

barriers between vulnerable members of society and those who were determined to exploit them.

The protective impulse, while still of some value in the context of the family, often had disastrous consequences for women in the workplace. In her article Janet Guildford shows how supposed gender attributes — women's special relationship with young children — rather than training, skills, and dedication were used to justify the feminization of teaching (though not education administration) in nineteenth-century Halifax, with the result that female teachers had difficulty arguing for equality in salary and promotions. Similarly, the female factory workers in turn-of-the-century Halifax described by Sharon Myers came to accept the position that their participation in the paid labour force was only a brief episode in their life course, not a condition that justified solidarity and protest for more equitable treatment. Such protest, though muted, was not entirely lacking. As Gwendolyn Davies reveals in the book's closing article, a few spirited Maritime women took up their pens to challenge the worst abuses of separate spheres ideology. The writings of such women as Mary Eliza Herbert, Margaret Marshall Saunders, Maria Amelia Fytche, and Sophia Almon Hensley, she argues, were not a feminist call to arms but "an act of negotiation, knitting the separate sphere to the public one in an alliance that claimed social good as much as women's rights as part of their intention" (p. 235). Not surprisingly, feminist notions of the social good in the Maritimes were strongly influenced by separate spheres ideology which had taken such firm root in the region.

As the editors note in their introduction, there is much in the history of Maritime women that still needs to be explored. The lack of attention to Aboriginal and Acadian women, they acknowledge, is regrettable. There is also a bias in content toward Nova Scotia that reflects the graduate school networks of the editors. Less explicable is the lack of an index and a bibliography that would have alerted readers to published sources on Maritime women whose voices are absent from this volume.

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Royden K. Loewen — *Family, Church and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850–1930*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. Pp. 370.

In recent years numerous studies have been published documenting the complexity and diversity of Canada's rural populations. The best of these are, arguably, the micro-histories. Studies such as Allen Greer's or Jack Little's of Quebec communities, or Rusty Bittermann's of Middle River, Nova Scotia, contribute a level of analysis that has disrupted easy generalizations about culture, society, and the process of change in rural Canada. More than simply giving us a close-up view — one piece of the jigsaw puzzle — of national history, these micro-histories provide a different kind of historical generalization and analysis. As a recently published reader on social theory puts it, the minutiae of daily life revealed by micro-history

“are less the superior realities that some populist social historians would like them to be, than the necessary ground to which the big and abstract questions of domination and subordination, power and resistance have been chased” (Nicholas Dirks *et al.*, eds., *Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 17).

Royden Loewen’s *Family, Church and Market* provides us with a formidable example of how the study of one group of people can speak to much wider questions about the complex interstices by which economic, political, and cultural structures are resolved at the level of family and the community. On one level, this history of *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonites measures the transition of a rural, ethnic, and religious community from a traditional land-based society in Russia to a socially fragmented, urban-centred, and commercially oriented group situated in North America three generations later. With its attention to the details of how change occurred, however, *Family, Church and Market* dismantles any simplistic dualities, either between traditional and modern life often associated with immigration history or between household- and market-based economies that have supplied the economic and cultural measures of “modernization”.

The complexity that Loewen brings to our understanding of change is well established with his treatment of the “traditional” old-world society from which the Mennonites migrated to North America. Here was no undifferentiated and unchanging peasantry; instead, his detailed study of *Kleine Gemeinde* households and community in Russia reveals a population embroiled in disputes with each other and with a larger society increasingly influenced by the growth of international capital. Hoping to find a more secure land base upon which to preserve their economy, religion, and culture, the entire community moved from Moloschna to Borosenko in 1864. By the early 1870s, however, it was clear that continued economic pressure on arable land, as well as political pressure on their traditional way of life, dictated further strategic changes to their society. In 1874, 170 *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonite families, comprising about 900 people, left New Russia and migrated to North America, setting up “ethnic enclaves” in two areas, one near Steinbach, Manitoba, and one near Jansen, Nebraska.

Crises in land availability, shifting international and local markets, changes in lines of communication and transportation, religious disagreements, and the growth of urban centres eventually contributed to the increasing fragmentation of both North American *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonite communities in the twentieth century. *Family, Church and Market*, however, traces the complex mix of confrontation, adaptation, and negotiation that worked to bolster community solidarity and religious commitment throughout the nineteenth century. Strange alliances between “traditional” values and “modern behaviours” were often created in the process. This was particularly evident in the economic adjustments that the communities made to their new environments. Loewen argues that it was the *Kleine Gemeinde*’s desire to maintain the stable, household- and land-based economy central to their traditional way of life that made them excel at economic adaptation. Thus an ethos urging separation from worldly concerns and the primacy of the household economy translated, in the economic context of the mid-nineteenth century, into a rapid and

decisive response to the “highly competitive nature of industrial capitalism” (p. 51). In Borosenko, Manitoba, and Nebraska the *Kleine Gemeinde* “sold commodities into an international market, acquired new farm technologies, hired wage labour and borrowed money” (p. 30). Specific policies affecting land transmission, economic conditions affecting the viability of the family farm, and community decisions about how to maintain social boundaries created different responses to change in the American and Canadian communities, however, undermining any simplistic conclusions about cultural change in “the melting pot” versus the “cultural mosaic”.

