and unpaid labor, immigrant women always had much in common with such women of all races and ethnicities. Ethnic and racial differences were most pronounced in family ties and collective action.

The last—and most compelling—section of Gabaccia's book focuses on changes in class and culture in the twentieth century, their impact on the adaptation of middle-class immigrants to U.S. life, and the ways in which both preservation and innovation have defined that adaptation. Gabaccia demonstrates that middle-class immigrant women have been both conservers of ethnic identity and cultural innovators. Such a pattern, Gabaccia argues, has also characterized the experience of immigrant women's descendants, who, with their mothers and grandmothers, transformed American domesticity into their own ethnic versions of it. (Such a gendered transformation, which Gabaccia describes as "ethnicization," was of course mediated by race).

Gabaccia concludes with a fascinating paradox. Immigrant women's lives have had more in common with the lives of other American women than immigrant men have had in common with other American men. Yet these same women have shown "greater female than male identification with ethnicity" (127). Gabaccia demonstrates significantly that gender created unique male and female versions of general immigrant and ethnic experiences. To her credit, Gabaccia is also sensitive to the ways in which race, religion, and class have shaped different experiences within these gendered parameters.

A Folk Divided: Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940, by H. Arnold Barton. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994. vii, 403 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $39.95 cloth, $24.95 paper.

REVIEWED BY PETER KIVISTO, AUGUSTANA COLLEGE

Emigrants leave their place of birth for complex reasons, accompanied by an array of psychological orientations toward their homeland, ranging from outright rejection to a powerful longing to return. At the same time, those who remain—including government officials, religious and cultural elites, and ordinary people—often harbor significantly varied opinions about emigrants, extending from the highly critical to the genuinely sympathetic.

Although immigration historians have frequently observed the reactions of those in the homeland to emigrants, none have focused on this topic with the singular attention H. Arnold Barton has in his richly documented study of relations between Swedes and Swedish-Americans over the course of a century. Using a variety of primary sources—including letters, travel accounts, newspaper reports, and

archival holdings—and exhibiting a thorough command of the large body of secondary literature, Barton weaves a finely detailed portrait of the complex and fluid relations between this folk divided.

He refers to the earliest phase of this reciprocal relationship, running from 1840 to approximately 1900, as "spring tide." The initial cohort left before industrialization took hold in Sweden and prior to the emergence of cultural nationalism, socialism, and the labor movement. According to Barton, their identities were shaped more by religion—be it the Lutheranism inherited from the state church or from the dissenters in places such as Bishop Hill—than by a deep sense of national identity.

Throughout the century, conservative Swedes generally were critical of emigration, while liberals were sympathetic, indeed, sometimes even enthusiastic. For their part, Swedish travelers to America tended to have positive attitudes about the virtues of American democracy and its egalitarian culture. Not only did they claim that part of America's values were indebted to Nordic traditions, but some critics of contemporary Sweden argued that its rigid class distinctions were the result of a distortion of those traditions. America was thus used as a foil to critique the Swedish status quo.

Arriving when land in the Midwest could be purchased with relative ease, many immigrants turned to farming, and in the process Swedes became a key ethnic component of several states in the upper Mississippi region. By 1890, a majority of the 776,000 Swedes in America were heavily concentrated in this part of the country, where they played a prominent role in the construction of a distinctive regional culture.

As Protestants from western Europe, they were generally perceived by the native-born as "among the best foreigners" (40). Thus they did not confront the kind of nativist hostility that groups from eastern and southern Europe frequently experienced. Barton observes that Swedish immigrants continued over time to harbor positive assessments of America. One can only assume that this is chiefly due to the treatment they were accorded and to the economic opportunities they found in their new land.

During the "high tide"—running from the turn of the century to World War I—a Swedish-American identity was forged, in no small part by the ideological spokespersons affiliated with the Augustana Synod based in Rock Island. While seeking to preserve central aspects of their Swedish heritage, it was clear that Swedish-Americans were also intent on strategically locating themselves in the American ethnic hierarchy—and in so doing, they invented an identity that was distinct from their counterparts in Sweden. This was the heyday of ethnic

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.

REVIEWED BY STEVEN D. RESCHLY, TRUMAN STATE UNIVERSITY

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

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