BOOK REVIEWS


The need for publications expanding awareness and understanding of local history and genealogy is great. Few of us are able to look at the whole from the perspective of any of its parts or to converse about the past of our neighborhoods, alert to their traditions and assets, or assess realistically their shortcomings and prospects. The same may be said, more or less, about family histories. We ought therefore to welcome new volumes, especially one such as this with its prefatory promise "to record family (genealogical) data, comprehensive history of the county and its churches, boroughs and townships" (p. 6).

In a most narrow way the book succeeds. Nearly three-quarters of its pages contain genealogies not previously published nor otherwise conveniently available. The majority of them inform us about entire families rather than one or a very few who were (are) prominent. Another 20 percent of the volume contains historical narratives of the county, its boroughs and townships, churches and schools. Admittedly, a portion of this information appeared in earlier county histories, but the addition of data pertaining to the past sixty-five years is a contribution. The concluding sections of the book, "Memorials, Tributes, Business and Industry Supporting County History," includes additional facts on local topics in recent times.

Unfortunately, serious flaws mar the work and limit its usefulness. First, and perhaps basic, is the absence of a consistent perspective. The essays on history are sometimes descriptive narratives strewn with data, sometimes sparsely phrased chronologies, and at other times rather personal recollections on topics detached from a specific time and environs. Likewise the family histories range from "highlights" in the lives of the living (e.g., a list of hobbies) to careful tracings back to European beginnings. Several attempt to relate the family to historical settings; most are interested merely in lineage. Largely a record of details, Jefferson County provides readers with little understanding—at a hefty cost.

Second, the presentation of the materials is abysmal. That different persons authored each of the hundreds of essays accounts for the wide range of approaches to the many topics, but the compiler made no effective effort to connect and coordinate these separate writings in any instructive way other than within superficial headings. Nor is there any correlation between the intrinsic historical value of a topic and the fullness it receives. The writing itself is, for the most part, crude and littered with grammatical errors. The compiler failed at his obligation to help those who are not accustomed to formal writing and consequently had difficulty expressing their thoughts clearly. Did anyone proofread galleys? Totally needless mispellings—"Corplanter's" (p. 8) "Cincinnati" (p. 17) "Quacker" (p. 295)—obviously incorrect dates, and inconsis-
tent uses of heavy face type to designate titles of publications abound, defacing nearly every one of the nearly four-hundred pages of Jefferson County.

A pity, too, because our need to understand is so great.

Bloomsburg University  

CRAIG A. NEWTON

Forest County, Pennsylvania: Pictorial History. Compiled by Donald E. Taft.  
(Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Company, for the Forest County Historical Society, 1982. Pp. 134. $27.50. Orders to the Forest County Historical Society, Courthouse, Tionesta, PA 16353.)

This is a puzzling book. It was obviously assembled with much local pride and much love and considerable expense. On the positive side, it includes many fine photographs which have lots of possibilities. But it would have been so much better if the individual photographs were more completely captioned and the book as a whole were better organized. Even after some effort, I was unable to discern any clear organizing principle. One could imagine grouping pictures by chronology, or by geographic location, or by topics such as people, lifestyle, industry, agriculture, buildings, and so forth. Occasionally this happens and similar items fall on the same page, but it does not happen consistently and, with one exception, no subheadings appear to make the categories apparent when they are there.

More frustrating in the long run, I think, will be the fact that many of the photographs have only the most minimal of captions. Some lack dates, some locations; most lack any designation of significance. For example, on page 63 there is a photograph of St. Anthony’s Church in Tionesta. But, although water is right up to the front door, there is no indication of what flooded or when or why. There are people identified only by a name, with no indication of when they lived, or where they lived, or why they were thought important enough to be included. Who, for instance, are “George F. Watson” (p. 88) or “Harry Jaun, Uncle Charlie Juan and friend” (p. 88) or “Pauline Norton” (p. 118)?

No doubt much of this was self-evident to the compiler. But it is not self-evident to an outsider like myself; nor, one suspects, will it be self-evident to the next generation of insiders—and that is sad because one of the compiler’s stated aims was to provide something that can be passed on to one’s descendants. In a way it is a bit like my grandmother’s photo album—filled with all those people and places that I can’t identify. And, although in one sense I value it, how I wish she had labeled things so that I could appreciate what the pictures meant to her. The point is that history, by definition, involves an interpretation, as well as a record, of the past. And that is what is missing here.

It is probably unfair to be very sharp with the dedicated volunteers at the Forest County Historical Society who put this book together. More likely, however, those printing houses which are in the business of printing county projects will have to assume more responsibility for providing direction to the local workers. It should not be too difficult, nor too expensive, to provide several possible outlines for grouping photographs, with suggestions as to what should go into each section and what could just as well be left out. Nor ought it to be impossible to emphasize that compilers should write captions for their grandchildren, even great-grandchildren, and not simply for themselves. Perhaps this printing company did that, but if it did, then the advice did not catch in this case.
Hopefully the company—and especially other historical societies which are considering similar projects—will learn from the experience.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Charles D. Cashdollar


For those of us who have long believed that clues to understanding the American experience lie beyond the homogeneity of New England's nucleated villages or the bifurcated Anglo-African patterns of the rural south, the appearance of this volume is a welcome event. While adaptation to a strange environment was a necessary fact of life in all regions of the newly settled continent, accommodation to other cultures was not. Michael Zuckerman notes in the introduction that the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York acted from the beginning under conditions of cultural pluralism that came to characterize the rest of the United States only in the nineteenth century. In a brilliant opening section, he explains that their paradigmatic nature was, in itself, largely responsible for the long-time lack of historiographic focus on the "motley middle:" "The Middle Atlantic did not need a special history because its ways were so substantially the ways of the westering nation." He further suggests that "only now, as its accustomed dominance decays, does it become for the first time a subject of intense historical study" (p. 5–6).

