Occasionally in the concert hall one has the privilege of hearing a "perfect" performance of a Bach cantata or a Mozart symphony. Upon reflection, one realizes that the experience is the result of collaboration by many hands. Most immediately there is the performance itself, the product of the musicians' technical brilliance and the conductor's sensitivity to the spirit of the work. Behind the performance, however, giving it authenticity and faithfulness, lies the painstaking work of the musicologists who, cutting back through the traditions of two centuries, have reconstructed the original score with the composer's precise notation, instrumentation, and marks of expression. But behind it all (though the critic, writing late at night after the concert, is apt to overlook him), stands the composer himself, the real creator, without whom there would have been no score and no performance.

These reflections are occasioned by the appearance of the first volume of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, edited by Leonard W. Labaree and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., and published by the Yale University Press under the sponsorship of Yale University and the American Philosophical Society with a generous subvention by Life. Let me not be misunderstood. Benjamin Franklin was no Bach or Mozart. Among the eighteenth-century immortals he occupies a much humbler place of honor. Still, the comparison is not too farfetched. Though he never soared so high or plumbed so deep as either, he did have, in his own particular sphere, something of the variety, the copious inventiveness of the one, and the simple lucidity combined with gay, sophisticated bravura of the other. On the basis of their first volume, it is clear that the work of Franklin's latest editors in establishing and annotating the texts of Franklin's *opera* is comparable to the splendid definitive editions of Bach and Mozart now coming from the press in Germany. And the experience of holding in one's hand and leafing through this first volume of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin is as satisfying to the bibliophile and the reader as a great performance is to the music lover.

Since this is the prototype of thirty-nine volumes yet to come, it is appropriate to say something of the externals of the book. Handsomely and sturdily bound in clove-brown linen, it is beautifully printed on fine paper in a type face, especially cut for this edition, based on the types Franklin
used in his own press at Passy. There are eight illustrations, including a sumptuous color reproduction of Duplessis' 1778 portrait and a full photographic facsimile of the rare first impression of the first Poor Richard's almanac (1733). Not quite so large or weighty as a single volume of its distinguished predecessor in the field, Julian P. Boyd's *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, it is a book which fits the hand and pleases the eye. "B. Franklin, Printer" would be delighted.

The meticulous scholarship, good sense, and excellent judgment of the editors demand more extended notice. First of all, they have prefaced this volume with a substantial introduction to their great enterprise. Briefly they recount the vicissitudes of Franklin's papers—their dispersion after his death and the process by which they have been patiently reassembled in photocopy at Yale—and review (in a remarkably charitable spirit) the work of Franklin's earlier editors—William Duane, Jared Sparks, A. H. Smyth, and the rest. Then they outline the principles by which they will be guided in deciding what to include: (1) "the full text of every document of Franklin's career, signed or unsigned, that we can locate and establish to our satisfaction to have been written by Franklin or by Franklin with others"; (2) "letters and other communications . . . addressed to Franklin individually, or to an official body of which he was a member"; (3) "third-party" letters sent to Franklin for his information or action, and scientific treatises submitted for his comments. Documents in the second and third categories will be printed in full or in abstract, depending upon the editors' judgment of their importance. The arrangement will be basically chronological, which is undoubtedly the best plan, even though it means, for example, that the Autobiography, having been written in four separate bursts, will appear in four distinct sections, perhaps inconveniently located in four different volumes. Finally, they explain in detail the form in which they will present the documents: they have determined on a judicious middle course between the pedantry of exact reproduction *literatim et punctatim* and the heresy of complete modernization.

The present volume gives us a good foretaste of the editors' principles in practice. They have obviously sought out the best texts, collated them laboriously with other extant versions, both printed and manuscript, and given us the closest possible approximation to Franklin's *ipsissima verba* with the significant variant readings added in the footnotes. When they have doubts about a work traditionally ascribed to Franklin (for example, "A Witch Trial at Mount Holly"), they print it, but express their reservations in the headnote. When they have positive evidence that such a work is not Franklin's (for example, the "Dialogues between Philocles and Horatio"), or serious doubts that it is (for example, "A Meditation on a Quart Mugg"), they omit it, with an adequate note explaining why. When they have good grounds for a new attribution (for example, an amusing piece on conversation from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*), they confidently print the text in full, with a note giving their reasons. When they are still unde-
cided (as, for example, with certain essays which appeared in the *New-England Courant* during young Franklin’s acting editorship), they simply list the pieces in question and invite other scholars to prove or disprove Franklin’s authorship. The problem of what to do with business documents like Franklin’s ledgers they have solved by simply describing them and printing typical excerpts; his week-by-week contributions to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* are represented by selected extracts—news items, squibs, advertisements, and the like—grouped together at the end of the year in which they appeared.

The annotation is succinct and pointed. The headnotes tell the reader just what he needs to know of the piece he is about to read and no more; the footnotes explain unfamiliar words (a fizgig is a harpoon), or clarify obscure references (the “sowre Philosopher” mentioned in the third Busy-Body paper is probably that “odd Fish” Samuel Keimer); there is no unnecessary parade of learning. The footnotes, incidentally, appear at the bottom of the page, where they are slightly more convenient to consult than if they had been placed at the end of each document, as in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*; moreover, they are numbered according to the tidy new system which makes use only of the digits from 1 to 9, then starts over again. This volume, unlike the separate volumes of the Jefferson Papers, is equipped with a full index. In short, it is hard to see how the editors could have done more for us, or done it better.

