

cultural experience that crossed class and racial lines. People of diverse origins joined in the increasingly familiar experience of being on vacation" (222).

Working at Play is an intelligent, thoughtful, well written and thoroughly researched study of an important leisure experience. Aron's analysis of class, race and gender in the context of the vacation is perceptive and cogent, adding greatly to the literature of these fields of study. The book goes far in explaining why vacationing (as well as other leisure activities) is an important topic for historians to research and interpret. Aron's examination of why Americans are still generally uncomfortable with relaxation and leisure pursuits is a significant contribution to understanding who we are as a people and a nation.

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Mayo, James M. *The American Country Club: Its Origins and Development*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998. Pp. xi + 243. Illustrated. Notes, index. \$25.00 cb.

James Mayo, the author of this new study of the country club, is a professor in the School of Architecture and Urban Design of the University of Kansas and associate editor of the *Journal Of Architectural and Planning Research*. He has also previously written *War Memorials as Political Landscape* and *The American Grocery Store*. His purpose is to write a consolidated history of the country club, with a focus on the social and economic evolution of the country clubs, which he examines as a leisure landscape.

Mayo posits four prerequisites for country clubs could develop: urban men's clubs had to be established to provide the structural framework for elites to organize their leisure activities commensurate with their social status; elites needed to experience life in summer resorts that connected their families to the rustic landscape; elites developed an expensive outdoor sporting culture; and transportation innovations and suburbanization enabled a leisure lifestyle that integrated elites' desire for club life, outdoor and leisure activities, and suburban living. However, it was not true that the emergence of country clubs paralleled the rise of suburbanization and mass transit, since suburbs like Brooklyn date back to the antebellum era, and the country club set hardly relied on mass transit to get to their clubs. Mayo points out that suburban sports did not originate with the country club, but rather with Philadelphia cricket clubs. He does assert that Brookline was first to put key historic practices together as a coherent approach to the private suburban club. Mayo argues that the first major country club sports were equestrian events—coaching, driving, steeplechasing, and thoroughbred racing (70).

The book is most successful when it sticks to architectural issues. The men's club building's style depended on its stage of development (often starting as someone's home) and local circumstances. This might include overt symbolism of purposes like the New York Yacht Clubs three large arched windows that were interpretations of Dutch boat sterns. He points out that the original clubs were makeshift landscapes that took advantage of existing conditions, but by the early 1900s, standardized club practices emerged, included clubhouse design, golf course layout, financial arrangements, and the club man-

agement. The country club was a new form of landscaping that was heavily influenced by certain sports, particularly golf, because of its particular physical and social requirements.

Although Mayo found that the first clubhouses were often converted country homes and farmhouses, he also notes that it was not long before noted architects were designing those buildings. The renowned Stanford White designed Shinnicock Hills in the Shingle style, and several other clubs were built in French colonial. Frank Lloyd Wright designed the modernist River Forest GC in 1898. Regional designs were popular, such as the Mission style in California. These clubhouses included a kitchen, ballroom, stage, game rooms, and locker rooms.

Mayo also emphasizes the importance of country club estates, beginning with Tuxedo Park in Rye, NY, where grandiose homes were built in proximity to the country club. Mayo identifies this as the transition from the summer resort to a permanent relationship between club and home (118). Real estate investors recognized the potential of integrating the clubs into well-planned suburbs, like Baltimore's Roland Park, where a country club was purposely built in 1896 within the suburb to promote it. C.J. Nichols of Kansas City, the most influential developer of elite residential suburbs, was best known for his Country Club District, a protective barrier against potential undesirable use of land next to his developments. Country clubs also took the initiative to develop the surrounding areas. By the 1920s developers were using country clubs to organized elite subdivisions and sell homes nearby.

