movement in Evans' hands. But he does make an excellent test case of German liberalism out of this issue to illustrate that the views of neither Wehler nor Zmarzlik fit Imperial German society.

The last three essays examine aspects of labour and socialist history. Hickey examines the miners of the Ruhr and suggests that much of the history of Germany's labour movement could be explained if other studies too laid bare the "social and industrial roots of the working class" (p. 237). Hickey operates within that tradition of British authors who emphasize the work and life experience of the lower class as he tries to explain collective protest and the organizational focus of the Ruhr labour movement. In his study on the SPD youth movement, Alex Hall adds some details on working apprentices' problems and examples of the party leaders working with the unions to channel youth, but he mainly repeats such general assertions as that socialist youth headed further left in wartime and revolution because they rejected state power *per se*. Such an assertion would require more proof than a general review of the statistics of growth and isolated indications of central control before 1914 admit. What makes the concluding essay by Geary special is the obtuse manner in which it is written, a feature all the more evident when the other authors write especially clearly and forcefully. For example:

> It makes little sense to talk of the entirety of the German working class or even its political leadership being 'integrated' into Wilhelmine society in 1918. Secondly, the social crisis of 1918 to 1923 and the related emergence of a mass revolutionary movement cannot be dismissed as a transient product of war. For some sections of the German labour force far more was at stake than the admittedly important issues of peace and democracy (p. 267).

While it might be possible to agree with each statement, their relevance to some greater whole makes the reader wonder about the author's intentions. But, eventually Geary musters an impressive quantity of published and unpublished materials to illustrate how the German working class was remade during this period and the extent to which its militant elements had "structured roots" (p. 283) so that he advances the explanations of 1918-19 well beyond the verbal fights of party leaders.

D. K. Buse,
Laurentian University.

* * *

A. James Hammerton. — *Emigrant Gentlewomen: Genteel Poverty and Female Emigration, 1830-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1979. Pp. 220.

In *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, James Hammerton examines the use of emigration as a solution to the problem of distressed gentlewomen in the British Isles. He challenges the traditional stereotype of the helpless, dependent gentlewoman, forced by economic misfortune to become a "downtrodden" governess, by asserting that many of these same gentlewomen possessed the courage and determination to create new lives for themselves in the colonies. While Hammerton is not alone in querying the stereotype of the gentlewoman, he has provided a pioneer study of single female emigration. By tracing the evolution of organized efforts to promote women's emigration from 1830 to 1914, he shows that at each stage gentlewomen were included in the movement. Even in the 1830s, when emigration to Australia was still associated with convict deportation and the rigours of the voyage were severe, gentlewomen applied for the assisted passage scheme promoted by the Colonial

Office. After 1850, emigration became more respectable and British women's societies sponsoring female emigration took a special interest in the needs of gentlewomen. While Hammerton makes careful use of his sources to prove that gentlewomen as well as working class women turned to emigration as one solution for their problems, his conclusion that most distressed gentlewomen successfully adapted to colonial life is less firmly based. As the author recognizes, the official sources on which the study relies unfortunately yield only limited information on the economic, social, or psychological adaptation of the emigrants. The evidence available leads in the direction of the conclusion but does not fully substantiate it.

Emigrant Gentlewomen is particularly valuable for its stimulating analysis of the rationale underlying the promotion of women's emigration. Hammerton shows that from the 1830s the idea of the feminine civilizing mission was used to justify assisting women's emigration. The civilizing role of women was often linked to a concern for the religious fate of the colonies and in the latter part of the century to Anglo-Saxon racial imperialism. While proponents of emigration believed that all women could exert a civilizing influence, they regarded gentlewomen of culture and refinement as especially important for the transmission of British moral values. Ideas of class and of the proper sphere for women also influenced the work. Feminists, especially in the 1860s and 1870s, attempted to use emigration to provide new employment opportunities for British gentlewomen, but their efforts were overwhelmed by the philanthropic enthusiasm for emigration as a matrimonial outlet for Britain's "redundant" women.