Yet handsome as the typographical performance is and masterly as the editing is, the ultimate glory, as publisher and editors would agree, is Franklin’s. This volume covers his first twenty-eight years, and the documentation for most of those years is admittedly sparse. But already in the literary record of the young journalist and printer the mature man whom Carl Van Doren called “a harmonious human multitude” is adumbrated. To return to the opening simile, the first volume of the *Papers* is like an overture, announcing the themes that will weave in and out of the later writings. In the Silence Dogood letters, written at the age of sixteen, he is already an accomplished comic writer, whether he is describing the sailors and their doxies along the Boston water front, or satirizing the “Beetle-Sculls” at Harvard College. He is also a stout apostle of liberty—the liberty, in this case, of the press. By the time he sailed to England at twenty, he was already showing in his journal that passion for scientific observation that was to stay with him all his days. By the age of twenty-two, as his *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion* show, he had arrived at that mild and benevolent deism that was to be his religious faith to the end. At twenty-three, when he wrote *The Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency*, he was already an ingenious and knowledgeable political economist. And by 1733, when he was twenty-seven, he had not only formed a distinctive literary style, best represented by the maxims of Poor Richard, but had formulated for himself the basic rules of good writing: that the “Performance be smooth, clear, and short.”
Which makes this reviewer realize that, carried away by his enthusiasm, he may or may not have been smooth and clear, but he has certainly not been short. So he will hastily bring this review to a close by repeating that this first volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* is a great typographical performance and a monument of editorial skill and historical scholarship; yet what lingers finally in the mind is the brilliance and variety of the man to whom the monument is dedicated.

*Swarthmore College*  

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

David Lloyd, Colonial Lawmaker. By ROY N. LOKKEN. (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1959. xiv, 305 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

David Lloyd has long remained an enigma to students of Pennsylvania colonial history. Although it has been recognized that he was a vital factor in the colony for more than forty years, relatively little is known about him. Virtually none of his personal correspondence is available, and much which can be learned about him from public papers must be surmised. In view of these facts, Roy N. Lokken is to be congratulated for making a serious and scholarly effort to portray David Lloyd to the readers of this volume.

David Lloyd was born in 1656 in Manafon, Montgomeryshire, Wales, not far from Dolobran where his prominent kinsman Thomas Lloyd was born. He studied law in the offices of Sir George Jeffreys, the Welsh lawyer who later became chief justice of England and is remembered for the Bloody Assizes during the reign of James II. Apparently, Lloyd had worked in the London office of William Penn before coming to Pennsylvania as attorney general in 1686. He was accompanied by his wife Sarah, who died shortly after the birth of their only child, Thomas. Lloyd and his second wife, Grace Growdon, daughter of a prominent Bucks County Quaker and landowner, had no children. Lloyd lived in Philadelphia when he first arrived in the province, but moved to Chester and remained there until he died in 1731. Not a Friend when he came to the colony, he was received into membership in a few years.

Lloyd came to Pennsylvania to represent the proprietary interest, but as he became aware that there was frequently a conflict between the needs and desires of Penn on the one side, and of the colonists on the other, he drifted naturally to the side of the latter. He rose to leadership among the colonists during the period when Pennsylvania was controlled by Royal Governor Benjamin Fletcher. First as a member of the Assembly, and then as Speaker of that body, Lloyd fought vigorously to defend the rights of the settlers in 1693 and 1694. When the province returned to Penn's hands in 1694 (word reached Pennsylvania in 1695), Lloyd became a member of the Council and joined in the effort to substitute Markham's Frame for the Charter of 1683. In this same period, he was active in resisting the Board of Trade's efforts
to establish a vice-admiralty court in the Delaware Bay area. On one famous occasion he ridiculed the seal and effigy of the king, referring to him as a "little Babie." This indiscretion led him into serious difficulty with royal officials and with Penn.

During Penn's second visit to Pennsylvania, 1699 to 1701, Lloyd held no public office, but his knowledge of the law led the Assembly to pay him to draw up some laws for the government. In this period he wrote the famous judiciary act of 1701, and many of the other laws which were enacted. Once Penn returned to England, Lloyd returned to public life where he led the rural Friends, a somewhat antiproprietary group, against the town merchant element, frequently proprietary. On several occasions he overreached himself in his attacks on Penn, and was turned out of office by the voters. However, events played into his hands and he was returned to power. Having opposed the administrations of deputy governors John Evans and Charles Gookin, he embraced the next deputy governor, Sir William Keith, when it became apparent that he would ally himself with the Assembly against the Council and the Proprietors. Keith rewarded him by appointing him chief justice of the Supreme Court.

The reviewer fails to understand why virtually none of the material published since 1952 has been used in preparing this volume. Two examples of pertinent material will be mentioned. Frederick B. Tolles published a biography of James Logan in 1957 which would have complemented this volume, for it looks at the controversies between the two men from another viewpoint. Two parchment sheets of the Charter of Property of 1701 were discovered in 1957, and they, along with the rough draft of the first page, referred to by Lokken, were printed in Pennsylvania History in October, 1957.

