

Northeast and on the frontier as they did in the Old Northwest. Teenage boys, on the other hand, were most valuable in the Northeast. These results obviously cannot explain why farm couples in the Midwest and on the frontier had more children than couples in the Northeast; children in the newer regions did not augment farm production more than elsewhere.

Parents today will find it easy to agree with the conclusion that nowhere did it "pay" to have children. An elaborate calculation of the appropriate economic formulation of this choice, the present discounted value of a newborn infant, does indicate, however, that children were not as bad an investment in the newer regions as they were in the Northeast. What seems to be behind this result is the lesser expense of establishing a new farm outside of the longer-settled region.

Analysis of the data cannot confirm one or another of the arguments that economic historians have put forward to explain the regional pattern in fertility. However, the ease of marriage formation seems significant in two ways. In the Old Northwest and on the frontier, couples could afford to marry earlier and then have more children, since it was not as expensive as in the Northeast to help their grown offspring acquire a farm and begin an independent life.

Beyond noting a few differences, such as the considerably higher fertility of immigrants over native-born in all regions, Craig sticks to economic models and the literatures of economic history and economic demography. The orientation, method, and findings of *To Sow One Acre More* suggest that it will be of interest mainly to economists who specialize in American demographic and agricultural history.

*The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War*, by Bruce S. Levine. The Working Class in American History Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xiv, 378 pp. Tables, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.

REVIEWED BY GREGORY ZIEREN, AUSTIN PEAY STATE UNIVERSITY

Bruce Levine's *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* is a study of German immigration to the United States in the two decades or so before the Civil War, and of the impact the Germans' arrival had on American society and politics. The "Spirit of 1848" refers to the wave of failed European revolutions of that year. Their suppression spurred the departure of political refugees seeking asylum in America.

Levine examines first the economic and political conditions in Germany in the 1840s and 50s that impelled a million and a half Ger-

mans to seek their fortunes and freedom abroad. He focuses especially on craftsmen with traditional working-class jobs, such as carpenters, woodworkers, furniture makers, butchers, bakers, and tailors. The economic discontents of urban craftsmen, small masters, and peasant proprietors led many to espouse a radical form of democracy and form the urban mobs and revolutionary shock troops of 1848.

The material in Levine's first two chapters is familiar territory for anyone conversant with nineteenth-century European history, but he makes a singular contribution there. Those who follow in the older tradition of Lewis Namier, who termed the revolutions of 1848 "the revolution of the intellectuals," see it too often as the work of elites and too seldom as a mass uprising. Correspondingly, the focus of American scholarship on the refugees of 1848—including Carl Wittke's now dated classic, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America*, and most standard immigration histories since the 1950s—has been almost exclusively on outstanding political emigrés. Levine's study shows that the political ideologies that bore Europe's intellectual ferment of 1848 were also packed with the baggage of ordinary German immigrants for the trip to the Great Republic of the Western world.

Chapters three, four, and five show what happened to German immigrants once they arrived. At a time when half of the nation's labor force was concentrated in agriculture, only one-quarter of all Germans found their way to America's farms. Most of the rest lived in cities and pursued the traditional artisan crafts of their forebears. Levine focuses on eastern cities, such as New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo, and a few midwestern ones, such as Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. He devotes a few lines to the Germans of Davenport (but neglects Des Moines and Dubuque, other Iowa centers for Germans).

To these shores the Germans brought their rich associational life of sport clubs, mutual benefit societies, churches, taverns, beer gardens, and political groups. The political groups, infused with the radical democratic flavor of 1848, ranged from the Communist League to the Democratic Party, but all took part in the upheaval of antebellum politics. Concentrated in cities and artisan crafts, and prone to organization, the Germans also joined the labor organizations and strikes of the 1850s, often in leadership roles. Such "labor conflict" is part of Levine's subtitle, but is a relatively minor focus of the work.

Perhaps Levine's most important contribution to the literature of the antebellum era and to German Americana is his treatment of the Free Soil agitation of the 1850s, the formation of the Republican Party, and the coming of the Civil War. Somewhat disconnected from the previous chapters, this section nonetheless demonstrates clearly that

the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 provoked among German Americans an even more deeply rooted fear and opposition than among the native-born population of the North. Before 1854 Germans had found a natural home in the Democratic Party, with its open arms for immigrants and greater tolerance for diversity. But Kansas-Nebraska propelled the Germans into the embrace of the new Republican Party in 1856 despite that party's somewhat uncomfortable associations with the nativism of the old Whigs and Know Nothings. The Germans, in their devotion to Free Soil and hostility to slavery, a legacy of 1848, found common cause with native-born working men and women of the East and farmers of Iowa and the Middle West, and a common home in the Republican Party. Levine carefully attends to reactions in both regions and to the largely unsuccessful efforts of Democrats nationwide to retain their hold on German voters.

The new political history of the past twenty years has paid special attention to shifting electoral coalitions in American politics—the “critical elections” thesis. Levine has shown more carefully than anyone else how and why the Germans found their way into the Republican Party. On the other hand, he uses none of the quantitative election analysis that might cinch his case for changing German-American electoral behavior. Otherwise exhaustively researched and reasonably well written, the book relies inevitably on newspaper accounts. Descriptions of political meetings drawn from the ethnic and mainstream press that drag on for pages could have been summarized on the readers' behalf. Too often Levine succumbs to the dissertation writer's temptation to give ten quotations or examples when two or three would have sufficed nicely.

Bruce Levine's study joins two other fine recent works, Stanley Nadel's *Little Germany* and Walter Kamphoefner's *The Westfalians* in the growing literature of America's, and Iowa's, largest immigrant community, the German Americans.

*From Blue Mills to Columbia: Cedar Falls and the Civil War*, by Kenneth L. Lyftogt. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993. vii, 191 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$23.95 cloth.

REVIEWED BY M. PHILIP LUCAS, CORNELL COLLEGE

Three major sets of actors dominate Kenneth Lyftogt's study of Cedar Falls during the Civil War. The Pioneer Greys, a company of young men from the town, enlisted in the spring of 1861. A second company, the Cedar Falls Reserves, enlisted in mid-1862 and, like the Greys, fought until the end of the war. The third set of participants is the

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