BOOK REVIEWS

Business and Its Environment: Essays for Thomas Cochran. Edited by Harold Issadore Sharlin. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983. vi, 228p. Frontpiece, tables, bibliography, index. $35.00.)

This is a Festschrift volume in honor of Thomas Cochran "to demonstrate how useful Professor Cochran's approach has been to those who want to analyze the historical causes of social and economic change" (p. 19). In his introduction, Harold Sharlin reviews Cochran's work as a teacher and scholar, noting Cochran's belief that historical works should have utility. To make history useful, Cochran adopted the rigorous methods of the social sciences and applied those methods to the study of American business—to Cochran the dynamic factor in the American experience. The best of the eight articles in this book either contribute to our understanding of business history or suggest how historical studies can illuminate the making of public policy.

In his study of metal fabricators and machine makers in northeastern Massachusetts from 1890 to 1954, James Soltow explains that entrepreneurs in small businesses adopted strategies to assure the success of their business structures. Thus, Soltow inverts the classic interpretive formula of Arthur Chandler, Jr. The policies these entrepreneurs pursued in marketing, finance and management were meant to sustain small business entities and thereby assure the independence, individualism and control cherished by the proprietors of these businesses. The large, diverse national economy of America provided the opportunities required for the success of such ventures. Harold Sharlin, studying the origin and development of the Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation, applies the concept of a "technological paradigm," in this case the linkage between a large power station and distributive network and a market consisting of industrial users of alternating current. The liberal public policies of the 1930s, which were meant to change the priorities of the NMPC in favor of low priced domestic consumers of electricity, were accommodated to the original purposes of the corporation. The inherent limitations of the "technological paradigm" led, however, to the decline of public utilities which Sharlin indicates can be reversed only if new technologies are developed to tie electrical generation to either industrial or domestic consumers.

Several of the articles suggest lessons historical study can have for public policy. Discussing of the evolution of the National Park System, James Flint argues that the guiding policy for the parks, "best use" consistent with the preservation of scenic and wilderness areas, can and should be sustained. "Best use" was defined as mass recreation, with users carried through the park system on modes of transit established by private entrepreneurs. Flint found that the
"automobility" upon which most mass recreation was based did not harm park ecosystems, nor did it tarnish wilderness areas. As "automobility" declines, Flint believes private entrepreneurs, responding to market opportunities, will develop a "balanced transportation system" to sustain the aforementioned guiding policy. Elsewhere, Harold Sharlin suggests that the purposes of public policy ought not to exceed the grasp of public administrators. Congress created the United States Shipping Board in 1916 to regulate waterborne commerce and to expand the manufacture of merchant vessels. Sharlin found that the USSB and its offspring, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, had entered a volatile industry, then in transition, so that government administrators had to deal with a myriad of problems the most significant of which involved labor recruitment, turnover, and unions. In another of the essays, Robert Walker develops a model describing the essential and recurrent features of American reform. Perhaps his most significant points are that political change is relatively meaningless unless associated with economic justice, and that the pulse of reform, once underway, is irresistible.

The remaining articles reflect the diversity of topics contained in this book. Michael Zuckerman offers an interesting explanation for how William Byrd coped with the uncertainties endemic to commercial and political life in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Byrd created a social network to ameliorate the personal anxiety and isolation derived from the vistas of life over which he had no control. Ronald Baylor shows how Atlanta's businessmen, the "Big Mules," helped ease racial tensions in their city when lunch counters and schools were integrated in 1960-1961. Predictably, business considerations rather than principle energized these men. Stanley Bailis explains how some Americans adapted to the vicissitudes of modernization by acquiring the "habit of habit change." Bailis bases his argument on autobiographies, particularly those of Bernard Baruch and Marriner Eccles.

The articles in this book will be of interest to scholars in specific fields but the broader issue of how business affects and is influenced by its environment is dealt with only tangentially by the authors. Those who admire the work of Thomas Cochran will find this volume a fitting tribute and will appreciate the bibliography of Cochran's many works with which the book concludes.

Susquehanna University

Donald D. Housley
America's Valley Forges and Valley Furnaces. By J. Lawrence Pool. (Cornwall, Ct.: J. Lawrence Pool, 1982. ix, 211p. Maps, appendix, glossary, bibliography, index. $15.00.)


Books that promise to describe early paper mills and iron furnaces in the southeastern Pennsylvania region are timely in light of Professor Thomas C. Cochran's recent contention in Frontiers of Change that the Delaware and Brandywine Valleys compare favorably with New England and even England as cradles of modern industrialization. Yet each of these volumes has been written by someone not particularly experienced in researching and writing history.

J. Lawrence Pool, in America's Valley Forges and Valley Furnaces, produces an awe-struck, first person account of the exhilaration one man can find in exploring the industrial archaeology and history of the iron and steel industry from seventeenth-century Saugus to twentieth-century Bethlehem Steel. The tone of the book is captured by a sentence in the first chapter: "I was surprised to find that blast furnaces...have been the work horses of iron and steel works since the Middle Ages and that the principles of their operation have not changed to this day." Surely this work was not intended for scholarly consumption.

A chapter on "Colonial Ironworks" notes that even a capable seventeenth century iron furnace promoter and metallurgist such as John Winthrop the Younger struggled to find capital and labor—and to turn a profit given the price ceiling set by the Massachusetts General Court. By the eighteenth century, however, colonial iron production was booming and even the famous Iron Act of 1750 did not alter this. Pool errs in arguing that colonial ironmasters "flagrantly disobeyed" the Act. There was no need to flagrantly disobey. It was remarkably easy to report the operation of endless forges without bothering to note that changing a hammer head converted a forge with a tilt hammer to a plating mill. In any case, colonial America's self-sufficiency in iron production was no small factor in our success in the American Revolution.