There are several minor matters which might be questioned. For example, on page 11 the author locates the Center Square of Philadelphia on Logan Square. It may have been at Twelfth and Market, instead of Broad and Market, but it was not at Logan Square. On page 40 he refers to Penn's complications regarding his Irish estates in 1689 as the cause of his failure to come to Pennsylvania. Actually, it was the suspicion that Penn was a Jacobite after the Glorious Revolution. On page 128 Isaac Norris is called a ropemaker, to strengthen the idea that Lloyd's followers were artisans. In reality, Norris was an important merchant, who soon turned against Lloyd. There should be some questioning of the statement on page 115 that Penn asked the Quakers to raise £1,000 for him in the Friends' meetings. It is more likely that Penn hoped that Friends would see to it that he received one half of the £2,000 appropriated to him by the government. During this second visit, Friends were after Penn to give assistance to them.

In retrospect, the reviewer must conclude that the book is primarily a history of Pennsylvania during the period of Lloyd's participation in the government, in which Lloyd's part is described in detail. Frequently, Lloyd's share in the government is reported largely through the unfriendly
eyes of James Logan, or as Lloyd looked back in retrospect while writing one of his pamphlets, such as “The Speaker’s Vindication against James Logan’s Invectives . . . 1709.” In an effort to make Lloyd come to life, the author has sometimes used the name of Lloyd when he might better have used such terms as “the Assembly,” or “the antiproprietary party.”

There is very little personal material about Lloyd in the book, and what there is could be put together in one chapter. For example, no one knows the maiden name of his first wife, just when Lloyd became a Quaker, or when he moved from Philadelphia to Chester. Lokken has attempted to portray a Lloyd who was a warm, friendly person when not on the political battlefield, but can only find a few examples of this, such as the fact that he and his wife Grace cared for Thomas Chalkley’s wife, and took Jane Fenn into their home. Little can be found about the personal friends or the home life of the Lloyds, except the pitiful story of little Tommy’s death.

The author has dug deeply, has collected all that could be found about David Lloyd, and we should be grateful for that, even though he has not found the material from which he could have created a live, vibrant David Lloyd.

Temple University

Edwin B. Bronner

Braddock’s Defeat. Edited by Charles Hamilton. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. xxii, 134 p. Illustrations, index. $3.95.)

The present title, unfortunately, is a misnomer; rather than being a discussion of Braddock’s Defeat it is merely the publication, with minimal annotation, of three documents relating to the expedition. One of these, the so-called “Halkett’s Orderly Book,” from the collection of the Library of Congress, has long been known but never before published. The other two are titled “The Journal of Captain Robert Cholmley’s Batman” and “The Journal of a British Officer.” With respect to these latter two “journals,” one cannot but marvel, with the editor, “that for an entire century not a single unknown complete journal or diary of the Braddock campaign was uncovered, and then, within the space of less than a month, two such precious documents should come to light!”

“Halkett’s Orderly Book” is published with practically no editorial interference, the bulk of the annotation being reserved for comparison with the so-called “Braddock’s Orderly Book,” also in the Library of Congress collection, and previously published in 1878 as an appendix to Will H. Lowdermilk’s History of Cumberland, Maryland. For this portion of the book we should be grateful.

The “Journal of a British Officer,” comprising about eighteen pages of the text, is “... an Account of ye March of the Army from Wills’s Creek to within Six Miles of the French Fort, begining ye 10th of June & ending ye
The editor notes that this account was written “approximately ten days or three weeks after the battle.” There is nothing startlingly new or illuminating in this “journal”; however, for the statistically minded, there is a list of the officers involved in the engagement and their fates. This ends with the notation, “Total killed 385. Wounded 328. Not wounded 532.”

The editor has religiously compared this list with two other known lists, that in Sargent’s *History of Braddock’s Expedition*, and one in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (London, 1755). One disturbing feature of this “journal” is the totally unpredictable use of the forms “ye,” “ye:” and “the,” a feature all the more puzzling because, since the editor has assured us that “the texts printed here were transcribed with the utmost care, then painstakingly checked and rechecked and collated,” we can only assume that they appear thus in the manuscript.

Undoubtedly, the editor and the publishers are convinced that the “Journal of Captain Robert Cholmley’s Batman” is an authentic document. In spite of the editor’s statement that this “is the only known diary kept throughout the entire expedition in which entries were made at the time of the events described,” there are certain internal evidences which cast strong doubt on this statement. The one page of this “diary” which is photographically reproduced in the book would seem to show that, rather than being “penned in a clear, labored hand,” it actually is in a clear, free-flowing hand for that period. What we can see here of the manuscript does not suggest, even though the page shown is that describing the events of July 9, that the writing had been done under any particular pressure or strain. It is also evident that the writer was a more adept penman than he was a master of syntax and spelling. Further doubt is suggested by the fact that the conditions described in the entry for July 2 were conditions under which Dunbar was laboring forty or fifty miles to the rear, and of which the “journalist” could not have had any personal knowledge. Likewise, under date of July 6, he describes an incident which actually occurred near Fort Duquesne as though he had been present at its occurrence. The entries which raise the strongest doubts, however, are among those for July 9, the one day in which we are most particularly interested. On that day, even though the batman was with the advanced party under Lieutenant Colonel Gage, he describes only one crossing of the Monongahela (the second or lower crossing) and associates with it an incident which all other writers have associated with the first or upper crossing. Other doubtful statements were noted, but these should be sufficient to render the document at least suspect.