Although the book carefully refrains from billing itself as a study of Pennsylvania, it is, in fact, rather closely focused on William Penn's colony, with only two chapters looking just across the Delaware to New Jersey. The only other organizing principle of Friends and Neighbors is that it presents the best new scholarship, employing a broad spectrum of documentary evidence in a variety of methodological approaches, and addressing the issue of the myriad responses of European culture to an open environment and the necessity of living in it among alien peoples. The diversity of the essays and their lack of central focus mirror the plural society they depict.

One would like to have space to discuss each of the chapters on its own merits: every one has something special to recommend it. Levy's analysis of the sociological modernity of the Quaker family and its success in a new context compared to the more traditional Anglican model, Tomes's article on the importance of female networking and personal contacts to the male power structure in colonial Philadelphia, Leff's work on ethnic adaptation and accommodation in Reading which not only finds new ways of getting at stubborn questions of community interaction but also avoids the pitfall of imposing twentieth-century theories of ethnicity on eighteenth-century populations, are perhaps the most original and provocative chapters in terms of conceptualization. The processes by which religious communities maintained control of their members through structural accommodations to rapidly shifting social conditions are skillfully presented by Gladfelter and Forbes in the matter of the Quakers, and by Gough in considering the development of Philadelphia's Episcopal church. The persistence of traditional modes of belief and action in response to unfamiliar situations is traced by Landsman in relation to the Scottish proprietors of East New Jersey, and by Bodle in his narrative of the
struggle by the British and American forces for control of the supplies and hearts of the people during the terrible winter at Valley Forge.

All of the chapters have certain strengths in common. They reflect meticulous research, creative and exhaustive use of source materials, a thorough "state of the art" knowledge of the secondary literature, sound conclusions based on the evidence, and generally good prose style. They share some weaknesses as well. All tend to overgeneralize, given the necessarily narrow scope of the works at hand, although claims of typicality for their models may have been better proved in the dissertations from which the articles developed. While the chapters vary widely in concept and conclusion, all seem obliged to shadow-box at some point with modernization theory, and while they may be right that the changes they clearly articulate may not be "modern," they frequently put themselves in the position of denying the changes themselves.

In the end, the best review of the book as a whole may be found in Zuckerman's introduction. While admitting that the "pieces in this collection do not provide . . . comprehensive theoretical understanding," they have aimed high—"at nothing less than the life of the middle-colonial past as men and women of that pioneering plural society actually experienced it" (pp. 16, 18). The serious reader of Pennsylvania (or New Jersey) history, interested in broad contexts and intimate detail, can scarcely do better than to read Friends and Neighbors.

Stephanie Grauman Wolf


Melvin Buxbaum, author of the important Benjamin Franklin and the Zealous Presbyterians (1975), here offers the first of two volumes of what promises to be a monumental "reference guide" to Benjamin Franklin. Buxbaum's purpose is to be nothing less than all-inclusive: "to describe all works . . . in all languages and fields that are entirely or substantially on Benjamin Franklin . . . ." The present volume wholly satisfies the "underlying principle, the informing, passionate desire behind this book: that it be useful." It is a principle upon which the practical Franklin would bestow hearty approval.

The Guide is organized chronologically; writings are collated to years. Informative, sometimes lengthy annotations cogently describe each entry. This simple and direct organizational plan enhances the Guide's usefulness. The student may trace attitudes toward Franklin over time; he or she may easily discover years and/or periods during which the Franklin enterprise waxes and wanes. A cursory glance, for example, bears out Buxbaum's refutation of the widely held belief that Franklin's reputation declined soon after his death.

Contemporary Franklinists will be particularly interested in Buxbaum's references for the years of Franklin's life. The first of these occurs in 1721: Thomas Walter's attack on Silence Dogood. Of the some 180 entries through 1790, there are, for example, European encomiums (including Crévecoeur, D'Alembert, Beccaria, Giambattista Toderini [Filosofia frankliniana . . . .]), English diatribes (Wedderburn, Josiah Tucker), and further attacks from
Americans (Hugh Williamson, Arthur Lee) and praise (Nathaniel Evans and Charles Brockden Brown among others).

Volume one of the Reference Guide contains in total approximately sixteen hundred entries. Fascinating as they are when perused chronologically, they are made all the more useful by Buxbaum's inclusions of an exhaustive index. Here under the entry for Franklin, the reader will find alphabetically listed seventy-seven topics ranging from "and John Adams" to "writings of" (which themselves are listed alphabetically.) In between are such topics as "and Plato," "as a scientist" (some 190 entries beginning with the year 1751), "as a printer," "Magic Squares and Circles," and on and on. If the Guide's chronological organization fails to meet one's needs, this part of the copious index transforms the work into a topical guide to writings about Franklin.

