
David Lloyd, every inch the Welshman that his name proclaims him to be, migrated to Pennsylvania in 1686, entrusted with the task of upholding the interests of the Proprietor. However, his shrewd mind quickly discerned the cleavage which was taking place between the interests of Penn and the interests of the inhabitants of the colony, or at least between what they respectively presumed to be such. It was at the time of the short-lived administration of John Blackwell that Lloyd deserted the proprietary cause. The half-hearted and disingenuous support which Penn was giving to Blackwell may well have made a prudent man doubt whether it was profitable to serve such a master. At all events Lloyd became a leader, and for most of his life the leader, of the anti-proprietary faction. His bickerings, and his unscrupulous tactics as a controversialist, constitute an all too sorry story, but his influence upon the constitutional evolution of the colony was unquestionably great.

Lloyd was in the forefront of the fight to win legislative initiative for the assembly; he played the principal part in securing from Penn the Charter of Liberties of 1701, and in subsequently interpreting it, obviously contrary to the proprietor's intent, so as to give Pennsylvania a unicameral assembly and make her the nearest approach to a corporate colony to be found anywhere outside of New England. His influence on Pennsylvania's legislative development, exercised largely through his tenure of the office of Speaker, is paralleled by that which he exercised upon her legal development as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The impact of Lloyd's keen mind, strong convictions, and powerful personality upon the plastic institutions of an infant commonwealth was profound and permanent.

The present reviewer has found the appraisal of this study no easy task. Obviously, it has merit. The author has delved diligently into the sources of information available for the career of David Lloyd, and historians will henceforth be much better informed within this area. Those who have hitherto received their impressions of Lloyd from the outraged strictures of William Penn and James Logan will be afforded the opportunity for a measure of reappraisal. That Dr. Lokken has been handicapped in presenting a well-rounded picture of his subject by a lack of personal and family papers is a matter for sympathy, not for censure. It would seem however, that he might have gone considerably further in the re-creation of his subject within the limitations of the materials available to him. Time and time again the story seems to call for an explanation of the motives which impelled
Lloyd to take a particular course of action, but such explanation is apt to be quite inadequate, or entirely lacking. But whatever Lloyd's motives may have been, one is here afforded a much fuller and clearer picture of his very considerable influence upon the constitutional development of Pennsylvania than has hitherto appeared in print.

Although the author has in general been careful with his facts, factual misstatements are to be found, and these extend to the "background" material as well. For example, the statement on page 76 that the Board of Trade had been created by the Navigation Act of 1696 is an error. The quality of the exposition varies. In places the account flows along quite well, in others it drags. At times it is marred by an injudicious choice of words. In general, it gives the impression of improving as it proceeds, as if the author were warming up to the task, which suggests that a reworking of the earlier sections might have been salutary. All in all, one is left wondering whether the principal difficulty with this study may not be that it was rushed to press too soon, a not uncommon fate of doctoral dissertations. If more time had been taken for revision, and perchance for the mellowing of the topic in the author's mind, we might have a more valuable study of a subject which certainly merited the detailed attention which has here been accorded it.

University of Pennsylvania

LEONIDAS DODSON


In the course of research for his monumental study of The First Century and a Quarter of American Coal Industry, the late Howard N. Eavenson developed a great interest in maps of the Ohio Valley. He became especially intrigued by the so-called "Trader's Map" and devoted several articles to its identification as the work of John Patten, the Indian trader. This, in turn, led him to write the fascinating little book, Map Maker & Indian Traders, on Patten, Charles Swaine, and Theodorus Swaine Drage.

All the while he collected maps, gradually narrowing his field to the early cartography of the Ohio, and envisioning a book which would show the gradual evolution of man's knowledge of the course of La Belle Rivière. As an engineer whose early career included work on the United States Lake Survey in the 1890's, he was interested not only in maps but in the sources from which they were derived—sketches, journals, survey notes, and the like. This reviewer recalls, for example, that Mr. Eavenson had obtained from Paris a copy of Father Bonneecamps' survey notes made on Céloron's expedition of 1749; and the files of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission contain a number of letters relating to Mr. Eavenson's search for actual surveys of the Allegheny and the Ohio which had been used for the western portion of Reading Howell's great map of Pennsylvania, 1792.

From such efforts it appears obvious that, had Mr. Eavenson lived, he would have shown how the mapping of the Ohio progressed from vague hypotheses based on rumor and guesswork to the Mandeville map of 1740
which used the "dead reckoning" of distances made by the young Chaussegros de Léry, engineer of the Longueuil expedition of 1739; to the survey and map of Father Bonneccamps, chaplain and hydrographer of Céloron's expedition of 1749, whose work was astonishingly accurate, considering the inadequacies of his instruments; and, finally, as the last great cartographic achievement of the French, to Nicolas Bellin's 1775 "Map of the Course of the Ohio" which was laid down from plans and reports of the Chevalier Le Mercier, engineer of the French expeditions of 1753-1754. Thereupon, after some retrogression, the mapping of the Ohio was continued toward greater accuracy and completeness by such British and American engineers as Harry Gordon, Thomas Hutchins, Bernard Ratzer, and Reading Howell.