The annotation is inadequate and, in at least one case (p. xvi [note 14]), is misleading. The editor has used Sargent’s *History of Braddock’s Expedition* and Pargellis’ *Military Affairs in North America*, but there is nothing to indicate that he has availed himself of the works of Gipson, Freeman, or McCardell in amplifying the text. The illustrations are more decorative than illustrative, and the one map, although possibly adequate in Sargent’s day, is totally unacceptable by modern standards.
The question of the authenticity of the two "journals" published here may be entirely academic. The fact remains that their availability adds virtually nothing to our knowledge of Braddock's campaign. Neither do they raise or solve any grave controversial issues. It must be admitted, however, that any collection of material on the American colonial period with any pretension of completeness can ill-afford to be without this little book, if only for its inclusion of "Halkett's Orderly Book."


Iroquois chief, British Indian superintendent, successful soldier, baronet, power in New York politics, Sir William Johnson rivaled Franklin as colonial America's most influential citizen. Britain was fortunate to have such a man at her disposal. And one may add that Johnson has been fortunate in his recent biographer, James Thomas Flexner, who only a few years ago gave us a fine study of Benedict Arnold's treason. Removing the veil of myth and legend, making full use of the voluminous Johnson papers, Mr. Flexner presents an intimate portrait of this unusual man, written with grace, charm, and scholarly precision.

From his forest mansion in the Mohawk Valley Johnson governed a vast landed estate on which he settled scores of tenants, proved himself a benevolent landlord, and experimented in the latest agricultural techniques. There, too, he entertained Indian chiefs and royal officials, and fathered numerous white and half-breed children. Faults he had, especially by twentieth-century moral standards, but he was a great-hearted man, large in many of his views, and loyal to his Indian friends who knew him as Warraghiyagey.

Indeed, Johnson's treatment of the Iroquois (Six Nations) may well be the key to his rise in the world. Beginning as a fur trader, he won their respect by honesty and fair dealing—and thereby acquired a virtual monopoly on the New York fur business. Because of his remarkable influence among the Iroquois, he was called upon in both King George's and the Seven Years' wars to bring these tribesmen to the side of Britain or, in any event, to obtain their neutrality—a formidable assignment. In fact, Johnson's problems as a diplomat seem as frustrating as those of today's statesman seeking a breakthrough in the Cold War—a London government slow to face realities of the frontier, a host of New York politicians and merchants offending the Six Nations, and an Iroquois League seeing itself a pawn in a European power struggle for the interior of North America. In dealing with this phase of Johnson's public career Mr. Flexner is at his best. The Indians were not, the author points out, the fickle, wayward men that...
are so often portrayed. Instead, they maneuvered as they did to ensure their independence from English as well as French domination. Here, too, Johnson was at his best. Indefatigable, he journeyed repeatedly to tribal council fires, defending British aims and policies or promising to work for new ones. That Johnson achieved a great measure of success is well known. That most scholars will agree to his claim that Canada would not have fallen to Britain without his efforts is debatable, although Mr. Flexner seems inclined to accept it. At any rate, his contributions, which include the defeat of Baron Dieskau and the capture of Fort Niagara, were of the first magnitude.

If the Englishman Johnson had at times felt compelled to pursue policies to the Indians' disadvantage, he devoted himself unstintingly to their welfare in the postwar period. Noteworthy was his opposition to compulsory Europeanizing of the Indians, believing instead that such changes should come through a slow evolution. Had America possessed men with the wisdom and understanding of Johnson to manage her Indian affairs in the nineteenth century, some of the most sordid stains on our national record might never have appeared.

There is little to criticize in this thorough, workmanlike volume. Of course, historians may differ with some of Mr. Flexner's views, for Johnson's activities involved him in some of the great and controversial events of the eighteenth century, but the difference will be largely that of degree. Yet one could wish that Mr. Flexner had told us more about Sir William's part in bringing about the Proclamation of 1763, and more about the regular workings of the office of Indian superintendent. It is to be hoped that Mr. Flexner will at a future time present us still other volumes on the colonial period, volumes the equal of Mohawk Baronet.

Longwood College

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

Wolfe at Quebec. By CHRISTOPHER HIBBERT. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1959. x, 194 p. Maps, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

The author offers this book as "one of entertainment for the general reader," and it meets the requirement very well. Its first thirty pages cover Wolfe's life and career up to 1759 quite competently, and briefly outline the background of the struggle between France and Britain in North America. The major portion of the book concerns itself with the siege of Quebec and gives an excellent picture of the entire operation. The relations between Wolfe and his brigadiers is gone into at some length. Wolfe must have been a very difficult man to serve under, particularly in the summer of 1759 when the siege of Quebec had come to a practical standstill and his mental and physical condition was at a very low ebb.
The author states that he has consulted various original sources which were not available when previous accounts of the siege were written, and he believes that the story as he tells it is an unfamiliar one, particularly so in his portrait of Wolfe. Your reviewer feels that he cannot agree, and finds little if anything in the book not already available in Knox, Doughty, Willson, Gipson, and Wolfe's own letters. A most impressive bibliography of six pages is included, but practically all the material used by Mr. Hibbert could be found in these five works. The only new point that he brings out in his analysis of Wolfe's character is a suggestion of latent homosexualism, for which one cannot but wonder if there is sufficient justification.

The map showing the general theater of the war could be much improved, as could that of the river above Quebec. In attempting to follow an action on a map it is most disconcerting to look for a place mentioned and find an arrow showing that it is off the map somewhere to the left. In this case it is particularly so because time and space and the movements of the British warships in the river above Quebec were of the greatest importance in diverting and holding upstream the large force commanded by Bougainville.