With the completion of the second volume, Buxbaum's Reference Guide will provide the essential foundation for Franklin historiography from 1721 to the present. There can be few works dealing principally with Franklin that Buxbaum has overlooked. Of course, for the casual remark or opinion concerning Franklin, one must turn to letters, memorabilia, marginal annotations, and the like. One will not find in Buxbaum what Emerson thought of Franklin, or Theodore Roosevelt, or George Fitzhugh, or any other of hundreds of significant and not-so-significant figures. One will find Melville on Franklin because one chapter of Israel Potter deals with Franklin, whose name is in the chapter title. The same is true for both Mark Twain's and Nathaniel Hawthorne's animadversions on Franklin which likewise are included in the Guide.

But for the published commentary whose major focus is Franklin, Buxbaum's Guide will hereafter be the major source. Buxbaum's accomplishment, although different in kind, is comparable in our time to the then monumental Franklin bibliography published by Paul Leicester Ford in 1889. Now ninety-four years later, Ford's bibliography continues to be used by students of Franklin. One has little doubt that in the year 2077 Franklin scholars will still find Buxbaum's Reference Guide the useful book that he envisioned.

San Jose State University

THOMAS WENDEL


The first two volumes of The Papers of George Washington are the product of the same editorial project at the University of Virginia which has already completed a new edition of The Diaries of George Washington. Most of these Washington papers are in print in volume one of John C. Fitzpatrick's edition of The Writings of George Washington (1931) and volume one of Stanislaus Murray Hamilton's Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers (1899). Most of them are also found in the Library of Congress's microfilm edition of its Washington collection which was completed in 1964. The editors of The Papers have zealously searched for Washington material preserved elsewhere, so that of 175 items printed in volume one, fifty-five are from sources other than the Library of Congress, and of 361 items in volume 2, twenty-one are from other
sources. In some cases, where original letters are in private hands, the editors have ingeniously transcribed from manuscript sales catalogs. Like Fitzpatrick, they have included from Washington’s letter-books his personal memoranda and, from September 15, 1755, forward, his military orders. His personal accounts and many detailed military records, however, are not printed. The preponderance of the letters is also taken from the letterbooks because the transmitted copies have been lost. This has both a positive and a negative effect. One is never certain that a letterbook copy precisely matched the real letter, or that the copied letter was sent. However, the letterbooks provide reasonable certainty that the disturbances of the original collection by Jared Sparks, John Marshall, and others did not do wholesale damage. A few letters subsequently lost may not have been copied in the letter-books, but the books probably contain the bulk of Washington’s early public expressions.

Although the transcriptions by Hamilton and Fitzpatrick were of high quality, the work done by Professor Abbot and his group is slightly more accurate. An occasional failure to print an apostrophe, as in “Carlyles” (p. 2:7), is all that was revealed by a spot check of The Papers against the microfilm. The editors have also been helpful in correcting Hamilton’s and Fitzpatrick’s presumptions about letter dates and addresses for manuscripts on which this information is missing. Their annotation goes far beyond mere identification of people, places, and obscure expressions. Sometimes the editors felt that correct facts needed to be stated, and in many cases their notes are essays upon topics found in the letters. These tend to be interpretive and sometimes opinionated, and doubtless will be widely received because the books will be standard reference works. Although the editors often cite other contemporary sources, they seldom name works of today’s historians. Thus, W. W. Abbot et al. take responsibility for a wide range of comments. For example, they conclude that no one has ever identified the “Low Land Beauty” who broke young Washington’s heart (p. 1:41 and 41n.), and that there were 891 French and Indians at Braddock’s defeat (p. 1:332n.) even though Washington and two other eyewitnesses thought there were only three hundred.

Washington’s rise to military leadership in Virginia can be followed in volume one. In spite of strong personal ambitions his loyalty to his “Country,” Virginia, was even stronger, and in this characteristic he stood out among Virginia’s leaders. Volume 2 extends from his appointment as Virginia’s commander-in-chief until April 15, 1756, just before he received a salvo of criticism for his military administration. There is surprisingly little information about several familiar Washington biographical topics, including his Ohio Company connections, the Pennsylvania-Virginia rivalry, and details of frontier combat. His relationship with Governor Robert Dinwiddie, an important theme throughout both volumes, reached a crisis in his letter of January 13, 1756. This is a well-known document because it includes the threat that he would resign unless Capt. John Dagworthy was put down, but the Dagworthy affair has led biographers to overlook another demand Washington made to Dinwiddie in the same letter. Washington wanted to be told whether to wage defensive or offensive warfare. Dinwiddie’s equivocal reply on January 22 must have been discouraging. While Washington was absent in the north in February and March, Maj. Andrew Lewis’s unsuccessful Sandy Creek expedition took place. It seemed to prove the futility of offensive moves, vindicating the strategy.
Washington preferred. After his return Washington lectured Dinwiddie on realities of frontier fighting, pointing out that five hundred Indian warriors were equal in combat to five thousand conventional soldiers.

The origin of Washington's resentment against Pennsylvania can be found in his letter of June 7, 1755, to William Fairfax. "There is a Line of Communication to be opened from Pennsylvania to the French Fort De Quisne... which will give all manner of encouragement to a People who ought rather to be chastised for their insensibility to danger and disregard of their Sovereigns expectation." After Braddock's defeat, however, Washington was quite anxious to cooperate with Gov. Robert Hunter Morris in any logical defensive arrangement. It is also worth noting that The Papers show generally that the behavior of the Virginia population in response to frontier danger differed less than is usually assumed from that of the Pennsylvania, despite differences in the social, ethnic, and religious compositions of the two groups.