Regrettably, Mr. Eavenson did not live to carry out this project, but his collection of maps and notes remained, and in 1953 his widow Ada J. Eavenson set up an "Eavenson Cartographic Trust" to fulfill his wishes for a book of the maps of the Ohio. The Trust at first engaged the services of Mrs. Lois Mulkearn, then Librarian of the Darlington Memorial Library of the University of Pittsburgh, a scholar whose knowledge of early Ohio valley history and of maps had been attested in several earlier publications. Although she did much research, she was not able to continue the work to completion, and the task of preparing the volume was assumed by Lloyd Arnold Brown, a distinguished cartographic historian. The limitations under which he worked in terms of the time limit of the Trust and the problems in selecting maps which could be conveniently reduced to a page size of 8½ by 11 inches must both be taken into account in any evaluation of the contents of this attractive and interesting volume, which must, however, be regarded as disappointing so far as the full story of the cartography of the Ohio is concerned.

Mr. Brown frankly presents it as "primarily a picture book containing a brief review and summary of the cartographic record left by the men who first explored and mapped the region of the Ohio." He explains that the volume was "aimed at the pictorial, the interesting, and the familiar," and that he had to make an arbitrary choice of some fifty maps from more than five hundred available. One must sympathize with his difficulties in such a selection: some significant maps would be too large for reproduction at the established page size, some would be available only in photostatic copies so indistinct that they could not be reproduced well, and some would probably be vague as to origin in view of the circumstances of the work. It is not surprising then that of the maps published seven are hand copies made in the nineteenth century for W. M. Darlington, and that several very significant maps have been omitted. Except for an end-paper reproduction of the Bellin map of 1744, which drew the Ohio as on the Mandeville-De Léry map of 1740, one finds no trace of the key maps which marked the progress of French cartography based on surveys.

In other respects the volume is an excellent selection of early maps of the Ohio valley, clearly and effectively reproduced in collotype by the Meriden Gravure Company. There is a wonderful sequence of the early French attempts to represent the course of the Ohio, ranging from the maps of
Marquette, Joliet, and Randin in the 1670's, where it is scarcely recognizable, to the maps of Franquelin in the 1680's, where it is named and shown more clearly. These are followed by some quaint oddities like Hennepin's map of 1698 and Baron La Hontan's map of 1735, and by some examples of early British attempts to represent the Ohio country. Next comes a fascinating series of maps by British traders and agents and of maps based on Indian accounts; here we find John Patten, George Mercer, George Washington, Captain Snow, Christopher Gist, and George Armstrong. Finally, for British progress in exact mapping of the Ohio, we have maps by Gordon, Ratzer, and Hutchins, as well as some derived from their work. Besides all these, there are four plans of Fort Duquesne, including two versions of Robert Stobo's plan; a map of Braddock's field; a plan of Mercer's fort; a proposed plan for Fort Pitt; and two surveys in the Ohio region, including one of the Little Kanawha by Washington in 1773.

An introductory essay on “La Belle Rivière” stresses the significance of the Ohio in American history and the importance of maps in understanding the early history of the Ohio valley. Following the maps there are fifty-eight pages of descriptive material on the makers, origins, and historical background of the maps. These notes are generally informative and helpful, but occasionally the reader might profit from more information. Thus, in the note on the “chart of Lake Erie showing the route southward from Fort Presque Isle” (No. 40) he will read of three small-scale insets of Forts Pitt, Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presque Isle at the bottom of this map, but he will not find them on the reproduction from a copy made for William Darlington, and there is no hint that these four little plans are to be found as marginal decorations on pages 10, 11, and 12, reproduced from the original map in the Crown Collection. It could be wished, too, that there had been more discussion of the shifting features and details of the maps.

Once again, the inherent difficulties in preparing such a work should be remembered, and emphasis should be given to the real contribution of this publication in making so many interesting maps of the early Ohio valley available in beautifully clear reproductions. It is a handsome book, most attractively designed and printed, and a credit to its author, to the University of Pittsburgh Press, and to the Eavenson Cartographic Trust which made possible its publication at a price lower than cost. Every historian and student interested in the early history of the Ohio valley will find it a real treasure of fascinating source material, and a worthy addition to the publications of sources on Western Pennsylvania history which have come from Pittsburgh in recent years.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

Donald H. Kent


This is a delightful little book. It will appeal particularly to the less intrepid reader who might stagger under the burden of reading all 2300
pages of The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (3 vols., The Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, 1942-58). The Notebook is in fact a series of selections from The Journals made by the editors and translators of the Muhlenberg papers, with the expressed purpose of presenting a picture of 18th century America as seen through the eyes of this German-born and educated Lutheran leader.