Your reviewer believes that the author is most unfair to Bougainville. One cannot help but infer from this book that the battle of the Plains of Abraham was almost certainly lost because Bougainville spent the night with the wife of one of Bigot's clique at Jacques Cartier (off the map to the left!) and was not at his headquarters. He had been sent upstream with some 2,000 men to keep a constant watch on the continually shifting British fleet and to prevent any landings above Quebec. On the night before the battle the British vessels had been upstream almost as far as Jacques Cartier, and an attempt at landing might have been expected anywhere between there and Quebec. It was only just before seven in the morning that Vaudreuil wrote Bougainville that the British had landed and were on the Plains of Abraham, and he gave no orders to return toward Quebec. At that time, there was no certainty that the Anse de Foulon landing was not merely a diversion. Bougainville received the letter, decided to move toward Quebec, gathered his troops together and marched some six miles to the vicinity of the Plains of Abraham, arriving there a little after eleven o'clock. Anyone who has dealt with military logistics in horse-drawn days certainly will not criticize an operation in which a messenger leaves at seven, goes about eight miles around an enemy force, delivers a message to a commander, who must make his decision, assemble his men, put them on the road, march six miles, and arrive at his destination at eleven, or four hours after the initial notification was sent.

To summarize, this is an excellent, pleasant, and well-written story of Wolfe and Quebec suitable for the general reader, but offering little if anything to the scholar.

*Fort Ticonderoga*  
Edward P. Hamilton

William L. Marcy, three times governor of New York, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State, had to wait a century for a biographer, and one wonders why. He left a very voluminous correspondence, as well as a mass of official records. Also, he was a salty writer, with a dry humor that makes him a person of interest as well as importance. He is a biographical subject very pleasant to live with.

He was born in a Massachusetts village, went to Brown University, and moved over the border to Troy, New York. Here he started to practice law, but it was not long before he was in politics; in fact, we may say he was never out of politics, and his practice of law was almost negligible. In politics, he was first of all one of the organizers of one of the oldest political machines in the country.

The history of political partisanship began in the state of New York when opponents of Governor George Clinton sought to stop his constant re-election. At length, under John Jay they succeeded, but in the process the Clintonians and Jayites had become the New York sections of the Republicans and Federalists. In due time, the Republican party split into two factions. One of these was called the Bucktails and followed the lead of Martin Van Buren. He associated with himself a group of shrewd leaders who were to be known as the Albany Regency, one of whom was Marcy. He and his associates had no equals as practical, efficient, and relentless political martinets. They ruled New York State in the 1820's and 1830's with an iron hand. Marcy was referring to one of their principal instruments when he made his most famous remark, "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy."

But Marcy was more than a political spoilsman and machine operator; he had elements of statesmanship. His management of the two cabinet offices under Polk and Pierce attest to that. Under the first, he had to direct the army during the Mexican War, and under the second, he had to twist the British lion's tail and advance the Manifest Destiny of Young America. His great misfortune was the fact that he was holding office and managing political organization at a time when his party was in the process of breaking up and precipitating a civil war. His shrewdness and his real capacity for statesmanship were not enough to arrest this destruction, and his reputation collapsed with the disruption of the party he had done so much to create.

This is a study in machine politics and diplomacy, as well as a biography of a man almost lost to history. Its author makes excellent use of ample materials; few men have left a better and more complete collection of sources. Mr. Spencer is a careful student, a good writer, and a man of good judgment, who is not carried away by his subject. Mr. Marcy has reason to
be grateful to him. Mr. Spencer's biographical services were worth waiting for, even for a century.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS


To understand our American civilization in depth we need to know far more than we now do about the relations between the folk life of the country and its high culture. Gradually works which deal with this matter are being supplied, not, unfortunately, by the anthropologists who ought to desert their South Sea Islands for a time and help out. Literary historians have been forced to take on the job. Constance Rourke led the way with _The Roots of American Culture_. Henry Nash Smith explored method as well as substance in his _Virgin Land. The American West as Symbol and Myth_. John William Ward has shown us what rich results the study of a popular national hero can yield, in his _Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age_. Professor Bode's book joins this procession.

His aims are threefold: to present a picture of the popular fine arts in the 1840's and 1850's; to try "to search out, assemble, and display the most prominent varieties of works in print"; and to suggest "how the American character may have revealed itself through its cultural preferences." His main concern was "mass culture rather than high culture."

Before he moves into his examination of this "pivotal period," Professor Bode pauses briefly to present his conclusions. This work is not, he explains, a murder mystery "with a gory riddle to be answered only at the end." He finds "four principal complexes (or clusters) of qualities" in the popular culture of this period. The first is patriotism. The second has aggressiveness as its core, with optimism and restlessness allied with it. The third complex is religious: the Bible's supremacy, religiosity, Neopuritanism and humanitarianism. The final complex "for want of a better word must be called love." This was an age of the softer emotions which provided "an offset for our aggressiveness and materialism."

Having hustled his conclusions off the stage (in five pages), Professor Bode now rolls up the curtain on the American drama of the period and begins his assessment of the popular arts, moving from drama to music, to architecture, to painting, to sculpture, to literature, ending, in chapter 17, with the "rampant press."

His presentation is lively. Though some of this ground has been covered in Pattee's _The Feminine Fifties_ and Branch's _The Sentimental Years, 1830–1860_, many of the facts are new. From any angle of vision this is a fascinat-
ing period, even though one may think the author overstates the case in asserting that when the forties began the United States was a simple nation and a complex one when the fifties ended.