Founded on March 13, 1783, at Brown von Steuben's headquarters near Newburg, New York, the Society of Cincinnati has been one of the more controversial and yet respected organizations in American history. Formed by officers in the Continental army and navy to seek compensation for not having received over four years of backpay, the group was accused of subversive activities, and having anarchist tendencies. Nevertheless, it became a strong advocate of a central government and the adoption of a federal constitution. Washington was its first president general but Jefferson viewed it with suspicion.

*Liberty without Authority* is the first history of this organization. In this work, Minor Myers, Jr., attempts to piece together an accurate description of the reasons for the society's formation, its inception, and finally, its impact on early American society. The advantage Myers has over others on this subject is that he is the first historian to have complete access to all the society's papers and documents. These combined with other primary sources from this period allow him to give the reader an insight into the group never had before.

Established in 1783, largely through the efforts of Maj. Gen. Henry Knox, the group had strong ties to Pennsylvania. Brig. Gen. Edward Hand of Pennsylvania is listed as one of the founding fathers of the society. Pennsylvania also had one of the first state chapters of the group. It was Gen. Arthur St. Clair who formed the state chapter on October 4, 1783, at the City Town in Philadelphia. And over 54 percent of the total number of officers eligible for membership from Pennsylvania joined the group. This made Pennsylvania the third largest participant, after Delaware and Maryland, based on percent eligible.

Myers spends eight of the eleven chapters detailing the founding and early years of the society up to the death of Washington. The last three chapters discuss the decline and then rebirth of the organization in the nineteenth century, and concludes with its active role today as a preserver of history and a
diffuser of historical knowledge about the Revolutionary War period. His style is concise and written with meticulous detail. Each chapter is filled with copious footnotes documenting each assertion and conjecture. Several pages of illustrations depict famous early and contemporary members of the society. Of special interest is the appendix containing a reproduction of the original chapter of the society.

In his exposition of the material, Myers goes beyond the role of a historian and becomes more of an apologist for the Society of Cincinnati. He sets out to disprove many of the allegations against the group and marshals his evidence at the end. The documentation he presents casts doubt on the accusations of the group's masterminding a proposed military coup in 1782–83, of being concerned with the establishment of American peerage, and of seeking to initiate a monarchy in the United States. Instead he paints a portrait of an organization interested in the just financial recompense of its members, in the establishment of a strong central government, and in the perpetuation of the memory of the historical events surrounding the Revolutionary War.

This book is written more for the professional historian than for the layman. Its succinct style and heavy documentation would prove too distracting for the casual reader. It is recommended, however, for the student of American and Pennsylvania history because of the uniqueness of its subject matter.

Bethel Park School District

WILLIAM J. SWITALA


The rich instrumental folk music traditions of Pennsylvania have been largely unstudied except for the work of Samuel P. Bayard, whose huge collection made between 1928 and 1963 in southwestern Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia makes up the bulk of this volume. In rounding out the collection he had the cooperation of several other Western Pennsylvania scholars—Phil R. Jack, Thomas J. Hoge, and Jacob R. Evanson.

This collection includes 651 tunes, not counting the numerous variants of many popular items. Not included here are about one hundred additional tunes from the Bayard Collection published in *Hill Country Tunes* (1944), the pioneer work on Pennsylvania's fiddle tradition. As to its completeness, the editor states that "whatever we may have failed to record, we still retain the belief that this collection fairly represents the music generally known among Pennsylvania folk players up to recent times" (p. 1).

Professor Bayard has the reputation of being one of America's most skilled "tune detectives," and his notes to individual tunes illustrate that reputation brilliantly. His notes in fact provide a kind of folk tune tour of the British Isles, where most of the selections originated. Not all the items were imported, however. Among them are certain American compositions, like "Durang's Hornpipe" (No. 349), circulated by Pennsylvania's own native actor and dancer, John Durang (1768–1821), "composed [for Durang] by Mr. Hoffmaster, a German Dwarf, in New York, 1785" (p. 344).
The book is good on tune names as well. One local Western Pennsylvania reel called “Buttermilk and Cider” (No. 351) is elsewhere known as “Off to California,” “Whiskey You’re the Devil,” “Whiskey in the Jar,” “Fireman’s Reel,” “Possum Up a Gum Stump,” and “Old Towser.” Some of the titles “float” from tune to tune. One tune, “The Cheat River” (No. 370), is derived in part from an Irish piece called “O’Dwyer’s Reel” but is named for the river which rises in West Virginia and joins the Monongehela in Pennsylvania.

Some of the Irish tunes trailed their own political connections into Western Pennsylvania. According to Professor Bayard, the mere singing or playing of the Orangemen’s tune “The Boyne Water” (No. 317) “could bring on a mass attack by any group of Catholic Irish who happened to be within hearing distance” (p. 273).

To make this book possible, over a hundred fiddlers and fifers—“performers,” as they are called today—shared their repertoires. Most of these were from Western Pennsylvania, a few from West Virginia, and a few from Central Pennsylvania in the vicinity of the university where Professor Bayard taught. Most of them bear British Isles surnames, and a few Pennsylvania German—in about the proportion of the provenance of the tunes, which are overwhelmingly from the tune corpus of the British Isles.