Muhlenberg traveled extensively during the forty years of his ministry in America. The Notebook reveals the hazards and trials of travel by sea from Philadelphia to the southern colonies, and the inconveniences of overland travel by horse or wagon in all kinds of weather, as Muhlenberg went about building the foundations of the Lutheran faith in America. The book also gives some inkling of the problems he faced in organizing churches, resolving disputes, and strengthening the faith of the God-fearing in the midst of an apparently prevailing Godlessness.

There are many glimpses into everyday living in colonial America—the dangers from Indians and from rising prices; the economic and legal complexities of church construction and management; crime and punishment; the threats to life from illness and accidents, and the quaint and desperate recourse taken for cure; the hazards of life in the midst of the battle scenes of the American Revolutionary War; and the moving hand of an ever-present God. For these vignettes the book is worth reading.

The reader learns little from The Notebook, however, of the career of Muhlenberg's three sons—John Peter Muhlenberg, the Revolutionary general, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, the political leader, and Henry Ernst Muhlenberg, the scholar. There are some deflating comments, disguising his own pride, on their careers and public honors, but little more. Furthermore, one learns little of Muhlenberg himself. He lived in or near the great cultural and intellectual center of 18th century America—Philadelphia. The Notebook reveals a tone of hostility toward the "contrary and foul winds" of the more worldly philosophers, and a strange combination of prejudice and sympathy for other religious sects. But the reader gains little insight into Muhlenberg's role in the Great Awakening, into his impact on the religious life of colonial America, into his own inner spiritual struggle during the Revolution, or into the divine force that motivated him to serve his fellow man. For this insight one must go to The Journals. A reading of any equivalent 250 pages of the three-volume edition yields a greater understanding of the founder of Lutheranism in America, of his own attitude toward his mission, and of the faith that he embraced.

Lafayette College


Conservatism, as Professor Labaree defines it for purposes of his work, is "an attitude of resistance to change," and he proceeds to trace this attitude and the factors reinforcing it from about 1675 to what he considers its
culmination in the loyalism of the American Revolution. This series of six lectures constituted the Phelps Lectures delivered at New York University in 1947. They were originally printed in that year and are now reprinted as a paperback. Successively they deal with "Ruling Families," "Plantation and Countinghouse," "Pulpit and Broadcloth," "Education and Social Theory," "A Balanced Government," and "The Tory Mind."

The institutional factors conducing to a conservative outlook are here made evident, and this is the abiding contribution of the book. The evidence of conservatism as a factor, however, is less satisfactory. In part this is due to the unavoidably fragmentary nature of the evidence available for this kind of history. The Reverend Jonathan Boucher was a pronounced and extremely quotable conservative, but, as an undergraduate recently asked, how representative was he, and how influential? Has he not cast a greater spell on historians than on his contemporaries? More important, perhaps, is Professor Labaree's implicit acceptance of the Jameson argument that the American Revolution was to a notable degree a social movement. This step leads him to treat of loyalism as the final stage, or perhaps the end product, of colonial conservatism. Then, having described the extremely conservative tendencies of the Puritans of Connecticut, he fails to explain the stubborn fact that these people generally became Whigs, not Tories. This omission raises a haunting question: is it not likely that there was as much conservatism and as much search for freedom, as much self-interest and as much idealism on one side of the Revolution as on the other? Certainly some of the more articulate Whigs implied that they were driven to "revolution" by their fear of political changes threatened by the British government.

Looking back thirteen years, we see in this book the beginning of the post-Rooseveltian reconsideration of American conservatism. To be sure, Professor Labaree shows but moderate sympathy for conservatism; yet he gives the concept thoughtful attention and writes of it in lucid and comprehensive fashion. All students of American history might be the wiser for reading these highly readable lectures.

Dickinson College

HENRY J. YOUNG


It is indeed fortunate that Professor Shryock was invited to deliver the Anson Phelps Lectures—the four lectures which comprise this philosophical and scientific "interpretation of the medical developments during the first two centuries of American experience." Certainly no greater authority on this vast subject could have been selected. The book is charming not only because of its excellent literary style but also by reason of its convincing presentation of an interesting period—the historical facts of which have remained in obscurity far too long.