A problem which might have given Professor Bode some concern did not, so far as I can see, bother him at all. The question is this: when in America do we leave the area of popular culture and enter the realm of high culture? There are many excellent artists discussed in this book whose work Professor Bode apparently treats merely as manifestations of popular culture; to name a few, the artists Bingham and Kinsett; Prescott, the historian; Harriet Beecher Stowe, the novelist; the architect Strickland. Should they be condemned to this galère?

Has not Professor Bode missed a salient issue here? Is it not true that popular taste in America in general tends to improve? Is there not a constant desire to know the best and to have the best? Middle-class England will keep the aspidistra flying through flood and fire. If Life or a Macy's ad declares it a vulgar plant and that African violets are culturally to be preferred, would not every house on Main Street have to have African violets?

Professor Bode's evidence, page after page, proves this upward striving. True, audiences thrilled to Jenny Lind's impossible high notes, but they also were culturally titillated by her rendition of "Casta Diva." If the subscribers to the American Art Union preferred the gigantic canvases of Leutze, they also enjoyed, on balance, the works of Durand and Cole, and bought them. What we need to know is why Americans often choose the best. Who or what persuades them to do this? And are they comfortable or uneasy with their choice?

Henry James understood this American trait (for I believe it is a trait) as early as 1877 when he wrote The American. His Christopher Newman has made his pile. He is the American New Man, self-made in the Civil War as well as in finance. He is now in Europe ready to begin his third career—in culture. Is he really in earnest? "Of course I'm in earnest. Didn't I say I wanted the best? I know the best can't be had for mere money, but I'm willing to take a good deal of trouble."

Princeton University

WILLARD THORP


In keeping with the scope and tone of his four previous volumes, which described the stresses and strains of the Union in the decade and a half before April 12, 1861, Nevins tells in this book how a totally unprepared nation "improvised" for war. Beginning his account with the crisis facing
Lincoln at his inauguration, he describes the frantic efforts of the North and South to arm themselves after Fort Sumter; the struggle between them for the border areas; the greater exertions of the North to organize for war following defeat at Bull Run; and the frustrations, anger, and despair occasioned by failure in Missouri, General George B. McClellan’s shortcomings, and the controversy between Republican radicals and conservatives over war objectives. While telling the tale of the North’s misfortunes, Nevins makes an assessment of Northern leadership, Northern economy and society, and Northern armaments. The book ends with the dismissal of Simon Cameron and the appointment of Edwin Stanton in January, 1862, for the reason that this act was the “first great decided step, showing real statesmanship, which Lincoln had taken in front of the embattled nation” (p. 413).

The main purpose of this volume and of those to follow is to show the more lasting impressions of the war upon “national character.” Since one of the strongest influences, the idea of a national union, finally prevailed, Nevins has emphasized the Northern side of the struggle while deliberately forgoing a close look at the Confederacy. For similar reasons, he has concentrated upon political, administrative, economic, and social history at the cost of military history. He pictures the struggle as a people’s war and the nation as a sprawling giant, lacking the complex social and economic structure needed for a total war effort. With the exception of transportation and a few industries, American business was geared purely for local markets. No national business or professional organizations existed to furnish the government with trained personnel for administrative posts.

The book goes over familiar ground, but in mentioning well-known persons, places, and events it often offers new evidence, fresh insights, or different perspectives. Stale interpretations and impressions receive proper airing, while some revisionist views become suspect. Contrary to what some writers maintain in recent studies, it is Nevins’ opinion that McClellan had himself to blame for his difficulties and failures more than leaders in Congress or the administration. Many scholars would agree with this estimate of McClellan, but they might be surprised by the Nevins version of events in Missouri. According to traditional accounts, Missouri would have fallen to the Secessionists but for the timely and heroic measures taken by Nathaniel S. Lyon and Frank P. Blair. After a careful examination of the situation there, Nevins concludes that the moves made by Lyon and Blair were ill-tempered and ill-considered, and that instead of meeting an emergency they created one and precipitated civil war in Missouri, which could have been avoided. As for one of the prominent figures in Missouri affairs at this time, General John C. Frémont, Nevins feels that for all his faults and blunders, serious though they may have been, if Frémont had had proper military support from Washington and freedom from political interference by the Blair brothers, Frank and Montgomery, he might have succeeded as commander of the Western Department. One result of this inter-
pretation is to rehabilitate to some extent Frémont's blasted reputation as a Civil War general.

The writing of this book is not objective, certainly not in the Henry Adams sense, but Nevins is fair in his treatment of controversial subjects. Although the reader may disagree with him, Nevins cannot be accused of not weighing the evidence and seeing the other side of the story. There are no doubts about his basic assumptions and attitudes, which are implicit and explicit in his writing. Sometimes his comments are unnecessary and hence gratuitous; he might well have let the reader judge for himself. With these reservations, this is an excellent book, for it shows breadth of understanding, honest research, and original thinking. There are full citations and footnotes, which the scholar can follow easily, and an extensive bibliography of printed materials. By all means, this volume should be in the library of every serious student of the Civil War.

Lafayette College


None of this series of five volumes on Lincoln Finds a General is designed primarily for the general reader, though he may profit substantially in knowledge and understanding of the War in the West from a careful reading of them. In this final volume, made so because of the untimely death of the author, as in the previous volumes, there is detailed discussion of operations in areas which are usually mentioned only briefly, if at all.

