

institutions, including such influential fraternal organizations as the Svithiod, Vikings, and Vasa Order.

At the same time, according to Barton, a new national identity took root in Sweden. One manifestation of this was that anti-immigration sentiment took organizational form in the National Society Against Emigration, and the government was prompted to inquire into the causes of emigration. Swedes who visited America were more likely than in the past to express various negative assessments, depicting American culture as vulgar and superficial and highlighting America's manifold social problems.

The final period — "ebb tide" — extended from the end of World War I to 1940. Mass migration ceased, and with the passage of time, first generation immigrants died, leaving behind children and grandchildren with no direct ties to Sweden. The erosion of ethnic institutions, the decline of Swedish language loyalty, and other manifestations of assimilation signaled the declining saliency of ethnic identity for growing numbers of Swedish-Americans. In the process, the gulf between Swedes and Swedish-Americans grew, although, as Barton deftly illustrates, parties on both sides of the Atlantic continued to attempt to make sense of one another.

Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850–1930, by Royden K. Loewen. Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Centennial Series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. xi, 370 pp. Illustrations, maps, graphs, notes, bibliography, index. \$42.50 cloth, \$17.95 paper.

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Family, Church, and Market joins the recent flurry of migration studies that give equal weight to zones of origin and zones of resettlement. Author Royden K. Loewen traces the *Kleine Gemeinde* and its offspring across three nations and four generations. Loewen tracks his trilogy of core themes — family, church, and market — beginning in Ukraine, or New Russia, through the immigration and settlement process, concluding with the first two generations in Canada and the United States. His work is well balanced between secondary literature and primary sources, resulting in a beautifully integrated study that both illuminates large-scale historical trends and contextualizes the detailed texture of everyday life.

The *Kleine Gemeinde* ("Small Church") began in 1812, only decades after the first Mennonites moved from Prussian-conquered Poland to the Dnieper River area of New Russia in 1788. Catherine the

Great invited Mennonites, along with other Germans, to open the area to modern agriculture. They received assurances of religious freedom, military exemption, local self-government, and a separate educational system. Loewen picks up the story at mid-century, when the combination of German pietism, commercial agriculture, and political reform separated various groups of Mennonites from one another as they sought to preserve old values of separation, communalism, and pacifism in the midst of religious, economic, and political change.

Loewen considers the *Kleine Gemeinde* to be not the most traditionalist nor change-oriented, but perhaps one of the more successful at fusing traditional values with participation in the capitalist marketplace, as revealed by their move in 1865 from Molotschna to the new Borosenko region. With this move, the group ensured land for its landless members and for the next generation of simple commodity-producing households.

The desire to preserve the agrarian household and sectarian community in an industrializing world motivated the *Kleine Gemeinde's* move to North America just nine years later. Reflecting the group's division in 1866, 110 families settled in Manitoba and 56 families in Nebraska. In Canada and the United States, as in New Russia, the *Kleine Gemeinde* sought to balance the concerns of kinship, religious community, and capitalism. They successfully reproduced their traditional lives through selective innovation during the first generation, including the use of secondary migration strategies to maintain an adequate supply of land. By the third generation, urban differentiation, the entry of men and women into professions, and the individualism of revivalistic evangelical Protestantism led to several new denominations and the end of communal homogeneity. Nonetheless, old goals of continuing an agrarian community founded on nuclear family households and simple commodity production continued in parts of the community. Loewen balances the twin immigration paradigms of persistence and assimilation, not privileging one over the other, a significant achievement of this book.

National differences between the United States and Canada play little role in Loewen's analysis, although Loewen draws a sharp contrast between two towns at the heart of the two rural communities. Steinbach, Manitoba, grew from internal sources and the need for farm services; Jansen, Nebraska, was a railroad town imposed on the Mennonites from the outside. Otherwise, the dominance of industrial capitalism muted political differences in the social contexts of these two rural communities on the grasslands of North America.

Loewen makes outstanding use of quantitative, congregational, and family sources to support his argument. Genealogies, diaries, letters, church account books, farm records, local newspapers, and many other primary sources allow Loewen to depict community life with fantastic detail. However, he never loses sight of his argument in the minutiae of everyday existence; instead, the details are always placed in meaningful frameworks. As social history, this book is a model.

Loewen does the best work yet on integrating women's history into Mennonite history. He uses women's work in production and reproduction to reconstruct their lives within *Kleine Gemeinde* communities. However, he sometimes confuses status and power. Women were without question accorded high status, although status did not translate directly into power or authority in the unabashedly patriarchal group. The tendency toward matrilineal residence and injunctions toward fairness in partible inheritance do indicate formal recognition of women's value to communal preservation.

The book can seem excessively optimistic about the *Kleine Gemeinde*, and Loewen flirts with filiopietism at times. Whatever happened, it turned out well: divisions led to strengthened identity, towns enhanced rural survival, market participation protected traditional separation, and patriarchy allowed women's familial influence to flourish. The only serious lapse occurred in the third generation, when the *Kleine Gemeinde* failed to confront the urban world. Loewen follows Robert Friedmann in equating Pietism with individualism, which he sees as the greatest threat to Mennonite religious community; but he ignores several varieties of communitarian Pietism, such as Ephrata in Pennsylvania or the Amanas in Iowa. Loewen also tends to treat the *Kleine Gemeinde* as representative of all Mennonites in Russia, but they were a tiny subgroup, and Mennonites in turn were subgroups of Germans in Russia. Focusing on the mainstream *Kleine Gemeinde* group (and who determines what was "mainstream"?) from beginning to end makes the study consistent, but there is a danger that readers unfamiliar with the complexities of Mennonite splintering may perceive more coherence than existed in reality.

This is a strong study, perhaps the best social history of a Mennonite group published to date. Both in its own right and as a building block for future studies, *Family, Church, and Market* is a significant book.

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