Your reviewer was somewhat surprised that no mention was made of the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, by Nich. Culpepper, who called himself, "Gent. Student in Physic & Astrology," which was published by John Streater in
1667. The procedures to be followed in preparing some of the fantastic remedies of that day make this book a distinct and important contribution to medical literature. A possible explanation of the omission may be the contempt in which Culpepper was held by many contemporary leaders of medical thought.

The influence of what is referred to as the "Paris school of medicine" on American physicians is described, no doubt correctly, as reaching its greatest height in the decade, 1815-25. It might have been well, however, to have explained that Paris became the Mecca for our medical students immediately after the American Revolution and continued as such until the Reign of Terror in 1792. Shryock puts the reason for the Parisian trend succinctly as being the change of attitude of the British toward American medical students. They considered them no longer colonists in need of encouragement, but "foreigners."

Clinical nihilism, which may be defined as "do-nothing-ism" in the treatment of most diseases, became an important feature of the Paris school of medicine about 1815. It is dealt with expertly and convincingly. Its influence on American physicians is attributed largely to the writings of Nathan Smith in the 1820's, and the lectures of Dr. Samuel Jackson in 1840, at the University of Pennsylvania. That this nihilism was capitalized upon by Hahnemann, of Germany, is inferred rather than stated, but is an interesting and logical suggestion.

Professor Shryock is to be commended for his painstaking analysis of the great contributions of the dental profession to both medicine and surgery, paying especial tribute to W. T. G. Morton, a dentist who introduced ether anesthesia at the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1846. The use of anesthesia, he implies, was the chief contribution of American medical men during the nineteenth century.

Although this book is but 182 pages in length, inclusive of voluminous notes covering each lecture and a well prepared index, it is a masterpiece of condensation. It would be difficult to name any other work covering this vast field in the history of medicine in which so much is said so admirably and so authoritatively.

West Chester

HENRY PLEASANTS, JR.


This volume is a study of the beef cattle industry in selected districts of the Ohio valley from the late eighteenth century until the advent of the Civil War. Here is told the story of cattle in the context of the agrarian migration into the Kentucky Bluegrass and the Scioto, Miami, Wabash, and Sangamon river valleys in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These were the cattle-feeding regions which the author terms a "kingdom." Other areas in the Ohio valley are not studied in detail, having been either commercially unfeasible for cattle feeding or having been range districts which bred cattle for the corn feeding areas.
It is also the story of the cattle "kings" such as the Pattons, Renicks, Clays, Fowlers, Funks, and Strawns. These were the leaders who organized the industry, improved cattle by selective breeding and importation of blooded stock from England, and drove the corn-fattened cattle to seaboard markets. The bulk of the book is concerned with detailed accounts of local conditions in the Middle West which these cattlemen met, with breeding practices and importations, and with details of droving over the mountains. The remainder of the book is concerned with the economic aspects of marketing, with the development of stockyards and slaughterhouses not only in the Ohio valley but in the coastal markets such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans, and with the westward movement at the end of the period into the contiguous territory of Missouri and Iowa.

Probably the most exciting and the most interesting part to Pennsylvanians is the chapter on cattle driving. Of the six major routes from the Ohio valley to the coast, four traversed Pennsylvania. They were the Cumberland Road, the Pittsburgh-Chambersburg route, the Greensburg-Juniata road, and the Erie-Mohawk trail. Along these routes passed droves of from 100 to 1,000 cattle, handled by a mounted drover and from one to five drivers on foot. Fat cattle could move seven miles per day, nightly stops were made at regular "drove stands" where lodgings for the men and feed for the animals could be obtained. About two months were required to drive cattle from Ohio to the eastern stockyards. It was a speculative operation and if the markets at Baltimore or Philadelphia were glutted, the cattle were pushed on to New York or Boston.

Many of the vicissitudes of later western trail herding were experienced in Pennsylvania; in 1839 drought had reduced the Ohio river at Pittsburgh to a 21-inch depth; in 1847 "the depth of mud was unbelievable" in the mountains west of Bedford; and highwaymen and cattle thieves were active. During this period, Philadelphia was the greatest market for fat cattle, and the transmontane drives provided much of the livestock or supplied the adjacent feeder counties. Colonel John H. Powel, of Powelton, near Philadelphia, was a pioneer in the introduction and breeding of Durham Shorthorn cattle in America, and many of his animals were acquired by leading Kentucky cattlemen.

_Cattle Kingdom in the Ohio Valley_ is a valuable, detailed, and scholarly book. Building on the pioneer published works of James Westfall Thompson, Robert Leslie Jones, and Paul W. Gates, and utilizing the unpublished work of Charles Townsend Leavitt, manuscript resources, and local newspapers, Henlein has produced a volume which details many events and processes at which others have only hinted. One could wish, however, that his statement that "many of the Texas cattlemen received their first introduction into the lore of cattle raising" in the Ohio valley had been fully documented. A valid connection would have lifted the work from one of only sectional interest to one of national importance, negating or modifying our impression of the Spanish influence in the western cattle industry. We hope that he will continue his investigation of the subject, both in time and space.