In chapter IV, for example, is an account of the situation at Mobile and in Texas before and after the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, but there is no brief summary of what took place in the late summer and fall of 1863. Also, the account in chapter V concerning Schofield's operations in Missouri and Arkansas is told in greater detail than usual and as part of the whole picture of the War in the West in 1863. One hundred pages of this volume are given over to a detailed discussion of the aftermath of the battle of Stone's River and of Rosecrans' direction of the maneuvers that forced Bragg and his army out of Tennessee and into northern Georgia. The final chapter on the battle of Chickamauga, which resulted in the defeat of Rosecrans and the retirement of the Union army into Chattanooga, prepares the way for the coming of Grant.

Grant, however, hardly appears in this final volume. In a twelve-page appendix and in a number of places in the text the author expresses his admiration for Halleck and a belief in his foresight and ability as an adviser to Lincoln and his generals. Grant thought him "a man of gigantic intellect
and well studied in the profession of arms” (p. 282). Two final chapters for this volume, “dictated in outline” but not written, would have considered Grant’s assumption of command at Chattanooga, the raising of the siege of that city, the battles on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, the operations about Knoxville, and Grant’s call to Washington and his assignment to command the armies of the United States. Lincoln had found a general who could be depended upon to “fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.” Grant planned the strategy and the operations that led the Union armies to final victory.

All five volumes of *Lincoln and His Generals* are of the same general pattern. Each of them is detailed in its examination of operations and personalities, some of them important, more not so important but given equal or more space. All of them are based almost exclusively on the *Official Records*, usually without question or comment. All of them are told exclusively from the Northern viewpoint, with little discussion of the Confederate leaders and their problems in meeting Northern maneuver and attack.

As with the previous volumes, the proofreading leaves much to be desired. There are too many minor errors of names, dates, and statements of fact. In other cases, because of almost sole reliance on the *Official Records*, incorrect, incomplete, or questionable statements are made. For example, on page 142, the account of Rosecrans’ protest at the delay in his promotion to the rank of major general is only partially correct and does not explain the reasons for the delay. On page 166 it is stated, without qualification, that President Davis was present at General John H. Morgan’s wedding in Murfreesboro on December 14, 1862, which, it is stated, took place in the “courthouse.” There is no certainty that Davis was present; the wedding took place in the bride’s home.

There is a six-page bibliography, an index, and a number of illustrations and useful maps. There are ninety-six pages of footnotes, almost exclusively from the *Official Records*. It would be interesting to know if the author left in manuscript form any critical estimate of Grant as a military leader and strategist. If there is such an account, it could well have been included as an appendix.

*Locust Valley, N. Y.*

*Thomas Robson Hay*

*Thaddeus Stevens, Scourge of the South.* By *Fawn M. Brodie*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1959. 448 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

Few individuals in American history provide such a challenging mystery as does Old Thad Stevens. Fawn Brodie, who wrote an excellent biography of another mysterious character, *Joseph Smith: No Man Knows My History*, has attempted a more difficult analysis in the biography of Stevens, but was well aware of the problems presented by the life of this strange personality.
with the wig and the clubfoot. Many of Stevens' papers were destroyed at his death, but the author has carried out comprehensive research into both familiar and hitherto unused material.

The author analyzes in some detail the problem which has concerned everyone in connection with Stevens—the question of whether his twisted clubfoot produced an inferiority complex which twisted his relations with his fellow men to such an extent that he was always ready to attack the representatives of privilege or to defend the underdog. Fortunately, this is not a case study of childhood frustrations, and Mrs. Brodie only cautiously suggests that his relations with his family, his handicap, and neighborhood gossip may have influenced "his extraordinary capacity for hatred."

Young Thad, second crippled child to have been sired by a shiftless father, was brought up by his mother in an atmosphere that often suggested that a devil's curse had been placed on the family. Having been a minority of one cripple in any normal group during his youth, he later joined minority groups with violent partisanship, defending Indians, Mormons, Jews, Chinese and Negroes with rabid determination until the day of his death. Additional bitterness was added to his early days as a lawyer in Gettysburg by rumors charging him with murder and miscegenation, and his hostility toward the Masons may have developed from this incident.

These explanations for the vindictive actions of Stevens in later years are not new, but the author has treated the problem with careful detail and scholarly detachment, and, having suggested these influences, ceases to belabor the point in her analysis of his later career.

Mrs. Lydia Smith, the mulatto housekeeper who worked for him from the time he was fifty-six until his death, is discussed in a separate chapter because of the persistence of the juicy rumor, initiated by Democratic newspapers and later broadcast by Dixon's *The Clansman* and by "The Birth of a Nation," that he lived "in open adultery with a mulatto woman whom he seduced." Since no one has ever presented any proof and since antebellum politics was rife with similar slanders, the charge is still in the realm of speculation. The author implies that the chief effect of the rumors may have been to bar Stevens from higher political offices for which he might have been eligible. The rumors trapped Stevens in exactly the behavior he abominated in the Southern aristocrat, and this the Southern editors never let him forget.

The major part of the biography is devoted to Stevens' political career during the war years and reconstruction, where he is pictured as agreeing in general with Lincoln's plans, but impatient with his temporizing procedures. There had to be a complete and thorough program for personal liberty, suffrage, education and land, approved and adopted, before Southern states could be restored to the Union, and Negro suffrage was necessary to accomplish this utopia.

