persistence – a theme which is crucial to the understanding of French history, especially to that of the Third Republic, but which remains relevant today.

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William H. Sewell, Jr., *Structure and Mobility: The Men and Women of Marseille, 1820–1970*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1985. xvi + 377pp.

William Sewell has fashioned a vivid, original portrait of Marseille and its inhabitants during the crucial years of the nineteenth century between the Napoleonic era and the Third Republic. The acuity of his portrait stems from its explicitly sociological cast, for American quantitative sociology informs the questions and methods employed by Sewell. None the less, he writes for the historian and lay reader; for that reason, he avoids sociological terminology and uses few multivariate analyses; his interest lies more in the historian's vocation of describing the social change in Marseille than in the sociologist's task of testing causal hypotheses.

Structure and Mobility offers several innovations to the student of nineteenth-century urban life. It systematically investigates the changing role of migrants in urban society during an era when migration played an increasing role in populating the city and the structure of the labour force was in flux. The book also measures the occupational status and social mobility of women as well as of men. Sewell's major argument explicitly links migration to upward mobility, an argument that requires both a refutation of the notion that migration causes social pathology, articulated most memorably by Louis Chevalier in *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses* (1958), and a careful assessment of intergenerational occupational mobility. Indeed, a most important contribution of the study is the construction and explanation of measures for social attributes such as occupational status, literacy and criminality.

Sewell is to be commended for his clarity of purpose and assumptions, his lucid presentation of evidence and argument, and for his careful construction and explanation of indexes. He has shed light on the twin changes of work and population in the nineteenth-century city and has elucidated women's place on the urban stage. Moreover, he manages to write with grace when repeatedly comparing groups of people and describing tables.

Marseille's marriage records from 1821, 1822, 1846, 1851, and 1869 form the bedrock data for this study. Analysis of these marriage records alone is a feat, for there were some 1700 marriages analysed for 1821–2, over 1700 for 1851 alone, and about 2200 for 1869. (The exact number is not given.) The *actes de mariage* furnish rich information – about brides' and grooms' occupation, age, residence and birthplace, about their fathers' occupation and residence, and about the occupation and residence of wedding witnesses. Nevertheless, Sewell recognizes problems in using marriage records as well. Relentlessly critical, he explicates the problems in using these documents; he includes two appendices explaining and correcting source problems – rightfully so, because marriage records, like the 1851 census that Sewell also employs, underregister the poor and transient. *Actes de mariage* are especially problematic for the study of migrants, primarily because the migrants who married in any nineteenth-century city were a small, settled, and successful proportion of all those who arrived from the outside. None the less,

marriage acts provide a clear, albeit partial, view of both social structure and mobility – hence the book's title.

The first half of the study describes the structure of Marseille, a formidable and fascinating city, capital of Mediterranean France and the third largest urban area in the nation. Sewell places its history in the context of nineteenth-century urban growth, then chronicles dramatic changes in the economic structure of a port city altered between 1820 and 1870 by public works, its industrial revolution and commercial revolution. He then describes the occupations and status of Marseille's men and women. Finally, a picture is provided of each neighbourhood and of the changes it experienced as the city tripled in population from roughly 100,000 primarily native-born residents in 1820 to a largely immigrant city of over 300,000 a half century later. In this section Sewell adds to a growing body of literature on cities and urban growth by devising a scale by which to measure occupational status based on literacy, the status of marriage witnesses, and brides' labour force participation, and by exploring women's occupations along with those of men.

The second part of *Structure and Mobility* relates mobility to the most significant changes of the century – patterns of migration and occupation that shifted with the growth of industry and bureaucracy. A chapter chronicles the intensification and broadening of Marseille's attraction for men and women migrants of varying social origins. Male newcomers in particular seem to have arrived with personal and social resources, and many migrants had parents in Marseille. These findings so contradict the notion that migration promotes social pathology that the author investigates crime in Marseille using mid-century court records. These records demonstrate that a 'somber underside of migration' (p. 232) did exist, because many migrants, particularly transients in the city's boarding houses, were likely candidates for conviction of theft, assault, begging, and vagrancy. Migrants were not a homogeneous group; rather, they ranged from the young thief and poor Italian to the country-born clerk and elite bureaucrat.