What was it that the *Kleine Gemeinde* communities were changing to protect? Religious affiliation seems to provide the defining “traditionalist” characteristic of the Mennonite experience for many historians. As Loewen points out, however, religion “was not a static form of tradition that broke down when new social and economic forces arose”, but rather provided the platform from which community members “developed new strategies to consolidate visions of continuity” (p. 51). The Mennonite’s faith in God’s will was essential in creating the social boundaries that defined the community; negotiations concerning these boundaries provide particular insight into the processes of cultural resistance and adaptation. These negotiations were, nevertheless, worked out within a context that was often hierarchical and non-egalitarian and was becoming, by the turn of the century, too inflexible to accommodate changes that grew out of increasing urbanization and the ensuing community fragmentation.

Loewen knits the rich personal sources created by this highly literate population together with a wide reading of cultural theory to reach beyond an institutional or political history of Mennonite religion. Although religion played a key role within the community, Loewen argues that the “central institution of social order and common identity” in the community was not religion, but, as in many agrarian societies throughout the world, the family: “family ties were the focus of daily life, providing each member of society with a distinguishing identity and comprising the very fabric of the village” (p. 32).

The wealth of detail in letters, diaries, and memoirs written by community members is usefully employed not only to “fill in the gaps” about day-to-day activities, but also to provide an indication of the central productive, reproductive, and cultural role that Loewen accords women in this rural economy and society. Although some would question the separate spheres model Loewen uses to examine the disparities in power and authority between men and women, the inclusion of women at the centre of economic and cultural concerns provides a forum for understanding the ways in which the family and the economy were intimately related in the changing rural economies of the nineteenth century.

The decline of the *Kleine Gemeinde* in the twentieth century can ultimately be found, Loewen concludes, not in the rise of market values or increased individualism *per se*, but in the decreasing ability of *Kleine Gemeinde* Mennonites to support their families on the land. It was only after families moved off the farm, away from their land-based, kin-centred economic and social organizations, that the Mennonite identity and culture began to crumble before the increasingly individualistic and commercial structures of North American society.

By directing our attention to the everyday lives of a small group of people in one area over three generations, this book succeeds not only in informing us about the *Kleine Gemeinde*, but also in challenging our understanding of the rate, direction, process, and location of change in rural Canada.

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Gilles Gougeon, dir. — *Histoire du nationalisme québécois : entrevues avec sept spécialistes*, Montréal, VLB Éditeur et SRC, 1993, 171 p.

On ne peut rester indifférent devant ce livre. Les « nationalistes » y retrouveront les pensées peu originales révélées au secondaire, au CEGEP, peut-être au premier cycle. Un lecteur qui a tendance à douter un peu de l'interprétation *whig* de l'évolution du sentiment nationaliste québécois trouvera sans doute dans cet ouvrage de quoi rager. De chapitre en chapitre, le nationalisme avance toujours, gagne en sagesse, délaisse de vilains préjugés, doute rarement de lui-même, se raffermi autour d'une pensée qui veut rallier le peuple autour d'un nationalisme « territorial et linguistique ».

Cet ouvrage n'est pas un livre d'histoire et, même s'il fait appel des professeurs d'université, il s'éloigne considérablement de la rigueur scientifique à laquelle on est en droit de s'attendre des historiens et politicologues. Il s'agit plutôt ici de la transcription d'une série de sept entrevues avec sept « spécialistes » qui fut diffusée sur les ondes de Radio-Canada en janvier 1992. Au fil des entrevues sont retracées les grands moments de l'histoire du Québec, depuis les premières découvertes jusqu'à la révolution tranquille. Puisqu'il s'agit d'une histoire du nationalisme, les savants (Robert Lahaise, Jean-Paul Bernard, Réal Bélanger, Pierre Trepanier, Richard Desrosiers, Robert Comeau, Louis Balthazar) sont priés de se pencher sur l'évolution de ce phénomène dans l'histoire.

Le présentateur Gilles Gougeon insiste sur le fait que les spécialistes interviewés ne font pas tous la même analyse et ne tirent pas tous les mêmes conclusions des faits historiques qu'ils décrivent (p. 8). Or, il ne tente pas de faire ressortir les divergences. En fait, les spécialistes se ressemblent tous : ce sont tous des professeurs masculins, francophones et « nationalistes » qui enseignent tous dans des universités du Québec, et appartiennent à la même génération. Leur vue d'ensemble est la même, sauf quelques nuances que seuls les historiens avertis connaissent, mais qui ne ressortent pas du texte. Monsieur Gougeon avertit aussi ses lecteurs que « les textes que nous publions ici sont exempts de ces opinions et engagements politiques ».

Le nationalisme qui y est présenté est amorphe. On parle de nationalisme, d'« affirmation nationale », de survivance, de sentiment « canadien-français », de sentiment « québécois ». Ce nationalisme évolue dans l'histoire : partant d'une identité forgée dans l'ancien régime, il prend forme au lendemain de la conquête et s'exprime par le biais du Parti patriote qui, au dire du spécialiste interviewé « res-