A chapter on "Ore, Slag, and Flux" contains some fascinating vignettes of early underground mining while "Wood and Water Power" provides painstaking detail on the production of charcoal. In "North and South" the reader learns of the great disparity between Union and Confederate iron producing capacity, and how West Virginia and Union cavalry raids hurt southern production. The story of the Monitor and the Merrimac is included.
Beyond the Civil War, Pool treats technological changes that include the Bessemer converter, the open hearth process, the basic oxygen furnace, and the electric furnace. The story is carried to the present with a discussion of America's declining role in the world market and the new and promising "mini mills" that now account for fifteen percent of our steel production.

Students of the early iron and steel industry in Pennsylvania will be disappointed with this work for although data provided clearly identify Pennsylvania as the leader in eighteenth and nineteenth century production, there are merely a few scattered references to Hopewell Furnace and Valley Forge together with a few pages on Carnegie and Frick. This is hard to explain apart from the possibility that a New Englander simply found it more convenient or satisfying to write about New England.

*America's Valley Forges and Valley Furnaces* is handsomely produced and offers the reader large type. Most editors, no doubt, would have demanded a thesis. Students of the early iron industry in Pennsylvania will continue to look to the standard works of Arthur C. Bining and Joseph Walker, and to an excellent new account by James Mulholland, *A History of Metals in Colonial America*.

Jane Levis Carter in *The Paper Makers* endeavors to reconstruct the story of her Quaker ancestors who came to Delaware County as early as the 1680s and together with other Quakers established paper mills along Chester, Crum, Darby, and Ridley Creeks in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Unfortunately, little exists by way of documentary evidence on many of the early mills. Thus, information is often limited to the name of the owner, the type of mill, the location, and the approximate date of construction. Predictably, more is known about paper mills operating in the nineteenth century—though data from the United States Manufactures Census (manuscript) should not have been overlooked. This dearth of material should have signaled Jane Levis Carter to think in terms of an article rather than a book, but by adding a history of papermaking, genealogy, anecdotal material, and lots of photographs (including some on wildlife), the basic story was inflated to ninety pages and placed between hard covers.

In a more positive vein, the study: (1) treats water power and paper making technology and provides useful sketches and photographs, (2) reinforces the long-standing notion that industrial revolutions are demand led; that is, paper mills appeared in response to rising demand, (3) provides information on the Levis, Carter, Willcox, Garrett, Gilpin, and Sellers families, and (4) introduces E. Irvin and Clarence W. Scott who migrated from Saratoga, New York in the 1880s and laid the groundwork for the modern Scott Paper Corporation.

It is conceivable that an editor would have suggested the utility of a thesis and a more coherent pattern of organization. The paper, photographs, and type
employed in production lend a dated—though not antique—quality to the book. The use of a glued binding is an act of faith.

Scholars seeking additional insights that might support or refute the Cochran thesis are quite likely to be disappointed by each of these books.

_Elizabethtown College_ Thomas R. Winpenny

_The Papers of Henry Bouquet. Volume 4, September 1, 1759-August 31, 1760._

Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer who distinguished himself by serving in mercenary forces in Europe, came to Pennsylvania in 1756 as an officer of the Royal American Regiment. He was second in command of the Forbes expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758 and, because of the general's illness, was really the most important figure in the campaign. When Pontiac's conspiracy occurred in 1763 it was Bouquet who led the expedition to relieve Fort Pitt, and his victory at Bushy Run on August 5 and 6, 1763 ended the Indian threat in western Pennsylvania and made him the military hero of the Quaker colony.

The volume under review, the fourth to appear since the series began in 1951, spans only one year's time—September, 1759, through August, 1760. It covers Lieutenant Colonel Bouquet's activities as deputy adjutant general under Generals Stanwix and Monckton in the building of Fort Pitt and his command of the expedition to establish a base at Presque Isle.

Supply problems and logistical instructions occupy much of the material in this large volume, and the reader gets a lesson in the minutia that a commanding officer must deal with in organizing any military expedition. At the same time, hidden among the welter of military details are little vignettes that help us get a view of the man and of life in colonial Pennsylvania. We find, for example, a detailed description from Edward Shippen to Bouquet about planting and maintaining an orchard (p. 608). Reading about Bouquet's attempt to obtain a piece of prime real estate on the Susquehanna from the Proprietor, we get sense of the relationship between gentlemen and officers in colonial America. Thomas Penn, being Thomas Penn, reserves the land to himself. Bouquet responds that he is glad that Penn kept the land which "would have been a thousand pities to see bespattered with the Dunghills of your Boors" (p. 464).
Bouquet's exasperation in dealing with provincial Pennsylvanians is seen in his letter to Richard Peters in which he says: "but I confess my Patience is at an End, having had particular & personal proofs that no Gentleman can dream of living in your Province, while the Power is lodged in hands Still full of the dirt of their former Mechanical & base Trades" (p. 78).