An investigation of intergenerational social mobility climaxes this study. Mobility increased over the century, primarily because Marseille increasingly required clerical workers. Sewell's elucidation of the occupational mobility that accompanied cityward migration is particularly important. Migration, he finds, is a liberating factor in history, one that allows individuals to take advantage of new openings in the marketplace. Although most sons of peasants, for example, became manual labourers, they disproportionately entered the white-collar labour force and daughters of peasants – whether they were literate or not – disproportionately married into it. These women, concludes Sewell, 'epitomize the indomitable determination and enterprising spirit of Marseille's nineteenth-century migrants' (p. 312).

Despite its virtues and innovations, scholars will find fault with this important book. Students of migration will desire more explanation of the social organization of migration and urban community – curiosities aroused by the distinctions Sewell finds among natives and migrants from Provence, Italy, and the further hinterland. They may also remain unconvinced that migrants who marry in the city are sufficiently representative of those who migrate. Consequently, some will wish that Sewell had chosen a more encompassing source than court records to investigate poor and transient migrants, such as the hospital records used by Poussou to offset the bias of marriage records in his study of Bordeaux; perhaps such a source could have bridged the broad gap between young transient thieves on the one hand, and the peasants' sons turned clerk on the other. In any case, this study clarifies the need for a more nuanced understanding of urbanward migration in all its variety; the next step is a more comprehensive and theoretical overview of migrations in history.

French historians will miss comparisons with other French cities and reference to relevant

studies of migration by scholars such as Dupeux, Pinchemel and Tugault. Historians who do not ordinarily read quantitative work will balk at the 100-odd tables that stud the text and, Sewell predicts, will find it 'lacking in personalities and color' (p. xiv). The most methodologically sophisticated scholars, on the other hand, will grumble at Sewell's eschewing of multivariate analyses, particularly of recent innovations in the measurement of occupational mobility. Those who study the indexes will find cause to quibble with the scales Sewell created to measure social and economic standing.

Such criticisms have validity, yet no reader should lose sight of the fact that William Sewell has mined and analysed a wealth of information about an understudied and important city for urban historians, social historians and sociologists. *Structure and Mobility* is a tribute not only to the richness of marriage records in nineteenth-century France, but to the intelligence, imagination and persistence of the researcher as well.

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Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: the Medical Concept of National Decline*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984. xv + 367pp. £32.40.

This is a clearly written and extensively researched book, qualities evident both in its descriptive content and in its range of explanatory reference in relation to deviance. In its superficial aspects, Nye's subject is a familiar one: French concern with national decline, decadence and even degeneration between the Franco-Prussian war and 1914. But Nye concentrates on the medical idiom in which this concern was expressed and asks why there should have been such an 'extraordinary valuation of medical knowledge' by the general public as well as by experts and politicians. Why did what he calls 'the medical model of deviance' occupy such a prominent place in the political vocabulary? Since this 'model' was so common – even defining political agendas – in other national settings (though perhaps reaching an extreme of pervasiveness and intensity in France), Nye's study has much to offer diverse historians and social scientists.

Nye's special historiographic concern is to assess means for writing the history of deviance, and his first chapter reviews the issues and literature. Having started out some years ago to research 'the origins of criminology', that is, the origins of a discipline and a practice, Nye now concludes (rightly, I'm sure) that this can be done only through a much more wide-ranging project of the kind found in this book. Late nineteenth-century crime belonged in a spectrum of social pathologies, including syphilis as well as shoplifting, with qualitative continuity among deviances established by a unifying biological framework. Foucault, of course, has already drawn considerable attention to the common historical constitution of the expert sciences of managing the deviant. Nye sets out to locate this insight in the specific social life and politics of France after defeat, and he is eager to throw over Foucault's methodology to ask questions about influence and causation (notably, about the overwhelming predominance of medical expressions).

The most significant aspect of Nye's own methodology is perhaps his extended study of the linguistic and evaluative relations between 'scientific' and 'popular' expression:

> My general aim is to try to demonstrate the *historical* nature of both "scientific" and popular thinking about deviance. I discuss the dialectical process in which theories were