Unfortunately, the thesis of the book is weakened by unresolved ambiguities in terminology and some vagueness regarding the boundaries of the study. In general, Hammerton equates emigrant gentlewomen with distressed gentlewomen, implying that only those who were distressed would consider emigration. However, possible differences in effect between economic and psychological distress are not considered, nor is the significance of some examples of emigrant gentlewomen who do not seem be distressed at all. In addition, difficulties arise from the subtle and changing use of the term "gentlewoman" in a period when the concept of gentility co-existed with an evolving class structure. Hammerton draws attention to the ambiguities in the nineteenth-century use of the term. As he states in the conclusion, "the class problem is most pronounced in the complex relationship between daughters of the lower middle class and those of the presumably more gentle nurtured middle and upper class. Women from all these classes have been encountered throughout this study in the position of distressed gentlewomen" (pp. 189-90). However, throughout the book, the author shows equal ambivalence in his own use of the term, sometimes including lower middle class women as gentlewomen but at other times explicitly excluding them. As gentility is not synonymous with class, it is important in assessing the motivation and adaptation of emigrant gentlewomen to know whether any upwardly mobile lower middle class women are to be included within the group.

Like many immigration studies, *Emigrant Gentlewomen* concentrates on the assisted group schemes which are much better documented than the movement and interests of independent emigrants. Such an approach can be justified in the case of women's emigration since the majority of single women did emigrate under government or society auspices. However, even in the early nineteenth century, certain gentlewomen emigrated on their own, usually proceeding to join friends or relatives in the colonies, and the practice became more common as the century progressed. Hammerton has devoted a chapter to one such woman, Mary Taylor — a friend of Charlotte Brontë — who in the 1840s joined her brother in New Zealand and made her living independently by teaching, cattle dealing, and operating a shop. Mary Taylor is quite rightly described as exceptional, but Canadian readers will wonder whether other single gentlewomen did not come to Canada at a time when the group movement was directed to Australia. Hammerton treats the colonial destination of the emigrant gentlewomen as almost irrelevant to the study. Yet there is an obvious shift in

the course of the book from Australia to Canada as the main destination for emigrant gentlewomen. Only a few hints are given to the reader who hopes to discover the reasons for interest in a particular colony or who queries whether differences in the societies of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa in any way affected the emigration movement. Such a broad comparative study is beyond the scope of this slim volume. While Hammerton should have established the limits of his work more clearly, *Emigrant Gentlewomen* both provides a useful foundation and raises many questions for future comparative studies.

Marilyn BARBER,
Carleton University.

* * *

THOMAS BENDER. — *Community and Social Change in America*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1978. Pp. *xiii*, 159.

In the past three decades a remarkably consistent interpretation of community and social change has emerged in American historiography. Positing the communal relationships of early New England towns as an ideal, historians have largely chronicled a process in which Puritan values of harmony and corporatism gave way to fractiousness and individualism. Thus American historiography abounds with quasi-romantic evocations of a lost world of communal solidarity. In *Community and Social Change in America*, Thomas Bender challenges this view by evaluating the development of American social theory in the twentieth century, assessing its use by historians of community, and by offering his own alternative schema. Bender's goal is a historically grounded conception of community which is sensitive both to particular contexts and to change over time. This book is a solid and imaginative attempt to synthesize recent work on community by American social historians.

Social scientists and historians in the twentieth century, Bender argues, have relied heavily on the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* (community), and *Gesellschaft* (society) put forward by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. Assuming erroneously, however, that Tönnies intended to describe a linear development from the intimate bonds of traditional society to the more impersonal and competitive bonds of modern life, scholars have missed the complexity of his ideas. Bender suggests that in Tönnies's work community is not a static concept but a "fundamental and enduring form of social interaction" (p. 43), which assumes different forms and meanings according to time and place. Owing to this misunderstanding, scholars have tried merely to date the precise moment when premodern forms disintegrated rather than to identify changing definitions and experiences of community over time. This exercise, the author notes, has resulted in no less than eight critical periods of fragmentation in American historiography.

Bender advises historians instead to investigate how Americans managed to live "simultaneously in radically different social worlds: one communal and the other associational" (p. 59). For by the nineteenth century they began to experience tensions between loyalties to community and to other categories such as work and political affiliation. Bender also suggests that we need to know more about how Americans defined the limits of community and society in their lives. Such a line of questioning might reveal the emergence of divisions between public and private spheres of interaction. Seventeenth-century colonists, it seems, made no distinction between community as a location and society as a social