One could also have wished for a bibliography and maps adequate to
accompany a scholarly work. And one can only wonder where the price
spiral for books will end, especially when a Ford Foundation grant sub-
sidized this volume's publication.

Hagley Museum
Wilmington, Del.

Roy M. Boatman

Pennsylvania Constitutional Development. By Rosalind L. Branning. (Pitts-
burgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960. Pp. 166. $6.00.)

In this brief volume Professor Branning seeks to present "a critical
analysis of the present constitution of Pennsylvania as a tool for the study
of the problems springing from the rigidity of its provisions." After a brief
introduction, there is a short historical section of twenty-five pages on the
constitutions of 1776, 1790, and 1838, and a longer one of eighty-eight pages
on the background, the drafting, and the ratification of the Constitution of
1874. A nineteen-page chapter on twentieth-century growth summarizes the
more than sixty amendments adopted since 1901 and describes the unsucce-
sful attempts at constitutional revision under Governors Sproul, Pinchot, and
Earle. The final chapter of ten pages outlines the work of the Commission
on Constitutional Revision created by the General Assembly of 1957.

The author gives a fine statement of the case for constitutional reform in
her cogently written introduction:

The urgent need for constitutional change cannot be satisfied by
the addition of a few more amendments. The need springs out of
the very nature of the present constitution. . . . Pennsylvania needs
a new constitution because the convention which drafted the present
one, in its earnest zeal to promote good government, so hampered
the legislature that it cannot act efficiently or effectively. It needs
a new constitution because the then prevailing conceptions of a
rural society are frozen into the provisions for the judiciary and
for county government. It needs a new constitution because the
constitution of 1874 is in many respects inflexible and unadaptable
to modern needs. Above all, it needs a new constitution because the
framers of the constitution failed to grasp fully the difference be-
tween constitutional and statutory law, and therefore have produced
a document which defies the basic principles of good draftsmanship.

The book as a whole does not live up to the fine introduction. The section
on the three early constitutions provides little useful information, considering
the purpose of the book, and could well have been condensed into a very few
pages. One also wonders why Professor Branning in her chapter on the
Constitution of 1776 has chosen to cite the articles of Paul L. Ford and
Samuel B. Harding dating back to 1895 and to ignore both J. Paul Selsam's
book of 1936 and his article of 1934, although these are listed in the bibli-
ography. This reviewer finds it regrettable that the author did not devote
more space to analyzing and explaining some of the constitutional short-
comings mentioned so very briefly. The book is unquestionably useful, but
it is by no means an exhaustive analysis of its subject.

The format, typography, and binding are of the distinctively superior
quality that one associates with the University of Pittsburgh Press. It is
distressing that editorial slips in the notes and bibliography prevent these
bits of scholarly apparatus from achieving the same high standard. None of
the slips is individually significant, but in total they become annoying, and
give evidence of careless editing.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

S. W. Higginbotham

The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence Between
Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams. Edited by Lester J.
(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for The Institute of
per set.)

How fortunate for posterity if all leading figures in great historical epochs
could live far beyond their periods of active contribution and write letters
to each other. And how doubly fortunate if all could write with the lucidity
and reasonableness of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. “I hope one day
your letters will be all published,” wrote Adams. They are “presented in a
sweet simplicity and a neat elegance of Stile, which will be read with delight
in future ages.” Adams was correct both as prophet and literary judge and,
happily, his observation applies with equal force to his own letters.

Writing in an age when personal correspondence was cultivated as a fine
art—before Samuel Morse would reduce full paragraphs and flowing periods
to terse directives and puzzling laconicisms, before the document-destroying
telephone, before the stupefying distractions of that animated billboard, tele-
vision—these two men engaged in an exchange of ideas and memories which
remain the ever-fresh substance of history. Had they been writing for public
consumption it is likely that they would have written differently, although
both must have suspected that their correspondence would interest future
generations and eventually be published.

But aware or not of posterity’s curious eyes, they were writing with
strict candor and honesty for themselves as well as for each other. Omnivor-
ous readers, possessed of incisive, vigorous minds, both men enjoyed a
facility of expression which makes them eminently quotable. It is delightful
to meet again such old friends as Jefferson’s “I cannot live without books.
...,” and Adams’ oft quoted observation, “The Revolution was in the
Minds of the People...” These are so numerous that they recall to mind
the old lady who doubted Shakespeare’s originality because he merely re-
peated the better sayings of her friends. But smooth as the literary graces are
they never hide the solid stuff beneath. Indeed, one needs very little knowledge
of the past to realize the influence these letters have had on the interpretation
of American history.