Finally, Bouquet, the aristocratic mercenary, can be seen in a very touching, philosophical letter written to Ann Willing: "You would perhaps judge it cruel and inhuman to reckon among the advantages to be derived from War, the destruction of beings who, by their vices or circumstances, would be a nuisance to Society. . . . It is true enough that numbers of the inhabitants of the frontiers are a worthless breed, and that the public did not suffer a great loss in getting rid of that vermin, which in time would have perverted the few good ones among them. To judge by what remains, they were no better than the savages, and their children brought up in the Woods like Brutes, without any notion of Religion, Government, Justice, or Honesty would not have improved the Breed" (pp. 115-116).

Editorially, the volume is a delight. The editors have endeavored to provide the reader "a transcription [that] is nearly as close to a duplication of the manuscript documents as can be achieved by modern letterpress printing" (p. vi). Each person mentioned in the text is identified in an explanatory endnote; letters in a foreign language are printed first in the original language, followed by an English translation; geographical sites are identified; and missing documents are indicated. The editors and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission are to be commended for their maintenance of these high standards of editorial excellence in a period of fiscal cutbacks and editorial half measures. It is the scholar who reaps the benefits of their meticulous work.

Pennsylvania State University
Delaware County Campus

GEORGE F. FRANZ

John Dickinson, Conservative Revolutionary. By MILTON E. FLOWER. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Friends of the John Dickinson Mansion, 1983. xii, 338p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

Milton E. Flower, retired Professor of Political Science at Dickinson College, has devoted much of the past decade to researching and writing this new biography of John Dickinson, the "Penman of the American Revolution."
This is the first full length treatment of Dickinson's life since Charles Stille's 1891 classic. It is finely crafted, well-written and eminently readable: a nice piece of work that will bring pleasure and insight to many.

Dickinson was born in Maryland, raised in Delaware, studied law in Philadelphia and in London, and settled permanently in the Quaker City. Like many of the patriots, he was born to the purple. His father, one of the largest land holders and commercial agents in Kent County, Delaware, and his mother, Mary Cadwalader of Philadelphia, combined with his wife, Mary Norris of Philadelphia, to make him one of the richest and most well-connected men in British North America. He was wealthy, intelligent, well-educated, articulate, confident, sensitive to his social and his political responsibilities, and at ease with himself and those who occupied key positions of power and influence in provincial America.

His family's four generation rise from obscurity on a small plantation on the Rappahannock to the upper reaches of the economic and social strata of Delaware and Pennsylvania (hard work, good luck, and lucrative marriages all contributed) illustrates the inter-generational mobility which, over time, created a native American aristocracy. Dickinson's career as a fermenter of rebellion reminds us again of the degree to which this emerging American aristocracy, the American urban and rural gentry, initiated, led, and sustained the resistance movement from the Stamp Act crisis through the Declaration of Independence.

In 1762 at the age of thirty, Dickinson plunged into provincial Pennsylvania politics and in the next fourteen years he liberally expended his time and his talents on pamphlets, broadsides, caucuses, speeches, protests, planning sessions and electoral strategies. By 1774 his persistent, learned, and persuasive defenses of colonial liberties had given him an inter-colonial reputation second to few. Paul Revere engraved a portrait plate of Dickinson for Ames' Almanac, John Adams eagerly anticipated meeting and working with him, and Sam Adams declared that John Dickinson was indeed, a "True Bostonian."

However, 1776 changed much for Dickinson. During the 1770s he remained vigilant and active in defense of liberty, but he did not readily follow or happily concur as the objectives of the resistance movement shifted from redress of grievances within the empire to independence and separate nationhood. Dickinson's support for military preparedness and his willingness to meet his military obligation both before and after 1776 attest to his commitment. He was willing to risk much to preserve liberty. He was much less eager to do the same for independence, and in the spring of 1776 he publicly and vigorously opposed it. Because of the power of his pen and his political leverage many of those already alienated from the mother country viewed him as their principal obstacle. By June, 1776, they had isolated and neutralized
him and the movement for separation flowed around and by him. With the Declaration of Independence in July, Dickinson’s leadership in the American Revolution ended.

Although he continued throughout his life to devote much of himself, his creative energies, and his financial resources to military, political, and humanitarian service, never again would he enjoy the status, the influence, and the honors that had been his before 1776. With one major exception he spent most of the remaining thirty-two years of his life in Delaware. He returned to Pennsylvania between 1782 and 1785 to serve as President of the Supreme Executive Council, but post-war domestic controversies and the permanent departure of Congress from Philadelphia in a huff over Dickinson’s handling of the unruly if not mutinous troops clouded his tenure. In Delaware, however, Dickinson enjoyed an illustrious political career throughout the 1780s and 1790s and died in February, 1808 at the age of seventy-six, loved, honored, and revered there but largely ignored if not forgotten in Pennsylvania.

Much of this has been known, in bits and pieces, for some time, but Professor Flower brings it all together, adds his own new material, weaves it into a good narrative, and tells the story with sensitivity and insight. Although we are led to no startlingly new conclusions about Dickinson’s behavior or his motives, Flower deepens our understanding of the man and our appreciation of his contribution, while heightening our awareness of the degree to which Dickinson’s principles and his consistency contributed to his early popularity, to his later eclipse, and to his lifelong commitment to public service.

