, which is rendered faceless and hegemonic, medical science its handmaiden. Indeed, in the opening paragraphs of the book, she recounts an 1876 episode in which seven Poor Law Guardians from Yorkshire, imprisoned for their refusal to enforce the Vaccination Act, were liberated by a mob and were subsequently tried and dismissed on the strength of a promise to refrain from actively obstructing vaccination. This, together with the ultimate triumph of anti-vaccinationism that Durbach reveals, suggests a state that is fractured and weak rather than monolithic and hegemonic.

While the cultural approach serves her well—her chapter on the Victorian gothic is the book's most innovative—Durbach would have done well to pay more attention to the political economy of anti-vaccination. While she nods briefly near the end of the book to scholars like Anne Hardy, who has argued that the reason that the government acceded to the anti-vaccinationists was

because it was, by the end of the century, less invested in compulsory vaccination, this deserves more direct treatment. Similarly, Durbach's reliance on anti-vaccinationist ephemera sometimes elides both the local and the historical, and there is sometimes insufficient sense of place or change over time. Moreover, some attention needs to be paid to how deeply invested rank-and-file anti-vaccinationists were in the movement. For example, if anti-vaccinationists were animated by a rational fear of infection and disease, did this rational calculus change when the relative risks from the disease rose?

In the closing pages, Durbach places the conscience clause in the 1907 Vaccination Act within a teleological narrative that stretches all the way to the establishment of the National Health Service, which she reads as an ultimate repudiation of coercive Poor Law policies. While it is indisputable that the anti-vaccination movement offers a useful window on popular conceptions of citizenship, Durbach's assertions that it should occupy such a *place of primacy* need to be substantiated, something which her sources cannot allow. Instead of placing the anti-vaccinationists at the centre of the grand radical narrative of the latter nineteenth century, Durbach might instead have explored the ways in which the conscience clause fragmented the movement, disclosing the range of perspectives, approaches and philosophies that girded an apparently unitary movement culture. For an engaged historian like Durbach, such an approach might have done greater justice to those whose subjectivities she seeks to recuperate.

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**Pablo Emilio Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Carla Rahn Phillips, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).**

It is not common to have a work of Spanish history translated into English, while the opposite is the norm. This is not the product of collusion but rather of the more pedestrian combination of the lack of international perspective among many Spanish historians and the outright ignorance and disdain for them on the part of their English-speaking counterparts. It is, in sum, a tale of two parochial approaches to culture, of two almost mutually isolated worlds in the age of globalisation. Here we have a notable exception. Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína's work, enhanced by an excellent translation by Professor Carla Rahn Phillips (Minneapolis) and the product of a gamble by Johns Hopkins University Press, is a good step which reveals the high quality of work done in many departments of History in Spain. Let us hope that the exception becomes the norm one day.

When reading Pérez-Mallaína's overwhelming account of the crews that