Although the above comments are generally descriptive of the entire
 correspondence, from the time Jefferson began it in 1777 until Adams brought
it to a close in 1826, they apply with greater pertinence to the years fol-
lowing 1812, after their reconciliation. By that time their great days of
public office were over, and the political wounds which had caused their estrangement in the 1790's were pretty well healed. The first portion of the correspondence, running from 1777 to 1801, with the exception of six letters written prior to 1784 and a few in the last decade of the eighteenth century, deals for the most part with the diplomacy Jefferson and Adams were involved in as ministers to France and England respectively. As representatives at the courts of two great powers both men labored to secure commercial recognition and privileges for a United States which was almost ineffectual under the Articles of Confederation. Consequently their letters were filled with views on trading agreements, international policy, Algerian pirates, and the need for a firmer union of the states. In this latter connection both men delivered shrewd judgments on the nature of the Union before and after the creation of the Constitution of 1787. Of the two ministerial positions that of Adams was probably the more difficult. Often irritated by a haughty, obstructive officialdom and a vituperative press, he roundly condemned English principles, morals, and manners. His wife, Abigail, outraged over a libelous newspaper story, wrote Jefferson that a lady could not say the account was "false as Hell, but I will substitute, one not less expressive and say, false as the English." The cousins were still at odds.

One of the salient features of the Adams-Jefferson correspondence is the sharp break in it between 1801 and 1812. But long before 1801, in 1791, to be precise, there is evidence of disturbed relations. In that year Jefferson approved of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* as a counter to "the political heresies which have sprung up among us." This unfortunately reached an irresponsible printer and Adams interpreted it (correctly enough) as being critical of his views on British-American relations. Jefferson wrote Adams his version of the matter and received a restrained answer. From then on to 1796 only twelve letters, markedly lacking in their former warmth, passed between them. Several years then elapsed before three brief notes were exchanged in 1801, the last of which contained Adams' wish that Jefferson would have "a quiet and prosperous administration." Jefferson might have accepted this as a friendly overture, but he did not reply. If one seeks additional reasons for the estrangement, little clues, prior to 1801, can be found at various intervals. For example, their reactions to the new Constitution indicated a sharp division of opinion as to the nature and power of the executive authority. Jefferson feared long tenure, likening the president to "a bad edition of a Polish King," but Adams saw virtue in a system which permitted long executive tenancy.

Other examples of ideological, never personal, differences occur, but it would be difficult to find in any one or all of them an adequate explanation for a break as sharp as it was complete. Some light is thrown on the question in the correspondence between Abigail Adams and Jefferson in 1804, when the latter declared that Adams' appointment of certain officers in the last hours of his presidency was his only act which "ever gave me a moment's displeasure." With indignation Abigail replied that those appointments were completely justified, and that no unkindness to Jefferson was intended. In her opinion the act which ruined the friendship was Jefferson's
pardon and approval, in 1801, of James Thomson Callender, a slanderous "wretch," a "serpent" who had vilified her husband and his administration. However this may be, both of the actions complained of occurred in 1801, so they do not explain the almost complete break in correspondence following the year 1796. Unquestionably, the answer lies in the positions taken by the two men in the political broils accompanying the development of parties in the 1790's.

In 1812 a reconciliation was effected between the old friends through the good offices of Benjamin Rush. January 1 of that year should be celebrated by historians and lovers of belles lettres, for on that date Adams made the first move. Jefferson replied, and they were off. "You and I ought not to die, before We have explained ourselves to each other," wrote Adams in 1813. That struck the keynote, and for the next thirteen years they not only explained themselves but practically everything else.

Various letters of the Adams-Jefferson correspondence have been published heretofore, but this is the first edition which offers the full exchange. Designed "primarily for the general reader" it carries no headnotes or extensive annotation. Wisely presented in chronological sequence, the letters are grouped into chapters and accompanied by excellent descriptive essays. These offer comment not only on the unit of letters they introduce, but occasionally on the preceding one. Their main function, though, is to anticipate the mood and set the historical stage for each chapter. The format of these volumes is excellent. The generous margins, the space between letters and chapters give the books an open uncluttered appearance and make them a delight to read. In brief, this work maintains at a high level the scholarly standards which have been typical of the productions of The Institute of Early American History and Culture.

