and spent vast capital to build the new Burns Harbor plant in Indiana. Once the Burns Harbor plant opened and the start-up problems were solved, Lackawanna’s usefulness to the corporation was over.

Yet, throughout this period from the late 1960s through 1983, the company continued to issue sizable dividend checks to stockholders. Since much of the corporation’s capital was invested in the Burns Harbor project, and since demand had dropped dramatically during this period, management once again returned to the approach it had taken to maintaining profits around the turn of the century: cutting wages. In the 1970s, however, this strategy required a simultaneous attack on work rules and compensation packages negotiated by union and management representatives during the post-war boom. Despite concessions in these areas, combined with reduced local taxes and lax environmental regulations, the company systematically laid off workers at Lackawanna until 1983, when fewer than 600 employees remained and the furnaces went cold.

Leary and Sholes have undertaken an ambitious task in From Fire to Rust, and it represents a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of steel making in America. The authors state that the Lackawanna story is “characteristic of 20th century capitalist practice as a whole,” and as this practice pertains to steel, the study of the Bethlehem plant near Buffalo illuminates those forces which shaped the history of steel in Pittsburgh and Youngstown as well. Rigid management policies designed and implemented by individuals trained in accounting and investing resulted in a greater emphasis on quarterly dividends than the manufacture of steel. In this sense, the fate of Lackawanna is similar to that of the Homestead or Campbell works.

The authors of From Fire to Rust have left us with a painstakingly detailed record of a steel mill, the workers who inhabited it and the corporate policies which shaped and ultimately destroyed it. At times their meticulous attention to detail makes the reading somewhat tedious, especially for those not particularly interested in the technical aspects of steel making. Yet this is a small price to pay for the benefits. Other writers have discussed the technical organization of work as it relates to control within the workplace, but Leary and Sholes give us a close up view of the points where the social and physical elements of work converge.

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Arms, Country, and Class: The Philadelphia Militia and the ‘Lower Sort’ During the American Revolution
By Steven Rosswurm

This study of Pennsylvania’s “internal revolution” examines the roles played by class and the militia system. Despite its focus on Philadelphia, the book should interest the readers of Pittsburgh History because the politics of Revolutionary Pennsylvania are so often portrayed as a struggle of westerners and Philadelphia radicals against the dominant eastern elite.

By the late colonial era, Philadelphia society included three economic groups: an upper class of merchant capitalists, a middle class of small independent artisans and a lower class of laborers. Because the city’s growing economic ties with Britain benefited the merchants, undermined the position of the artisans, and severely hurt laborers, the three groups developed increasingly different sets of interests and values. Before the 1770s the “lower sort” accepted their subordinate position, in part because they relied so heavily upon their “betters” for employment, poor relief, and other forms of assistance. The growing hostility of the upper class to trade boycotts, however, allowed artisans to gain control of the patriot movement, and the organization of the militia led laborers to voice their own concerns. Since Pennsylvania had no established militia system before the Revolution, the lower class found it easier to shape the emerging institution. In particular, laborers pushed for the election rather than appointment of officers, less authoritarian forms of discipline, adequate pay for men on active duty, and substantial fines for those persons (often well-to-do ones) who refused to perform military service. When it became clear that the conservative leaders of Pennsylvania would not support American independence, lower class Philadelphians joined the campaign which created a more radical and democratic constitution and state government in 1776.

The radical egalitarianism of Philadelphia laborers shaped their actions in the militia and on the streets during the war years. Although they usually turned out for active duty in respectable numbers and fought well on several occasions, boredom, inadequate supplies, excessive discipline, and reports of economic hardships for their families at home often made them unruly and in some cases led to mass desertions. The British occupation of Philadelphia during 1777 and 1778 increased the material hardships of poorer citizens and heightened their resentment of wealthy Philadelphians who collaborated with the enemy. After the British evacuated, this resentment led to demands for reprisals, especially since many of
the former collaborators now apparently profited from and even encouraged the rising prices of food and other necessities. Such sentiments also fueled popular demands for price controls and measures to force merchants to accept the depreciated paper currency. This popular militance climaxed in the Fort Wilson riot of October 1779, when fighting broke out between a party of prominent conservatives and radical militiamen bent on punishing British sympathizers and other men whom they saw as their economic oppressors.

What ultimately defeated the radical egalitarianism of lower class Philadelphians was an emerging coalition of moderates and conservatives from the middle and upper classes. While lower class radicals criticized social and economic inequality and called for private property to be subordinated to the common good, their antagonists insisted that price controls and attacks on property rights were not only unjust but also unwise. The growing disrespect shown by the "lower sort" toward many of their "betters" and the increasingly violent spirit of their calls for effective price controls frightened many moderates into the alliance which suppressed the Fort Wilson disorders, secured the repeal of legal tender laws and the emasculation of the price control system, and began to alter the militia system in the later years of the war.

Despite his subtle and generally convincing analysis, Rosswurm sometimes overstates and oversimplifies the role of class consciousness in the politics of Revolutionary Philadelphia. Much of the popular hostility to men who avoided military duty reflected religious as well as economic frustrations: a disproportionate number of the men targeted were Quakers, and such anti-Quaker sentiments had played a role in social and political life for much of the colonial era. Moreover, although he correctly emphasizes the active role of the lower class, Rosswurm may exaggerate their self-direction and self-consciousness. For example, although the Philadelphia Committee of Privates may have spoken for the interests of laborers, the lack of information on the committee's membership makes it uncertain whether the committee served to train and radicalize a large group of working class leaders (pages 66-72). Nevertheless, this book remains a superb study of Revolutionary Philadelphia and an example of the continuing examination of popular groups and cultures that is required if we are to recapture the full complexity of this and other eras in American history.

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The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880-1915.

By June Granatir Alexander

THE last 20 to 25 years have witnessed significant changes in the historical sub-discipline known as "ethnic history." Given the evolution of the United States, whose history is to a large degree the history of immigration, traditional "immigration history" has always been practiced in the country, and it was practiced by some of America's most respected professional historians. Ethnic history, on the other hand, particularly as it applies to the "less desirable" nationalities of Eastern and Southern Europe who came to this country mostly during the turn-of-the-century "new immigration," generally has been the preserve of amateur historians. These chroniclers of immigrant groups' past labored under the double burden of the lack of professional training and a corresponding lack of dedication to historical objectivity.

Given the fact that until the ethnic revolution of the 1960s few professional historians would undertake significant research on the lives and experiences of the "new immigrants," the first of these shortcomings was almost unavoidable. In light of the lowly view in which the heavily WASP-ish American society held these "undesirable" immigrants, however, the second shortcoming is also understandable. Few of the immigrants' self-appointed "court-historians" would undertake historical research in the name of historical objectivity, i.e. with the intention of producing purely objective assessments of their ethnic group's role in American history. The goal of these "historians" was simply to prove to themselves and to their fellow nationals (who suffered from various levels of inferiority complexes) and to the outside world (which held them in rather low esteem) that they in fact were better than their image, and that they did in fact contribute to the history and achievements of America. In trying to attain this goal, they naturally blew events and personalities connected with the history of their nationality out of proportion. They also engaged in myth-making (i.e. history-creation) that often characterizes the historiography of "small" nationalities at an early stage of their national consciousness, when they are trying to assert themselves in the world.

The situation has changed considerably in recent years, as ethnic history has come to be accepted as a legitimate field of study. More and more trained historians began to publish in this field, and they produced a number of re-