Finally, Flower probes but does not fully explore the evolving role of religion in Dickinson’s private and public life. Dickinson’s father, Samuel, broke with the Meeting over the marriage of his daughter to an Anglican. Dickinson’s mother, Mary Cadwalader, was of Welsh Quaker background, and seemed to apply her Quaker principles flexibly. Both of her sons easily assumed and exercised extensive military roles. However, Mary Norris, whom Dickinson married in 1770, attended a different Meeting and, Flower suggests, more strongly adhered to orthodox Quaker beliefs than either John or his family. The timing of this marriage, the birth of his two daughters and the death of one between 1771 and 1775, as well as Mary’s successful resistance to John’s strong desire to move from her estate at Fairhill to his new townhouse in Philadelphia—all of these raise interesting questions about the subtle influences shaping his behavior, especially in 1775 and 1776. Once he had retired from public life in Pennsylvania this influence became more obvious. Although he never officially joined the Meeting, he attended regularly, adopted the Friends’ familiar mode of address and their numerical dating system, and his philanthropic, educational, and social reform activities often
paralleled those of Friends affiliated with the Meeting. His final resting place is in the burial grounds of the Friends Meeting House in Wilmington, next to his wife.

We are deeply indebted to Professor Flower for bringing us this new treatment of John Dickinson, a major figure long in need of a modern full length biography. We are also indebted to his financial supporters, Dickinson College and the Friends of the John Dickinson Mansion, for enabling him to enrich us with a work which deserves a wide readership.

SUNY College
Brockport

O. S. Ireland


The journal of Joseph Bloomfield, captain and later major in Elias Dayton's 3rd Regiment of the New Jersey Line, preserves the thoughts of a middle-level officer who served from 1776 through 1778. It survived Bloomfield's drenching in the Mohawk River and his wandering following a wound received at Brandywine. Its value is enhanced by the sparsity of first hand observations on Revolutionary military life. How remarkable it is that so much history has been constructed only from the writing of high level leaders and post-war reflections.

The personal side of the journal involves Bloomfield's transition from the enthusiasm of February 1776 when he raised his company, to a period of gloom eight months later. This developed as a result of his recurring illness, physical fatigue, and a reflection on his twenty-third birthday that he was "no way settled not knowing where I may be destined next week." On November 4, 1776, he reduced the format of the journal entries because "time & the confusion we live in" required it. Thus, the most informative passages precede that date. There is scarcely anything about military technique or technology in it, but there are valuable statements about Indian conduct in New York which help to explain why an area so long controlled by Sir William Johnson was not staunchly loyal to Britain. Bloomfield's brief comments about the Battle of Brandywine illustrate the psychological impact of combat. Although the
spectacle of an artillery duel and the proximity of British bayonets were fresh in his mind, he wanted it known that he had not seen enough of the day to write a true summary of events.

Lawyer Bloomfield was often placed on courts martial. His remarks show that American standards were below those of British iron discipline. Ridicule and religious admonition were often substituted for physical punishment, which leads one to believe that many men in the lowest ranks were proud to be serving. Duels between officers were sometimes thwarted by ridicule; efforts were made to oust the most undisciplined officers.

By comparing this work with the journal of his lieutenant, Ebenezer Elmer (Proc. of the N.J. Hist. Soc., II: 95-146, 150-194; III: 21-56, 90-126; New Series X: 410-424), we can place Bloomfield in perspective. The stoic Elmer developed contempt for the staged militarizing of Bloomfield, Major Francis Barber and others, not conceding that their flamboyance may have enhanced their ability to command. Both junior officers were sincerely moved by deaths of common soldiers in their company. Unspoken social standards separated the various officer ranks within the regiment, so much so that at one point long-suffering Elmer decided that Barber and Bloomfield were plotting to ruin him. But talents of individual officers were utilized. The polished Bloomfield was detailed to attend Lady Johnson, and Elmer became a medical officer for the rest of the war, a profession his brother had begun to teach him before 1776.

Bloomfield's attitude combined unfaltering patriotism, the judiciousness to be expected of a young lawyer, the moralizing of an eighteenth-century Presbyterian, ambition for military reputation, and noblesse oblige. Although he stated his reasons for returning to civilian life in 1778, they are not entirely convincing. The editors' excellent biographical essay explores the factors involved.

The most important contribution of this journal is to document the success of the natural, civilian elite of a rural area that was placed in command of an army raised spontaneously in response to a widespread but amorphous sentiment of nationalism.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Louis M. Waddell

The Adams of Quincy, Massachusetts, are the preeminent family in American history. Their public accomplishments are legion and legendary. No other family has had both a father and his son sit as president, an achievement that heads an impressive list of other significant familial contributions to the development of the American nation. The political victories secured by the revolutionary generation—by the first John Adams—were extended by the next two generations. John Quincy Adams and his son Charles Francis further established their nation's place (and their family's standing) by skillfully manipulating international tensions during the War of 1812 and the Civil War to gain political advantage. Adroit statecraft gave way to consummate literary achievements as the fourth generation came of age. No one, for example, has surpassed Henry Adams as master of the art of autobiography and of history. Diplomats, presidents, and historians: this catalog hints at the extent of the Adams family's intense commitment to public service and to cultural affairs.

The private costs of such public successes were staggering, however. In his finely-wrought record of the Adams's pain and despair, Paul Nagel elaborates upon Charles Francis Adams's insight into his family's complex nature: "It is one of great triumphs in the world but of deep groans within, one of extraordinary brilliancy and deep corroding mortification" (p. 3). Indeed, it is the interplay between the differing demands of the private and public worlds that the Adams inhabited which provoked the groans and produced the brilliancy. The Adams's compulsive drive to succeed in the public arena and to win a measure of fame sharply conflicted with the countervailing family principle that such ambition brought only ruin to the private man. This principle proved to be self-fulfilling. The internal debate wore them down individually and perforce scarred their children who were raised to bear the family's psychic burden; for that burden was part of what it meant to be an Adams.

