

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.

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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

experience. The rules of community applied equally to local and translocal concerns such as trade and commerce. The social transformation of the eighteenth century, according to Bender, challenged traditional communal standards, but did not replace them. Although population growth, increased geographic mobility, and religious diversity resulted in the division of the original towns, community was not thereby sacrificed for modern pluralism. New Englanders responded to these pressures by creating ever more homogeneous units in which corporate values were maintained.

Since the 1820s, regional and national identifications, political parties, and benevolent societies, for example, have competed with local loyalties. Bender's suggestion that Andrew Jackson's charismatic personality may have eased the transition from the affective political culture of the towns to the more impersonal climate of national politics is unconvincing. Somewhat more effectively, however, he suggests that the emergence of modern communal values was marked by the separation of market and community into competing spheres. "One's role as a member of a family or a circle of friends", he writes, "became sharply differentiated from one's role and behavior in economic relations, in dealing with government, or in relations with any large scale organizations" (p. 117). Thus traditional forms of communal solidarity have often survived despite the ravages of a rationalized industrial order.

Although Bender has exposed the weaknesses of the uses of modernization theory, he has raised questions of a political and aesthetic nature which cannot be resolved by a correct reading of Tönnies. He has little to say about how the transformation in the organization of work and capital accumulation in the nineteenth century affected class relationships in American communities. Separate working-class neighbourhoods and organizations sprang up as family-centred enterprises gave way to the factory system. Thus the emergence of a market economy accentuated class differences and created new structures of power and communal resistance which must be included in any general theory of social change.

A second provocative feature of this book is the implication that narrative history is no longer an adequate mode of historical explanation. The persistence of Weber's schema of modernization may be explained in part by the fact that it conforms nicely with a narrative style of delineating change over time. In effect, Bender is calling upon historians to experiment with non-teleological forms of explanation, a request which will confound most historians, whether liberal, Marxist, or neo-Whig. Bender has, however, provided a cogent critique of the use of social science theory by American historians, an achievement which is both welcome and long overdue.

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ARTHUR J. RAY and DONALD B. FREEMAN. — *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978. Pp. xviii, 298.

Many historians view a merchant's ledger or a company's journal as, at best, a trial to be endured in the process of finishing up their research. Some ignore these materials altogether. Few have subjected them to as searching and as fruitful an analysis as have Arthur Ray and Donald Freeman in their investigation of the expectations and the behaviour of both Indians and Europeans as they confronted each other in the fur trade of early Canada.