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 frictions: 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-
spectable monographs and syntheses on the history of various immigrant groups.

June Granatir Alexander’s *The Immigrant Church and Community* is undoubtedly one of these worthy monographs. It is an honest scholarly effort to summarize a microcosm of Slovak immigrant life in the United States during the height of Slovak immigration to the United States. And it does so without many of the anachronisms that often disfigure the works of the so-called “philosophistic historians” who, driven by the above-mentioned considerations, try to project current realities back into the past. To give a few examples, Alexander does not speak of “Slovakia” in the nineteenth century, when it did not exist as such. Nor does she try to inject immigrant Slovaks with some sort of powerful Slovak nationalism, recognizing that national consciousness among them was so new that most of them remained unaware of it even after years of immigration.

Alexander’s work is basically the history of the development of the Pittsburgh Slovak community as reflected in their most important institutions: their churches and fraternal associations. It begins with a brief description of Slovak migration to the United States, describing those economic and demographic pressures that caused them to leave Hungary prior to World War I — at first temporarily, and then permanently. It continues with an overview of their fraternal associations. She points out that those associations organized along religious lines (Catholic, Evangelical, Calvinist) were generally more successful than those that tried to embrace all people of Slovak origin. This was true precisely because of the lack of a real Slovak national consciousness among the immigrants, and because most of the Slovaks in those days still thought primarily in religious and provincial terms.

This also holds true for their local cultural and social organizations, most of which were likewise geared to individual regions and counties in northern Hungary and not to the Slovaks in general.

The bulk of Alexander’s volume consists of the description of the foundation and maintenance of five Slovak churches in Pittsburgh (four Catholic and one Lutheran), the transformation of parish life as a result of the immigrants’ new experiences in the United States (e.g. the role of the clergy versus the increased role of the laity), the role of regionalism in the life of the parishes and the Pittsburgh Slovaks in general, and finally, the impact of the beginnings of Slovak national consciousness upon Pittsburgh Slovaks.

Alexander’s *The Immigrant Church and Community* is a worthwhile study on the process of adjustment by an immigrant community to realities in the New World. Its scholarship surpasses the quality of the average doctoral dissertation, which it was before publication. Like most monographs, however, it also has a few shortcomings; albeit these are relatively unimportant within the context of the whole book. For example, information in some chapters is repetitious. The book also contains some anachronisms in the use of place names. The author could have considered using, or at least mentioning in parentheses, the official names of the counties and cities of pre-World War I Hungary. She certainly would be hard put to find “Bratislava County” or the city of “Kosice” on pre-World War I maps. Nor should she have made a reference to a Catholic “patriarch,” whom, according to her, the Slovaks lacked in the United States. This implies they had a patriarch in the old country, though such an office or position never existed in Hungary. (She may have been thinking of Hungary’s Primate, who was and is always the Arch-bishop of Esztergom, usually also holding the title of cardinal.)

Notwithstanding these observations, the work as a whole is commendable. It is an admirable scholarly monograph that enhances our knowledge of Pittsburgh Slovaks, as well as the process of adjustment by turn-of-the-century new immigrants to American society. Alexander is an able practitioner in the field of ethnic history. No doubt, she will make many further contributions to this sub-discipline.

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