In detailing these manifold problems and their reverberations down through the generations, Nagel reveals a sharp eye for irony, and in this regard his portrait of Abigail Adams is particularly fine. Often touted as a feminist for her plea to her husband during the revolution to "remember the ladies" (he didn't), she herself rarely allowed independence within the family circle. She ran roughshod over her children, bruising their egos and brushing aside their dreams when these did not match her own elevated aspirations for their futures, all the while urging them to become masters of themselves.
It was, of course, never easy to be an Adams—woman or man—and Nagel is equally skilled in capturing the often tortured lives of those less famous members of the clan. For the women, marriage was the critical point in their lives, and a bad one left a visible scar in the family record. Nabby, daughter of Abigail, married a gambler, a man who made her life miserable and her family cringe with embarrassment. For a male Adams, the chief concerns were character and career, both of which George Washington Adams, of the third generation, sadly lacked. Often depressed, and an alcoholic (and he was not the only one so afflicted), he died a probable suicide only to have his intemperate life largely scrubbed from the family annals by his sober brother Charles Francis. Although private failures must not become public, those failures served as object lessons for future generations.

The private record is painful and Nagel does a superb job in illuminating the family's troubled history. But one thing nags. The Adams (and their biographer) assume that the weight of family history felt by later generations constituted an insurmountable barrier to greatness; historians are not presidential timber. John Adams, at least, would have quarreled with this assessment. His hope was that his study of war and politics would free future Adams to study art and culture. From this perspective, his descendants ascended to glory.

Trinity University

Char Miller


One of the several causes for the revival of interest in Antimasonry in the United States relates to the continuing effort to come to grips with the concept of Jacksonian democracy. Antimasonry flourished during the Age of Jackson and understanding it throws light on the period. When Antimasons attacked the presumably elitist Freemasons, were they egalitarians sounding the keynote of the period? Or were they, as suggested by Richard Hofstadter, demonstrating a "paranoid style" which periodically punctuates American politics? New methods, notably quantification techniques and psychohistory, have provided historians of Antimasonry with new tools and hence have changed the nature of their work.
Professor Vaughn’s account is traditional in approach and is chiefly about the Antimasonic party. Taking issue with ideologue Benjamin Hallett, leading Massachusetts Antimason, who in 1832 noted, that “the character of Antimasonry is not understood,” Vaughn writes: “It is the purpose of this book to demonstrate...that although political Antimasonry during the period 1827-1843 did generally remain adamant and inflexible with respect to its bitter foe, Freemasonry, it became quite open to all sorts of coalitions, deals and alliances with the two major parties” (p. ix). On a state-by-state basis he explores Antimasonry’s “major paradox and triumph,” namely, “that although it declined rapidly as an independent political entity after 1833, it achieved its major success as a social or reform movement in the nearly total, albeit temporary, destruction of Masonry in those states where it was an active force” (p. ix).

After treating Morgan’s kidnapping and Antimasonry’s origins, Vaughn devotes two chapters to New York, discusses the Antimasonic party’s national effort in 1832, emphasizing the use of the national nominating convention and the bizarre candidacy of William Wirt. He then examines the states where the Antimasonic role was major, and deals briefly with Antimasonic politics “on the periphery.” This state-by-state approach is valuable, indeed essential; each state was sui generis. Vaughn makes clear the significant role of the Antimasonic party in providing a place for politicians in search of a place to go and correctly notes that when the party dissolved, at different times in different places, Antimasons went where conditions determined. Thus in Massachusetts they tended to join the opposition to the Whigs, the reverse of their course in New York.

Vaughn’s presentation is systematic, his coverage complete and extensively documented with, as noted, emphasis on party activity but with some attention given to the character of Antimasonry. He even alerts us to “a silent, unorganized Antimasonic sentiment among many women, who frequently exerted a powerful influence on their voting husbands and, if their spouses were Masons, caused them to abandon their membership” (p. 18). He has made extensive use of original sources along with all of the major literature produced since McCarthy’s landmark work of 1902.

Pennsylvania is of major importance and interest in Vaughn’s account. Prior to a chapter on the 1836 and 1840 elections, there are two chapters on Pennsylvania political Antimasonry, which arrived early and remained as a separate political force longer than in any other state. National Antimasonry was dominated by Pennsylvanians and when they merged with the Whigs in 1839, Antimasons were in control. At the national nominating convention of the Whigs (held in Harrisburg!), non-delegate Thaddeus Stevens, Antimason, was largely responsible for the nomination of William Henry Harrison.
Antimasonry is vast and complicated. Given America's pluralistic society, there is much to learn about it—its relationship to Jacksonian democracy and to the reform movements of that generation, the roots and motivations of its leaders, and its place in the mainstream of American history. Professor Vaughn has given us a concise presentation, essential for those who wish to proceed further.

Allentown

John J. Reed


Although in its delineation of culture American Studies examines a wide range of literary texts, it has for the most part ignored the visual arts. With the recent work of Barbara Novak on Transcendentalism and luminism and Lee Clark Mitchell on Western painting and photography, however, this oversight is swiftly being corrected. Bryan Jay Wolf's Romantic Re-Vision joins this distinguished company with its toughminded examination of Romantic consciousness as expressed in the landscape and genre paintings of Washington Allston, John Quidor, and Thomas Cole.

