

policy was predicated upon the contradictory republican goals of equity and voluntarism, which ensured that most white men served as soldiers, but at the same time undercut the ability of Virginians to repel the British invasion. Equity and voluntarism presumed each individual's ability to contract for military service, and thereby promoted a "market system in enlistments, including the purchase of substitutes" (153). The result was unequal commitments to service by the rich and the poor.

The last section of the volume focuses on migration as a way of analyzing regional differences in capitalist development. Chapter seven is particularly valuable for its careful analysis of the complex relationship between class affinities and regional ethnic cultures in the North. The final chapter in the volume is an elegant exploration of the early nineteenth-century advance of the southern cotton frontier, driven by the insatiable demands of a world market, and the consequences of the forced migration of slaves for African-American families, communities, and regional cultures.

A brief review cannot do justice to the richness of these essays. There is much to digest here. Not all of Kulikoff's arguments are equally well developed. I suspect, for example, that his distinction between yeomen and small capitalists works less well at the level of individual communities than it does at the level of state and regional politics. Similarly, Kulikoff's analysis of gender lacks the nuance of, say, his treatment of Virginia militiamen. His major point, that gender conflict within households has been little explored, is surely on target, but his own argument rests largely on the attractions of bourgeois ideology for white farm women subordinated within hierarchical households. To say that Kulikoff's essays are not definitive, however, only underscores their value: they show us how much we have learned, and how much we still need to find out.

To Sow One Acre More: Childbearing and Farm Productivity in the Antebellum North, by Lee A. Craig. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. xii, 161 pp. Tables, notes, appendixes, bibliographical essay, index. \$28.50 cloth.

REVIEWED BY DANIEL SCOTT SMITH, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO

Major intellectual figures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries anticipated later historians and social scientists in their emphasis on the importance of the ratio of people to land. In nineteenth-century American history this factor translated into pronounced regional dif-

ferences in human fertility, the main subject of *To Sow One Acre More*. In 1860 farm women in the Midwest and on the frontier could expect to have two children more during their lifetimes than their counterparts in the Northeast. Historical demographers have been particularly interested in regional variations in fertility in the United States because of the fundamental importance of the secular transition from high to low rates of childbearing. The United States, like France, initiated this profound change in behavior decades before the rest of Europe.

In analyzing why couples in the Northeast had fewer children than their counterparts in the West, Lee Craig focuses on differences in farm household economies. In this volume, which originated in a 1989 Indiana University Ph.D. thesis in economics, Craig utilizes a large sample, taken by Fred Bateman and James Foust two decades ago, from the manuscripts of the 1860 U.S. agriculture and population censuses for 102 northern townships. Iowa furnished six of the 26 frontier townships in the analysis. Several economic and agricultural historians have used this valuable data source, most extensively Jeremy Atack and Bateman in *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North* (1987).

In separate chapters Craig provides estimates of farm output, the relationship of household labor supply to agricultural production, and the economic value of women and children. His first task was quite complicated, especially as the contribution of dairying to farm output had to be figured indirectly. Overall, it appears that dairy products provided more revenue than grain and hay.

While some economists of peasant agriculture have contended that agriculturalists adjust farm production to fit the available family labor supply by age and gender, this mechanism did not appear to be operative in northern agriculture. Although females and children were more involved in dairying than in the production of crops, the output mix was not adjusted to match the supply of family labor available at different stages of the family life cycle. Instead, argues Craig, soil type, climate, and market proximity structured the variety of farm output. Given the regional organization of the data presented, readers can perceive the importance of comparative advantage in structuring the composition of farm output among these three large regions. However, Craig's typology of the life cycle was not formulated to take account of the gender mix of children. Thus, it is possible that households with a preponderance of girls concentrated more on dairying than those with more sons than daughters.

Using a complicated regression procedure, Craig finds a mixed picture with respect to the contribution of children of each sex to farm output across regions. Children and teenage girls contributed little in any region, but women added twice the value to farm output in the

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-

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