

Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America. By Charlotte Erickson. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1972. Pp. vi, 531. Maps, notes, illustrations, index. \$17.50.)

More than two million Englishmen and Scotsmen entered the United States practically unnoticed in the nineteenth century. Their similarity to the bulk of Americans rendered them virtually invisible. Standard immigration texts and most of the recent works on immigrant groups neglect them. No study has searched so deeply into the effects of emigration upon these migrants or questioned so effectively the assumption that they were assimilated rapidly and easily into American culture as this volume by Charlotte Erickson.

Dr. Erickson, a recognized historian of British emigration, presents twenty-five short collections of previously unpublished, nineteenth century Scottish and English emigrant letters. Each minimally edited, thoroughly annotated collection is preceded by a biographical history of the family involved. Unlike the more literate, upper class letters and memoirs which have appeared elsewhere, these represent the aspirations and attitudes of former farmers, handicraftsmen, small traders, and common laborers. Erickson's analysis, based upon these and other emigrant letters, portrays a people who adapted to American society but disdained assimilation. Their language and religion made them compatible with most of their American neighbors but denied them the shields against association which other immigrants possessed. They seldom faced discrimination by nativists or racists, yet, when possible, chose to segregate themselves among fellow countrymen. Early Scottish and English immigrant farmers remained aloof, thinking themselves superior to Yankees. Many joined colonies ("rural ghettos"), as at Albion, Illinois, and Saundersville, Indiana. Those in farming and industry made American friends slowly and married Americans only as a last resort. They participated little in politics and often waited long to seek naturalization.

By organizing the collections of letters into three categories representing the American occupations of the writers—agriculture, industry, and business and the professions—Erickson compares and contrasts the emigrants' motives

for leaving Britain, their distribution in the United States, and their social, economic, political, and psychological adjustments. Her well documented introductions to each categorical grouping both support and challenge older interpretations. First, she argues that the opportunities of farming in America "served as a safety valve for urban and industrial workers in England" (p. 62), but she does not allay the doubts that have undermined the parallel concept that the availability of western land effectively relieved urban, industrial tension in America itself. Second, she asserts that "Frederick Jackson Turner's schematic model of successive waves of specialized settlers, from pioneer to capitalist farmer, is wrong. The letter-writers were not mainly fillers-in." On the contrary, most of them "spent years clearing and bringing land into cultivation for the first time" (pp. 45-46). Third, she maintains that private emigrant letters rather than the often touted advertisements of community founders, companies, and speculators were the chief stimulant to English and Scottish emigration.

The central problem of this book, as of all such works in the social sciences, is the degree to which small samples truly characterize the whole. Critically aware of this and of the pitfalls of using emigrant letters as a source, Erickson prefers to call her sample of fifty-three letter writers "historical cases, whether typical or not" (p. 6). Since her conclusions are based upon a scant percentage of all Scottish and English immigrants, one hopes others will extend her pioneering explorations, especially in American repositories, and reveal more about these invisible immigrants.

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Immigrants, Baptists, and the Protestant Mind in America.

By Lawrence B. Davis. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. Pp. 230. Notes, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

"North America for Christ" seems to have been the theme song of Northern Baptists from the founding of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1832 to the enactment of the National Origins Act in 1924. Throughout this period Baptists were faced with the problem of the immigrant—was he to be ignored or cultivated? Davis discusses