The 1920s were a major period of growth for country clubs, which rose from 1,000 in 1915 to 5,500 in 1927. Clubs fell more often under professional management. Many clubs were built in this prosperous decade, some of which were too speculative, figuring they would get additional members in the future. Mayo points out that the activities at clubs changed, such as the growing importance in the 1920s of debutante parties, and of swimming pools.

Membership dropped about 80 percent during the Depression, although only about 15 percent of clubs failed. Clubs cut back on maintenance, sold lots, installed bars, and built swimming pools to draw new members. After World War II ended, country clubs regained their popularity with the big migration to suburbia. Corporations began to develop country clubs as moneymaking ventures, and executives employed them to wine and dine clients. Efforts were made to build up memberships by appealing to families with innovations like Ladies' Day at the golf courses. Mayo argues that since World War II, the main challenges to the country club landscape have been redesigning courses, providing new facilities, relocation, and environmental problems—especially water for new clubs in the desert.

The book suffers from several errors of fact that most sport historians would recognize, such as the assertion that only gentlemen were allowed to watch horse racing in colonial Virginia (48). He claims the NYYC was formed in 1865 (49) and the first hunt clubs were formed by 1825. Mayo offers no evidence is offered to bolster his claim that the Sixteenth Amendment influenced club memberships (34). Mayo relies on Stephen Birmingham's *Our Crowd* to indicate that August Belmont had become an Episcopalian (45), a fact denied by Belmont's biographers. Mayo misuses or misinterprets Melvin Adelman's *A Sporting Time* in a couple of instances. He claims—inaccurately—that Adelman

held that baseball was a game for elite gentlemen (47), and that American Jockey Club members were all high-ranking gentlemen (48). Adelman (*A Sporting Time*, 80) was actually citing a contemporary source that was referring to the Saratoga Association. Mayo also neglects the role of the English gentry and their country life as providing a model for American elite sportsmen, though he does point out the interest in country living, spas, and wilderness camps, which seems a stretch.

Mayo should have devoted more attention to the social history of country clubs. He does not give much consideration to their social functions, and gives insufficient coverage to issues like racism and discrimination. There is no mention at all of the Augusta National GC. Mayo makes good use of contemporary magazine articles, but otherwise relies too heavily on secondary sources.

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Becker, Carl M. *Home and Away: The Rise and Fall of Professional Football on the Banks of the Ohio, 1919-1934*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1998. Pp. xvii + 367. Illustrated. Notes, bibliography, appendix, index. \$36.95 cb; \$19.95 pb.

Carl Becker chronicles the origins, development, and demise of three professional football teams located in Ohio River communities during the years 1919 to 1934. The most famous of these teams was the Portsmouth, Ohio Spartans, which in 1934 became the Detroit Lions. All three teams were located in small industrial cities—Ironton, Ashland, and Portsmouth—that reflected the small town values and boosterism satirized so ably by Sinclair Lewis in his novel *Babbitt* (1922).

Becker reports that the Ironton Tanks were initially organized by local football players following World War I, and became a source of pride to the town's working-class people, businessmen, and professionals. While the Ironton Tanks became the focus of local boosterism, they resisted the temptation to join the National Football League, although they built a stadium, recruited college all-stars, hired a well-known coach, and played NFL teams. The Ashland [Kentucky] Armcos were sponsored by the American Rolling Mill Company, which operated a steel mill in that city. Like so many early professional and semiprofessional football and basketball teams, the Ashland Armcos were underwritten by a large employer for advertising, bragging rights, and the benefit of employee relations. While industrial teams such as the Decatur Staleys, the Philips Sixty-Sixers, and the Green Bay Packers became "big league" teams, it was much more common for industrial teams to rise and fall with the generation that started them. This was the case with the Ashland Armcos. But the businessmen who sponsored and promoted their community through the Portsmouth Spartans risked and lost everything, except the glory of nearly being champions of the National Football League.

The post-World War I period was a renaissance for small cities in America. It was a time when the residents of small towns and cities felt social isolation was disappearing due to the automobile and improving roads. Moreover, it was also a time when most business-