Like Mitchell and especially Novak, Wolf wishes to show the continuity between the artists' particular concerns and the more general interests of the society. By restricting his focus, as the others do not, to a small group of figures and works, however, he achieves a precision and depth which uncover in mid-nineteenth-century American art a greater thematic, and even philosophical, sophistication than we might otherwise have imagined. He is able to invest not only the celebrated Cole, but also the problematic Allston and unfamiliar Quidor with an unexpected intellectual energy. Neglected works like Allston's Portrait of Samuel Williams or Quidor's Anthony von Corlear Brought into the Presence of Peter Stuyvesant take on a new interest, while our appreciation for familiar masterpieces like Cole's Expulsion from the Garden of Eden increases through Wolf's fresh examination of particular details.

But Wolf's account does more than extend the canon. While reviving interest in these paintings, he puts forth the striking argument that works apparently concerned with the representation of nature actually substitute the mind for the world, converting the landscape into a metaphor for psychic phenomena. The substitution is not without its price, and the resulting "di-
alectic of consciousness with itself" inevitably turns vicious, even deconstructive. In Allston the parodic use of familiar images finally makes meaning impossible, and only demonstrates the terror of the works' fundamental unintelligibility. Quidor's genre paintings portray the catastrophe of the Romantic vision, whereby the artistic imagination, in its compulsion to see fully, inevitably violates all social, theological, and even textual boundaries. Most strikingly, the sublimity of Cole's "linguistic" landscapes replaces narrative structure with a nature whose initial autobiographical impulse develops into a full-blown myth of the Romantic self as signifier.

Yet although Wolf's argument is everywhere rigorous and stimulating, this is not entirely an easy book to like, or even to read. The vocabulary—of deferral and subversion, *peripeteia* and scoptophilia—and the obligatory references to Heidegger, Adorno, Foucault, and "Rolandes" Barthes announce a little too plainly the book's methodological (not to say geographic) allegiances. The intellectual formulations are occasionally imprecise and the style at times distracting. Man's glassy essence is not really the same as his "mythy mind"; and I had not expected to meet with the phrase "as the poet says" outside of Wodehouse. Furthermore, while admiring the breadth of learning, one wishes the author interrupted the main line of his argument less frequently with detours into Coleridge and Milton, Freud and Lacan. Irving's narrative strategies may perhaps be "proto-Borgesian," but they seem "post-Kantian" only chronologically. And one wonders if we really need an excursus on Hume and causality to show that synecdoches are tropes.

But our natural wish for a more linear argument—a little more painting and a little less Freud—may be beside the point. Wolf begins his account by announcing the death of the language of cultural intent: historical indeterminism (not to mention the imposing achievement of Perry Miller) makes impossible an unmediated vision of nineteenth-century America. To avoid what he sees as the false historicism of much cultural criticism, Wolf emphasizes instead the modernity of his texts and even the textuality of art in general. Although such a historicism may not be to all readers' tastes, it is a recognizable critical move, and necessary to the author's case. The true methodological objection, in fact, is that the argument is not radical enough and at times forgets its own anti-intentional bias. Cole's "modernism" is no more recapturable as intention than his cultural context. In both cases we are really talking about ways of expressing our own appreciation for a text; and to make the paintings be about their deconstruction of consciousness may be to erect the same kind of false hermeneutic that Wolf rightly attacks in more narrowly historicist accounts.

Yet such quarrels with Wolf's notion of modernism do not significantly diminish the real achievement of the book. The specific strength of Wolf's reading is to fight against a purely mimetic, naturalistic account of art—to
remind us that Cole's light can "represent" history and his mist "mean" sublimination. But the more general strength is simply to read with energy and sophistication works which had previously seemed uninteresting. If Wolf will not convince everyone of what to say about these artists, he is wholly successful in showing that something must be said. And this revitalization alone is enough to make his book one of the most important recent contributions to American Studies.

Princeton University

David M. Van Leer


In their efforts to explain the growth of sectionalism, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, historians have focused upon the emergent and dominant Republicans and have generally ignored the Northern Democrats leaving the false impression that to be a northerner was to be a Republican. The works of Frank Klement, Robert Kelley, and, most recently, Joel Silbey have served to remind scholars that the Northern Democrats endured the central decades of the nineteenth century as a "respectable minority" that continued to adhere to certain basic principles. Now Jean H. Baker, a professor at Goucher College, has added an excellent book to this list. Its greatest strength is that while Baker sympathetically and sensitively opens the intellectual and emotional world of the nineteenth-century Democracy to the modern reader, Affairs of Party is not a brief for the defense.

The books takes the form of somewhat independent essays clustered in three "sections." The first, rooted in the social science literature on political culture and party identification, discusses how a generation was socialized into Democratic allegiance and the belief that "party affairs were the measure of public life." She sees this as a three step process in which children learned what it meant to be American at school, family determined partisan orientation, and the parties manipulated the early lessons in Americanism to focus partisan support upon leaders and policies. The best essay in this section tries to approach the difficult problem of why and how people adjusted to partisanship. Using three major politicians—George Bancroft, Martin Van Buren, and
Samuel "Sunset" Cox—Baker develops a typology of styles. Each of the three accepted parties for slightly different reasons: Bancroft "anticipated consensus," Van Buren valued "a fellowship of participants," and Cox understood the importance of a "loyal opposition." For each man parties served the governmental process. Northern Democrats who grew up in the anti-bellum years internalized some combination of these views and did not easily part from the faith. Most remained true to the Democracy through the Civil War and Reconstruction. As August Belmont said during the election of 1868, "Our ranks are unbroken; our courage is unabated. Once more to the breach, this time victory."