Temple University

Harry M. Tinkcom


In this book economic theory and practice contend with political theory and practice, in the quarter century of 1819-1844, with the victory going to the politicians. Nicholas Biddle's theory was that a country's prosperity requires a non-political, national institution entrusted with primary responsibility for continual adjustment of credit and currency to shifts in economic conditions; his efforts to put this theory into practice demonstrate that he was born a century too early. He had to operate in an environment of chronic political and economic instability in a young, rapidly-growing, self-governing, comparatively isolated nation which was, furthermore, in process of bifurcation by a cotton curtain. As director and subsequent president of the second United States Bank (1819-1836) and as chief factotum of a United States Bank under a Pennsylvania charter (1836-1840) he had to cope also with personal and partisan rivalries on the federal level and between and
within the various states. The situation ensured that national economic welfare would be likely to come out second best to politics in such situations as were too complex for common understanding.

For Biddle's fitness for a prominent position in these parlous times Mr. Govan concludes, after very long concentration on Biddle materials, that Biddle was "fitted by nature, capacity and training." Whereupon he proceeds to portray events which cast serious doubts on that assertion. Repeatedly there emerge important junctures in which Biddle was handicapped by one or another fault modifying his achievements and jeopardizing his far-seeing objectives—by his indomitable optimism (see especially pp. 294-295); by too-confident speculation on economic trends, as in his cotton buying; by blindness to political imperia as in combating such men as Benton; by poor choice of a confidential emissary such as S. E. Burrows; by expectation that officeholders and voters would listen to rational argument when their emotions and prejudices were aroused (see especially pp. 173, 204, 208); by underestimation of the power of those he denominated "demagogues" such as the "Jackson party"; and by unconsciously yielding to personal pique (see pp. 201, 257).

Govan terms Biddle an "egalitarian" (p. 53) but actually shows (chapters 13-27) that he was so far from one that he could not fend off the weapons employed against him by his chief antagonist—President Jackson whom he "was unable to understand" (p. 115). Such handicaps, of which he was insufficiently aware, were some of the reasons why he could not evaluate his own status realistically. For example his life-long ambition for a ministerial post could not be met; it eluded him at age 29 (for reasons ill-explained, p. 48); and twenty-six years later, though recently ousted from control of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania under a murky cloud of suspicion, he still hoped for such a post, and his biographer, under Biddle's spell, finds him (1840-1841) both a "discredited man!" (p. 384) and "a financier of unparalleled reputation" (389).

The great value of the book lies in its detailed chronicle of amoral mores of national and state legislators (see especially pp. 371-372) and in its demonstration of how business rivals can blindly pull down the temple on all their heads (see for example, p. 387). As Biddle's overall objectives were highly meritorious, he was inclined to place blame for mischance on evil opponents; and Govan, as he frankly warns his readers, has written an "apologia" (p. vii). It is difficult for any close student of a strong personality to avoid falling under his spell; but Govan let down his defenses when he decided he need go outside Biddle's correspondence "only where it was necessary to check on its accuracy and to gain information about others" (p. 414). This apparently beguiled him into deciding that it was Fate which pushed Biddle into tragedy—that none of his mistakes "seemed sufficient to me to account for the final result. There probably can be no explanation" (p. viii).

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

Of the many pictorial representations of the Civil War, the reviewer would place this first on the list for three reasons: the technical excellence of the photographs; the dramatic impact of the subjects selected; and the intimate, contemporary quality of the descriptive captions. The book is a reprint of two volumes published in 1866 in which the actual gloss photographs were pasted on pages opposite the printed text. It failed commercially because of the high cost of production by this method. The present volume reproduces in half-tone on glossy paper the original pictures, type faces, and text in the horizontal 11 x 8½ inch format. The book presents 100 photographs covering the four years of the campaigning in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

Subject matter includes fortifications, the aftermath of battle, activities of supply, transport, communications, camp life, medicine, and landscapes of important military regions. The minute details and often whimsical observations in the captions bring the scenes to life. Here you may learn how to make a signal light box on a pontoon boat, or a mobile post office; or be reminded that both sides often left it to the Negroes to bury the battle-fallen dead, the local whites declining to perform this office for their enemies and sometimes even for their own; or wonder, with the burial detail whether that glass eye rattling inside the bleached skull might not afford means of identifying these pitiful remains of some anguished family's father or son. You may see behind exactly which tree the cannon stood, or how the newspaper reporters lived and travelled in the field.

The reviewer subjected this book to a major trial, submitting it with some others to a teacher of sixth-grade children who were at the time interested in Civil War pictures. This proved the favorite.

The book has a good index. If the Civil War "buff" has missed this volume, he has a treat still in store for him.