These fiddlers and fifers were the last of the line in their communities who had learned their music, as they themselves put it, “by air.” Their tunes thus represent the “pre-radio, pre-tape, pre-TV days,” and provide a record of “what the older Pennsylvania tradition really consisted of” (p. 2). The fiddlers preserved the dance music of rural and small town Pennsylvania. The fifers performed—usually in fife bands—on patriotic occasions, providing march music for the parades that our communities enjoyed in the not too distant past. The music is reproduced to be played, with instructions on its performance, and one hopes that Pennsylvanians will again have the pleasure of hearing it.

In the editor’s own words, these are “tunes we should not wish to see disappear; for in themselves they embody both a fitting symbol and an enduring memorial of the inexhaustible energy, gaiety, humor, and courage of our people” (p. 12).

University of Pennsylvania

DON YODER


Sauerkraut Yankees is an entertaining account of Pennsylvania-German cooking and cuisine. Taking its title from the nickname bestowed on the Pennsylvania Dutch during the Civil War, the book is primarily an annotated edition of Die geschickte Hausfrau. This cookbook, published for the German speaking and reading population of Pennsylvania, might, given its popularity, be seen as a mid-nineteenth-century equivalent for its audience of The Joy of Cooking.

Despite its popular appeal, evinced by Geschickte Hausfrau’s running through six editions between 1848 and 1854 and a print life of thirty-five years, few copies of the work exist today. Nevertheless, its impact on subsequent
Pennsylvania-German culinary literature was apparently significant, and for this reason William Woys Weaver has given his readers this most readable version of the original.

Weaver, however, has greatly expanded the boundaries of his current work beyond the pages of its historical inspiration. Although most of the recipes which originally appeared in Die geschickte Hausfrau are included here, seven dealing with household activities, such as soapmaking and candlemaking, have been omitted. By way of “compensation” Weaver has included nineteen recipes from other cookbooks and similar home arts manuals popular among the Pennsylvania-German population of the time. The random arrangement employed by Geschickte Hausfrau’s compiler, Gustav Peters, has been recast into a topical ordering of the 139 recipes, and Weaver has supplied extensive introductory materials, chapter headings, annotations for each recipe, footnotes, and bibliography. Contemporary nineteenth-century line drawings complement the text.

Of Sauerkraut Yankees’ value for the student of food folkways and culinary culture in Pennsylvania there can be no doubt. Since most of the materials used by Weaver in writing this book are in the German language, he has rendered a useful service to his readers by recasting his sources into English. The narrative accompanying the recipes themselves traces their “genealogy,” and discusses more generally the food customs of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Although some attempt is made to bring the commentary up to date, the clear focus of the work is the mid and late nineteenth century.

The only really disappointing characteristic of the book is its failure to truly adapt the recipes to the needs and abilities of the modern, non-Pennsylvania-German cook. Since Die geschickte Hausfrau was written specifically for open-hearth, rather than range, cookery, the transition to the contemporary kitchen already has a built-in difficulty. Perhaps a more serious problem is the uneven treatment of such essential features as quantities and measurements, cooking and baking times, and culinary techniques. Most pie recipes, for example, do not indicate baking temperatures (no precise temperatures are used anywhere, but there are at least indications of “hot” or “moderate” oven), while some cooks will balk at the idea of grating a whole nutmeg when a measurement for ground nutmeg would have yielded a similar, if not equivalent, result.

Although the University of Pennsylvania Press promises that the “recipes have been tested by Weaver in order to ensure a successful transition from the traditional to the modern kitchen,” a more foolproof method would have been to print two versions of each recipe: the original and a modern adaptation with precise measurements, cooking temperatures and times, and technical instructions. Also useful for some of the more esoteric items would have been suggestions for obtaining special ingredients, such as saltpeter and roasted cornmeal.

These concerns, however, should not discourage scholars and cooks alike from exploring what is a most welcome addition to the bibliographic world of victuals and viands. Indeed, it is to be hoped that similar works are prepared for other ethnic groups whose cuisines form an equally significant part of Pennsylvania and the United States’ food heritage.


While neither book focuses specifically on the development of political parties in Pennsylvania during the Jacksonian period, both contribute to an understanding of politics in the Keystone state during that period. Vaughn's work is a synthesis of the Antimasonic party in the United States. Ershkowitz's focuses on the development of the Democratic and Whig parties in New Jersey.

The dust jacket hailts Vaughn's study as the first "full-length, in-depth study" in over eighty years. In it the Antimasonic movement evolves from a contest between the purists and the realists over the centrality of the crusade against Freemasonry and the extent to which coalitions and alliances should be entered into with other political causes, interests and factions in order to achieve that goal. Ultimately the realists won—and lost. The realists won on the question of joining with other political forces but in so doing so submerged both the individuality and the purpose of the movement that the movement ceased to exist.

Vaughn sees the Morgan Affair as evolving from a revelation of Masonic secrets into an abduction and probable murder, then a conspiracy against justice, and ultimately a crusade against Masonry as a symbol of inequality, conspiracy, due process, and control of community, political and national destiny. This occurred because New York state and other areas of New England and the old Northwest were "ripe" for new issues, new platforms and new organizations. Thus timing had much to do with the extent to which it developed as an issue.