The second two sections of the book deal with the "belief system" of the Northern Democrats and how it evolved through opposition to the party of the "Black Republicans," the limited support for the war, and resistance to radical Reconstruction. A chapter is devoted to the way the Democrats related their traditional stand in favor of "the Sovereignty of the People, the Rights of the States, and a Light and Simple Government" to the symbolism of eighteenth-century republicanism and clarifies their response to the war. Similarly, Baker traces the racial attitudes of Stephan Douglas and James Bayard to their "conservative naturalism" which mixed the faith in local control, belief in the inferiority of blacks, and a Burkean commitment to historical continuity. In separate essays she tries to connect the popular racism exhibited in minstral shows and riots and the iconography and "nonrational meaning" of elections to the general tenets of the Democratic faith. It is to Baker's credit that she takes Democratic racism "head on" and offers a clear explanation of a prejudice she clearly does not accept. The chapter on minstrelsy, however, which the author obviously enjoyed writing, is interesting in itself, but not well integrated into the book.

Such cannot be said of the final chapter. In it Baker attempts to handle the traditional problem of the "Southern connection." She is relatively successful in showing that throughout these years Northern Democrats were consistent Unionists and believed the Democracy the repository of virtue and forbearance on the matter. A distinction between nationalism and Unionism could have clarified the discussion.

One could make other criticisms, but on the whole Affairs of Party is an excellent book. It is readable, interesting, and makes excellent use of illustrations which are crucial to certain of Baker's points. It will be read by specialists, but it should also be read by those who teach survey courses and write textbooks.

*Lehigh University*  
*William G. Shade*

Robert Weisbrot's study of Father Divine sets out to explore the "checkered" evangelical career of America's "most widely discussed black preacher" of the 1930s. He contends that most scholars and writers have depicted Divine as a "cult leader" who appeared to lead mainly in the spiritual realm. Revising this view of Divine, Weisbrot finds in him an important figure in the black fight for racial equality. The strength of this revisionist interpretation rests in Divine's various struggles in the New York City area.

Beginning as "a model of suburban conservatism" in Sayville, Long Island, Divine developed very practical ideas that were translated into his religion. Obtaining jobs for his followers, he set up a communal house which gave security and an environment of love to his growing flock. The Great Depression increased the attraction of this approach to religion among Harlem's poor and in turn made Divine a world-wide religious cult leader. These houses or "Peace Missions" sprung up throughout the country. They followed the same formula—feasts of food, evangelical religion, and no alcohol, smoking or sex—which had been so successful in Harlem. Weisbrot claims that Divine was a civil rights reformer based on his desegregation of neighborhoods, integration of the Peace Missions, and active participation in election campaigns.

As successful as Divine was in opening Peace Missions, he was just as unsuccessful when it came to politics. According to Weisbrot, Divine was too open-minded to be a political leader. Yet he founded the All People's Party, worked with the Harlem Political Union and attempted to register his flock so that he could use their vote to gain political advantage. But Divine always wished to be accepted by those who followed him as God on earth. Even the staunchest advocate of racial justice, let alone those involved in politics, had difficulty endorsing a movement that held their leader to be the messiah. Weisbrot states that, from a political viewpoint, these "ego intrusions" of Father Divine were a tactical blunder. The dilemma for Divine was that ego was a necessary ingredient for a cult leader while politics tended to make mere humans out of egotistical gods.

Despite the depth of research and the clarity of writing, Weisbrot's thesis fails to minimize Divine's role as America's foremost "cult leader." The visits of Jim Jones of the People's Temple to Philadelphia for spiritual renewal directly from Divine during the early 1950s raise questions which Weisbrot does not explore. Jones used Divine's formula of food, security and absolute obedience to the leader as the basis of his movement. A study of the characters and personalities of Divine and Jones shows them to be cult leaders with
different ideas of how power and authority were to be used but with techniques more similar than different.

Clearly, Divine like Jones believed himself to be God. A postcard addressed to God, Harlem, U.S.A. delivered by the United States postal authorities became proof to some that Divine was God. The egotism of a cult leader like Divine when translated by Jones into the horrors of Guyana requires more analysis than Weisbrot chooses to give.

Besides the Jones comparison, Weisbrot ignores other opportunities present during Divine’s Philadelphia experiences which deserve consideration. Weisbrot’s description of Divine as an Elder Statesman overlooks areas which could have been researched. How did local Philadelphia civil rights advocates like Cecil Moore view Divine? What about the Girard College controversy? Clearly, the Philadelphia scene during the latter portion of Divine’s life would repay interest. The depth of analysis so characteristic of Weisbrot’s descriptions of the Peace Mission movement in New York is simply not present in sections on Philadelphia. Still, Weisbrot has added a new dimension to Divine’s life and has given America still another civil rights advocate.

Philadelphia

HARRY SILCOX


The Fund for the Republic was envisioned on 1951 by several officers of the Ford Foundation in response to the menace of McCarthyism and the apparent erosion of civil liberties in the United States. The Fund emerged one year later as an independent foundation, launched with $15 million from Ford and administered by moderate Republicans and liberal Democrats. Robert M. Hutchins, formerly the Wunderkind President of the University of Chicago, became president of the Fund in 1954. Under his idealistic though often dictatorial direction, the Fund developed as an educational and public policy research foundation devoted to promoting the principles of the U.S. Constitution, especially the Bill of Rights.