*Pennsylvania State University*

**Triumph on Fairmount: Fiske Kimball and the Philadelphia Museum of Art.**


This informative and entertaining biography provides a colorful portrait of Fiske Kimball, the outstanding director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art from 1925 to 1955, and one of the country's important art historians and museum leaders. Along the way it contributes to our understanding of four closely related subjects: Philadelphia civic history, particularly the collaboration by public-spirited men on the City Council, Park Commission, and Museum Board which created the magnificent cultural resource that was the "Triumph on Fairmount"; the history of some of our major art museums; the movement to study, publish, and restore our great architectural landmarks of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and the story of our serious concern with the fine arts during the second quarter of this century—
a story of connoisseurs, collectors and collections; of museum directors, curators, and trustees; and of great dealers on both sides of the Atlantic. The historian both of American art and architecture and of American society will find this volume valuable. The nation's museum profession, now entering a new period of professional self-consciousness, should regard it as "must" reading; it is almost the first treatment of the field, and a most auspicious one.

Fiske Kimball was the kind of controversial figure about whom one can be realistic only through an exercise of unusual objectivity. This the authors' disarming candor has achieved brilliantly. The qualities that made Kimball great are deftly illuminated: the enormous, lion-like vitality; the capacity for hard work ("thirty-six holes of scholarship was his idea of a perfect weekend."); the zestful, brilliant, conscientious work ("a scholarly problem involving attributions and clues, and the detective in him rose to the bait").

the "total lack of cultural snobishness," the infectious enthusiasm, the love of life (good food, high society, magnificent entertaining at Lemon Hill and Schack Mountain); the resourcefulness, tenacity, and boldness in building the huge museum shell and stalking the donors to fill it with treasures; the ability to select capable subordinates and to inspire their loyalty (the list of "Fiske's graduates" reads like a museum honor roll: Joseph Downs, Francis Henry Taylor, Calvin Hathaway, Henri Marceau, Carl Zigrosser, Henry McIlhenny, Henry Clifford, and others). There was, indeed, something about Kimball which once prompted Duveen to address him as "Emperor of Pennsylvania," and we are told that he "would have dearly loved a title."

Kimball's weaknesses are just as freely recorded. A good case is made out for his architectural bungling in working out details of interior arrangements for the Museum. Unpleasant traits are revealed unsparingly: the streak of uncouthness, rudeness, vulgarity, and outrageous self-assertiveness; the unpredictable temptation to use offensive language and tell embarrassing stories; the "impatience with stupid old ladies." It is suggested that perhaps more people disliked than liked him. The tragic mental disintegration of the last few years is recounted with equal respect for the facts.

There was, of course, nothing inevitable about the "Triumph on Fairmount." It took courage, during the depression, to buy pictures with money which many politicians insisted he spent on unemployment relief; it took flexibility to experiment with the new Federal Arts Project of the W. P. A. (Kimball was a regional director) which eventually supplied $2,000,000 for construction, and completed over 150 galleries and rooms. There never seemed to be enough money on hand to complete payments on the Foulc Collection; there were personal attacks, and sometimes a hostile press, and it was heartbreaking to lose the Reifsnyder, Widener, Rosenwald, and Whitney collections to auction or to other museums. On the other hand, there was the excitement of acquiring a magnificent series of fine collections, and an enviable number of outstanding single works of art such as the best Poussin and the best Cézanne in America; of opening a long succession of new galleries and holding special shows for which the brilliant parties, receptions, and dinners soon convinced Philadelphia that "the Museum was
fashionable and the Museum was fun." The reader acquires solid respect for the Museum presidents who stood by Kimball in all this: John D. McIlhenny, Eli Kirk Price, Stogdell Stokes, and Sturgis Ingersoll.

The book has many virtues: color and drama, an almost breezy lightness, rapid pace, and simplicity and honesty. These virtues, however, have their defects for those of us who want to know more; much too much is touched on too lightly. No attempt is made to define the quality of Kimball's connoisseurship, or his stature as a museum director. What was, for example, the significance of his pioneering use of real period rooms as exhibition galleries, and exactly wherein had he "stolen a march on other museums"? The installation of the Medieval, Persian, Indian, and Chinese galleries is chronicled, but with no interpretation of their importance. We discover that Kimball was up to his ears in consultations for architectural restorations of Lemon Hill, the nine Fairmount Park houses, and Monticello, Stratford, and Colonial Williamsburg; but the importance of this restoration movement and Kimball's contribution to it are implied only. Finally, the measure of Kimball as a scholar, and especially as an art historian, is never taken. His brilliant work on the origins of the rococo, his pioneering studies of the architectural significance of Jefferson, Latrobe, and McIntire deserve much more extensive analysis. The source material drawn upon is limited largely to Kimball's unpublished writings. There is no documentation or bibliography, and the listing of Kimball's writings is left to the University of Virginia.

This is, however, not only popular writing at its best, but an eye opener to possibilities for further research. Now let the scholars carry on from where the Robertses have left off!

Winterthur Museum

Winterthur, Del.

E. McClung Fleming