In 1826 Masons appeared to have a role in commerce, professional life and politics disproportionate to their 347 lodges and sixteen thousand members nationwide. Always the subject of some degree of suspicion and resentment, the Masonic movement had come under attack in 1737 and again in 1797–1799. In 1797–1799 and again in the 1820s revelations from seceding Masons intensified this distrust. Secessers and opponents stressed secrecy, conspiracy, Masonry as counterfeit religion, links to debauchery, and the exclusion of women.

Most of the book traces, in varying detail, the development of Anti-masonry in individual states and on the national level. Although uneven, there was an evolution from religious movement to political party or force to coalition with another or other political elements to loss of identity and finally to the end of the movement and any political viability. In most states, including Pennsylvania, this happened between 1827 and 1835.

Although Antimasonry lasted only a short time it did make several contributions to the national political structure including the concept of a national nominating convention, credentials for delegates and for the press, and the three-fourths rule for nominations.

The two chapters on the Antimasonic movement in Pennsylvania trace the roots of the political scene in 1827 back to the Era of Good Feelings and the struggle within the Republican party between the Family and the Amalgama-
tors. From this struggle emerged a party structure second only to New York in development and sophistication. The Antimasonic press and Thaddeus Stevens led the movement's evolution in Pennsylvania. In 1829 its gubernatorial candidate, Joseph Ritner, received 40 percent of the ballots. In 1832 he came within three thousand votes of defeating incumbent George Wolf by running on an Antimasonic-National Republican "Union" ticket. In 1835, running on a combined Antimasonic-Whig ticket, Ritner defeated both Wolf and Henry A. Muhlenberg, the candidates of the divided Democratic party.

In the midst of victory, long-standing divisiveness between the Exclusives and the Coalitionists flared at the Antimasonic state convention December 14, 1834, over the selection of the 1836 presidential candidate. Ritner's inaugural address the following day also disappointed the Exclusives. A legislative inquiry of Free Masonry (the Stevens Inquiry), begun December 23, 1834, subpoenaed one hundred witnesses. Prominent Masons refused to testify. The inquiry's failure to produce any positive accomplishments was a major factor in the rapid disintegration of the Antimasonic movement in Pennsylvania and the emergence of a strong Whig party. Passage of a state charter for the Bank of the United States and the funding of internal improvements from the Bank's bonus payment to the state, the constitutional convention in 1837 and the Buckshot War in 1838 further overshadowed the movement and fostered in decline.

During its lifetime as a political and evangelical force in Pennsylvania, the Antimasonic crusade contributed to the reduction of Masonic strength in the state from 113 lodges in 1825 to 20 lodges in 1837. However, by 1856 the Masonic movement had grown to 130 lodges.

While the Antimasonic movement remained as a viable political force after 1832, its role in presidential elections was to give impetus and strength to the nominees of other parties, especially the Whigs. In 1836 Antimasons supported Daniel Webster, William Henry Harrison and Martin Van Buren. The 1838 national convention, the last "gasp" of the party on the national level, supported Harrison for 1840. Antimasonic hopes for a significant share of Whig patronage in 1841 went unrealized.

Vaughn has successfully focused attention on the local and state level accomplishments of Antimasonry after 1832—the time of rapid national decline. While most Antimasons moved into the Whig party, some did not. He also clearly demonstrates that most of the twenty to twenty-four Antimasons who served in Congress voted most of the time with the National Republican-Whig parties. In the end he concludes that the movement actually strengthened Masonry by driving out marginal members and by redefining the Masonic role and function with American society.

Vaughn's style is straightforward; his approach is synthetic. He has successfully reexamined the movement, traced its evolution in several states and on the national level, and demonstrated both its immediate and long term impact on American politics and society. His work reflects a synthesis of old information rather than the imparting of the results of new research. Certainly the sources available for the Antimasonic movement in Pennsylvania, including several political histories and biographies of the Jacksonian period, provide greater detail.

Ershkowitz's study of the Democratic and Whig parties in New Jersey focuses on the state as a case study of the political realignment process and the
relationship of the Jeffersonian Republican-Federalist structure to the Jacksonian Democrat-National Republican-Whig structure. He pays some attention to this transition in terms of the concepts formulated by the progressive historians which sees direct links between Republican to Democrat and Federalist to National Republican then Whig; the revisionist concept of parties as undifferentiated electoral machines, and a third model which sees religious and cultural differences reinforcing and creating political differences. His consideration and development of these themes reflects the number of years he has devoted to studying and refining his views on New Jersey politics.

Ershkowitz traces the political setting and structure of New Jersey during the Era of Good Feelings with its weak governorship and powerful legislature; the resulting attention to power, patronage and private bills; annual elections and rapid turnover; and the importance of family and wealth in achieving office. Political leadership remained in the hands of the well-connected, educated and well-off members of society. Three issues helped reverse the atrophy of political parties by 1824: internal improvements, debtor imprisonment and constitutional reform. While these internal factors helped keep some degree of political animosity alive, the election of 1824 was the primary force inducing the return of organized parties.

The election of 1824 in New Jersey, as elsewhere, focused on personalities: Calhoun, Crawford, Adams, Clay, and Jackson. The organizations which emerged to further their candidacies became the cores of political structures and eventually well-regulated parties. The campaign and election discredited the Republican caucus and clearly demonstrated both the lack of influence the old parties had on the voters and the extent of voter apathy.