Despite accusations by political red-baiters, the Fund’s orientation was anti-communist. It was especially sympathetic to projects that would improve race relations, explore abuses in loyalty-security cases, and generally enhance the protection of civil liberties in the United States. In 1959 the Fund created
The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, located at Santa Barbara, California, and thereafter devoted all of its resources to the Center. The latter underwent a major re-organization in 1969, and suffered a damaging administrative split in 1975. Malcolm Moos, who succeeded Hutchins in 1974, was forced out a year later; and Hutchins assumed the reins once again until his death in 1977. Two years after that the Center was taken over by the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Frank Kelly, a journalist and onetime speechwriter for President Truman, served the Fund as a vice president (largely in the area of public relations) from 1956 until 1975. A strong believer in the Jeffersonian tradition, he has written a history that is primarily administrative and political rather than cultural or intellectual. We learn the price tag of every grant, the cost of every project, and above all, about the fierce internal battles between officers and associates of the Fund. This book will have enduring value because it is an insider's narrative. Mr. Kelly knew the people he writes about and witnessed the controversies. He has also had access to the extensive files of Jubal R. Parten, a member of the original board of the Fund in 1952 who served until his resignation as chairman in 1975. Even so, I am disappointed by Kelly's apparent failure to examine The Fund for the Republic archive, located in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton. This collection is unrestricted and consists of 255 cartons of rich material.

Mr. Kelly writes well, and his book reads swiftly despite its bulk. But the bulk was not necessary, and the book desperately needed an energetic editor. Mr. Kelly, a captive of his sources, quotes and quotes and quotes. In presenting a speech made by Hutchins at the National Press Club on January 26, 1955, answering some congressional critics of the Fund, Kelly stitches together eight consecutive paragraphs of quotations from Hutchins's speech. The author seems incapable of paraphrase; and is oblivious to the virtue of succinct precis embellished by pithy quotation.

The book does, however, contain some material pertinent to Pennsylvania history. During the mid-1950s, for example, the Fund supported five researchers at the University of Pennsylvania Law School who collected and examined all the relevant statutes, regulations, and cases relating to censorship practices by the U.S. Post Office (p. 50). And in 1955 the Fund granted $5,000 to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting, in Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, because the Quakers there had refused to fire Mary Knowles, a librarian, who had not taken a state loyalty oath and had invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned in 1953 by a U.S. Senate Committee concerning "an alleged Communist connection." As Eleanor B. Stevenson explained in
making the award, "the people of Plymouth Monthly Meeting are putting into practice what the people of our country believe to be the American way of life" (p. 53).

Cornell University

Michael Kammen


How do you write the history of a university? Businesses, government agencies and trade unions, for all their complexity, have relatively straightforward objectives and a hierarchial organization which facilitates the historian’s task. Modern universities are different. Their purposes and organization are more varied and the historian’s job is commensurately more difficult. Should presidents, deans and administrators hold center stage? Professors? Students? Is the history of a university the history of an organization, the history of ideas or the history of a social community? Though Stephen Sass has not provided definitive answers to these questions, he has successfully skirted most of the pitfalls of university histories and produced a fascinating account of the first century of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

Sass has tried to be comprehensive, but has wisely devoted most of his attention to the ideas of individuals who played large roles in changing the institution. The list is long and impressive: Joseph Wharton, who endowed the school to provide business education for scions of the Philadelphia elite; Edmund J. James, who introduced the Germanic emphasis on research and specialization; Simon Patten, who made social science a major part of the curriculum; Joseph Willits, who revived Wharton in the 1930s; Lawrence Klein who restored economics to a central position in business training and social science research; Donald C. Carroll, who as dean in the 1970s converted the school into a series of loose-knit entrepreneurial enterprises; and many others. Sass is at his best in the chapters on Patten, Willits, Klein, and Carroll, men whose influence was pervasive. Most readers, including most Wharton alumni, will probably find the last two chapters most appealing. They trace the rise of econometrics and other mathematically-oriented social and managerial science techniques and their institutional impact. Perhaps more than any other historical work, Sass’s account explains how business schools, traditional
havens of anti-intellectual technicians, have emerged as centers of far-out thinking and, occasionally, of far-out thinkers in recent years.

The convergence of intellectual innovation and student interest in business education have been made the Wharton School an elite, mostly graduate institution but, as Sass carefully notes, this was not the case for most of its history. For many years, Wharton was simply the undergraduate social science and business division of a rather chaotically organized university and a real or potential refuge for students who preferred football, parties and narrow professional training to ideas and books. Academically-oriented professors constantly battled practically-oriented professors and the character of the institution oscillated radically. At times, particularly after the two World Wars, when faculty and funds were in short supply and enrollments burgeoned, Wharton operated like the business college of a state university. At other times its intellectual and academic tone were higher, but it never seems to have fit Penn's Ivy League image. The 1960s, brought decisive and, Sass implies, irreversible change. After a long internal struggle, the school cast its lot with the academic world and, more importantly, cut undergraduate enrollment at a time when student applications were increasing. Within a few years Wharton had a highly visible faculty and an elite student body. Carroll added the final touches in the early 1970s and Wharton, like Harvard and Stanford, became the prototypical modern business school.

Generally Sass has done an admirable job. He might have devoted more attention to the relationship between Wharton and the university and to the students, and somewhat less attention to the virtues of the current regime, but these are minor quibbles. Sass has reconciled the most critical dilemmas of the university historian and has produced a volume that is notable both as institutional history and as a chapter in the story of business education in the United States.

University of Akron

Daniel Nelson