New Jersey moved into the party realignment process that produced the Democratic and National Republican parties by 1826, much earlier than the process began in Pennsylvania. The voter pattern established by 1828 remained virtually intact into the 1850s. In the early years of this party realignment the state officeholders supported Adams over Jackson. The split between East and West Jersey, the tenuous alliance of old Republicans and old Federalists within the Adams ranks, Adam’s failure to carry out wholesale removals, and a widespread belief that Jackson would win in 1828 all worked to hurt the Adamsites. The Jacksonians solidified their party structure by improving on the best of the Republican structure—the state convention, the central committee, committees of correspondence, viable party newspapers, public meetings, and hoopla to attract voters. Jacksonian campaign rhetoric focused on claiming to be the exclusive heirs to the Republican party, charging their opponents with an aristocratic conspiracy and remaining vague on the major issues. The 1828 vote was larger than before, very close and the beginning of a twenty-year voting pattern. The methods of organization, the campaign rhetoric and the voting patterns were repeated throughout the nation on both the state and the national levels.

Over the next four to six years the party structure became more permanent, the positions of the Democrats and the Whigs became more differentiated and distinguishable, and the voter identified more strongly with a political party. The emergency of a strong two-party system was only momentarily fazed by the Antimasonic and Workingmen’s movements.

The major issue accelerating this evolution was Jackson’s war against the
Bank of the United States which became the issue of the 1832 campaign. The war did not end with Jackson's veto of the recharter bill or with his reelection in 1832. It continued into 1834 and beyond as Jackson ordered all federal deposits removed from the bank. Opposition cries of "executive usurpation" helped reshape the opposition into the Whig party.

In New Jersey the continuing bank war merged with the issuance of state construction and operation of a canal system to further divide the parties.

Pennsylvania's stable two-party system emerged several years later than New Jersey's. While the 1832 election was a pivotal one in both states, in New Jersey the power bases of the two major parties were so evenly balanced that the third party votes were important. Pennsylvania's less stable party alignment permitted both larger third party votes and a reduced importance to that vote. By the election of 1834 the structure and policies of the Democrats and the Whigs were clearly enunciated and articulated to the voters.

Throughout the rest of the decade the issues which separated the parties in New Jersey reflected the issues being contested through the nation: general incorporation, public financing of internal improvements, locofocoism, public schools, debtor imprisonment, and presidential politics. Ershkowitz's detailed analysis of legislative activity and voting on these issues reveals that the Whigs voted as a bloc on 88 percent of the votes, while the Democrats did so only 68 percent of the time. He sees voter support for the political parties and the positions they held being based on ethnicity, religion, previous political affiliation, and economic position. Thus the New Jersey Whigs' greatest strength came in urban centers, industrial—commercial areas and areas with concentrations of Quakers and former Federalists. Democrats, on the other hand, were strongest in rural, agricultural areas with concentrations of Dutch and German ethnicity.

Both books are clearly written, although Ershkowitz's is not as consistently edited or as physically appealing. Both have clearly fulfilled their stated purposes. Both can be read and used to advantage by historians with an interest in either subject. However, historians with an interest in the Antimasonic movement in any particular state will have to supplement Vaughn's work with other, more detailed sources.


As the book jacket states, the story unfolded in this work deals with the way the Civil War "touched a small town-rural part of Pennsylvania." The particular setting is the town of Greencastle in southern Franklin County. The town is located in Antrim Township adjacent to the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary. Indeed, Greencastle's geographic situation astride the routes taken by both Union and Confederate armies helped draw attention to this heretofore little-known farming community. Franklin Countians had their lives disrupted by numerous Rebel invasion alarms even before the invasions became a reality. Up until this time, however, as the authors' brief account of Greencastle's early history reveals, there was little to distinguish it from other small market towns in southern Pennsylvania.
This book contains interesting bits of information. For example, the emergency routes taken in the first weeks of the war by travelers who found the usual Philadelphia—Washington passage blocked, passed through Greencastle. This constituted the first impact of the war upon the town's inhabitants. State militia sent to protect the region against Rebel incursions during the early weeks of the war refused to cross the state line into Maryland. Told also are details of Rebel plundering during the passage of the Army of Northern Virginia toward and from Gettysburg in June and July 1863. We learn that Greencastle had its own "Barbara Frietchie," one Dolly Harris who flaunted the stars and stripes at General Pickett's division as it passed along the street before her home.

Despite the frequent alarms and considerable property damage wrought by the passing of both Northern and Southern armies, Greencastle shared in the homefront prosperity of 1864. But even that, coupled with significant Union battlefield successes that year, failed to prevent a strong minority of local citizens from voicing unhappiness with Lincoln administration policies. In the presidential election ballooning Greencastle and Antrim Township voters gave Lincoln a slim 468–443 margin over General McClellan. In Franklin County at large the tally was even closer, 3,862 for the incumbent president to 3,821 for his challenger.

The authors devote considerable space to the recruiting of Franklin Countians into the various Union brigades and regiments and then tell of their respective battlefield experiences. No doubt homefront morale was greatly affected by family concerns over sons fighting not only at nearby Antietam and Gettysburg but on such distant battle arenas as Petersburg, Atlanta, and Nashville.

No portion of the county's population suffered greater disruption in their lives than those with black skins. According to Conrad and Alexander, Southern invaders spent considerable time and effort in systematically hunting down fugitive slaves and freedmen alike. Making no distinction between them, the captors shipped their hapless victims back to Virginia. Interestingly enough, approximately five hundred blacks from Franklin County were enlisted in the Union armies.

It is a pity that this otherwise valuable book is not better written, edited, and organized. In addition to occasional examples of confusing prose it contains too many typos. Misspellings such as "Stewart's Maryland Brigade" and "Horace Greely" suggest careless editing. The unclear chronological arrangement and instances of undue repetition are disturbing. There are sweeping statements demanding documentation which is not provided. For example, the authors refer to Gettysburg casualties as "over 50,000," but the figures they cite on the same page total only 47,112. They also accept the incredible statement that sounds of the Gettysburg encounter were heard in Westmoreland County 140 miles distant. One wishes, too, that they had provided readers with clearer maps and better reproduced illustrations.

Despite these shortcomings, this is a volume which should be of value to Franklin Countians interested in their local history. Those interested in Pennsylvania history and Civil War buffs in general will find it worthwhile. Conrad and Alexander are to be congratulated for evident prodigious labor obviously done con amore.

Gettysburg College

ROBERT L. BLOOM

A stone shrine on a beautifully landscaped twenty-three-acre estate in Gladwyne, a Main Line suburb of Philadelphia, is the elegant repository of the earthly remains of a diminutive black man whom his followers accepted as God. The Divine Tracy, a clean, well-run hotel with a distinctly patriotic decor on the edge of the Penn campus, is another memorial. Anyone willing to wear shoes and a shirt in the cafeteria, watch his language, and “avoid undue mixing of the sexes” can find hearty, inexpensive meals and a quiet room there.

In Father Divine and the Struggle for Racial Equality, Robert Weisbrot gives us the first full-scale scholarly study of a now largely forgotten preacher who in his middle years was the subject of extraordinary media attention. The author argues that his legacy is much larger than his widow’s mansion and a string of real estate holdings would suggest.

Weisbrot’s focus is on Divine as a social activist. He portrays him as a reformer in whose movement—known as the Peace Mission—sprouted seeds of a new progressivism in the black church. Drawing on the stenographic record of Divine’s statements in Peace Mission journals, the thorough coverage of his activities in Afro-American newswEEKlies, and interviews with his disciples, Weisbrot differentiates the little minister from other exotic cult leaders on the basis of his efforts to make religion a force for social change.

A New Yorker profile and two popular biographies published in the mid-thirties at the height of Divine’s national prominence trace his rise from hedge-clipper and grass-cutter to evangelist, from evangelist to The Messenger for an itinerant preacher who declared he was Father Jehoviah, from The Messenger to The Reverend Father Major J. Divine, a messianic figure in a Rolls Royce. Weisbrot is dependent on these undocumented accounts because Divine deliberately obscured his past. But he also analyzes influences common to black life in the Deep South to help illuminate the minister’s early years.

Weisbrot briefly considers the Peace Mission in the context of black religion as it developed during the great migration of people from southern farmlands to northern cities. He is, however, less interested in the cult aspects of the movement than in its charismatic leader’s success in promoting integration, economic cooperation, and equal justice.

Weisbrot’s analysis of Peace Mission membership demonstrates that while it was largely drawn from the ranks of impoverished ghetto dwellers, the movement did not simply reconcile the dispossessed to their situation through the mechanism of this-worldly community. In the depths of the Depression, Father Divine fed the hungry, housed the homeless, and found work for the unemployed. Little wonder, then, that some of them came to believe that he could also heal the sick and raise the dead. “Prosperity; it’s wonderful!” And Weisbrot shows us that the financing of the Peace Mission was neither mystery nor miracle; it was made possible by the sound business practices of an inspired venture capitalist.

Divine believed that oppressed people had to take the first step toward their own emancipation. According to Weisbrot, he sought to encourage pride, independence, ambition, and a respect for hard work in his disciples. He opposed welfare, forbade credit purchases, and made avoidance of liquor and drugs a cardinal tenet of the Peace Mission. Himself unschooled, he cham-
pioned educational opportunity and achievement, and he held up to his followers a standard of informed citizenship. The color-blind operation of his enterprises reinforced his denunciation of all racial distinction. Integration, Weisbrot observes, was the linchpin of the Peace Mission's social program. Divine moved boldly to establish branch operations in hitherto exclusively white neighborhoods. Furthermore, the author says, his touting of the weapon of selective patronage contributed to the black community's mounting interest in the tactics of direct action.

Weisbrot demonstrates that Divine's desire to foster fundamental changes in race relations drew him into politics. The minister was a patriot who warned his government to strictly honor the democratic principles he cherished or face massive resistance. But sadly, as the author points out, Divine's physical vigor ebbed sharply during the forties, just as the civil rights movement was gathering force for its march on the conscience of the nation.

The historian, who teaches at Colby College, evaluates the change in the attitude of the middle-class black community toward Divine as the reforms he espoused began to seem attainable. He compares the Peace Mission leader of the black separatist, Marcus Garvey, and to three other radical reformers of the Depression, Coughlin, Long, and Townsend. In a brief epilogue, he sketches the transformation of the Peace Mission from a mass movement wholly dependent on its founding Father to a formal sect with an elaborate bureaucracy. The change enabled it to survive Divine's death, Weisbrot says, but at the cost of its original social purpose, its energy, its influence, its scope, and, until the publication of this fascinating study, our recognition of its importance. *Father Divine*, with its comprehensive if not sufficiently critical bibliography, is a significant contribution to the series, "Blacks in the New World," and to American society history.

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