The time is coming when Stevens will be judged less harshly than in the past. Apparently believing that "the shock troops of reform are almost
necessarily captained . . . by men of explosive temperment and rude manners,” the author concludes that his ruthlessness and fire brought him a far wider audience than mildness might have won, and that without him, the Negro might well have had no champion.

This is a fine biography, accompanied by excellent scholarship and careful judgment, which could come very close to being characterized as “definitive,” but there will always be some mystery and speculation and controversy about the motives of this violent, cynical old fighter. One can almost imagine the ghost of Old Thad limping to a bookstall in Lancaster, leafing through pages with a sardonic sneer and a dark scowl, and snarling wryly, “Well, No Man Knows My History either, but this woman has come mighty close!”

_Franklin and Marshall College_  
_Frederic Shriver Klein_


To many, “woman suffrage” connotes wild-eyed, undignified antics of unsexed women, or, at the very least, ridiculous women. Of course, many of those opposed to equal suffrage willingly fostered such ideas. However, Miss Flexner points out clearly that the militant phase of the woman suffrage movement was but a relatively brief final stage in the long story of women’s battle to achieve suffrage.

The author has written a valuable chronological story of the woman’s rights movement from the early settlements in Virginia to the passage and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. It is a story of dedicated women, both white and Negro—and of men convinced of women’s capabilities—who strove to advance their educational, legal, and working rights as well as their right to vote. Especially valuable are the short pithy summaries of general history that mark out the background in which these activities were conducted. Not only are the contributions of such well-known figures as the Grimkes, Susan B. Anthony, and Carrie Chapman Catt related, but those of a host of lesser women whose activities were more prosaic.

The struggle has been divided into three parts, the years prior to the Civil War, from the Civil War to the turn of the century, and the twentieth century. After a brief explanation of the subordinate legal position of the colonial woman, the author traces Anne Hutchinson’s challenge to the Puritan theocracy, the activities of a few Revolutionary heroines in battle and on the home front, and the position of the Negro woman, who, though in bondage, ruled her family. The early efforts of such women as Emma Willard and Mary Lyon to provide first-rate education for girls, and of
Prudence Crandall, who had the audacity to try to teach Negroes, are noted. The beginnings of organization came in the establishment of abolition societies, where women first learned to organize, and in the largely fruitless efforts of mill hands to improve their working conditions. Some improvements in legal rights, such as the right to hold property, came gradually by state action. The Seneca Falls Convention is treated as the culmination of the embryonic efforts of earlier years. Increasing momentum brought more rights conventions and more workers for the cause, including the famous Susan Anthony. The early movement was concerned more with control of property, earnings, divorce, opportunity for education, and the like; it showed little interest in suffrage.

The second part of the book narrates women's wartime services, the continuing struggle for adequate colleges, the valiant efforts of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and others for professional recognition and status, and sporadic efforts at organization among working women. Women's organizations sprang up, especially the temperance leagues, girls' clubs, and consumers' leagues, which sought to influence public opinion concerning stores, working conditions in factories, and government responsibility for establishing enlightened standards. Sparked by the Negro suffrage amendment, the movement for a federal woman suffrage amendment developed and fought constantly against the philosophy that women should not hold office or vote because they could not. Two factions arose, one concentrating on obtaining the franchise within the states, and the other, that of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, continuing to regard woman's rights as a broad cause; the two groups merged in 1890. Late in the century, the suffrage movement turned conservative, and its leadership became more professional. The first suffrage victories came in a few western states, but heart-breaking rebuffs were meted out both by Congress and the states in subsequent years.

In the early twentieth century, unions composed largely of women developed, and the Women's Trade Union League was organized. To working women, equality was inextricably tied up with better working conditions, and their participation in the suffrage movement was relatively small. After the Bull Moosers included a suffrage plank in their platform (Miss Flexner challenges the claim that this made the issue one of national political significance) a spectacular campaign for woman suffrage ensued, enlivened by parades, electioneering for members of Congress, lobbying, picketing, and hunger strikes. Suffrage leadership had passed to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a genius for organization and discipline, who assumed leadership of the National Suffrage Association. She brought order out of chaos, developed a plan of action to win Presidential and Congressional support, and eventually led her followers to success—the passage and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.

A final, provocative chapter notes that "the millenium has not arrived, but neither has the country's social fabric been destroyed." Miss Flexner points out clearly the limitations on women's achievements. There are few
Congresswomen, cabinet members, diplomats, mayors, or governors. Mrs. Catt’s challenge to get through the “locked Door” to the political machine, where the real decisions are made on issues and candidates, is still a challenge. There are relatively few women in higher professional, business, and trade-union positions; Negro women still are concentrated in the lowest paid occupations. “Whatever its hazards, it is doubtful if the world which women face today can appear to them any more hostile or bewildering than that which confronted the early nineteenth century woman with aspirations.”

The research for this book has been scholarly and meticulous, the presentation very readable. The multitudinous footnotes and references are contained in a separate section at the back of the book, available for those interested in documentation and further information, but not interfering with or cluttering the narrative for the casual reader.

The author makes no claim to having written a definitive work, and frequently points out fields for future research. Earlier beliefs and emphases are challenged, such as the overattention placed on the merits of picketing to the exclusion of the fact that the wartime picketers were the earliest victims of the abrogation of civil liberties in wartime. Probably the greatest drawback, and that is not the fault of the author, is the inclusion of so many names of women who participated in the battle for rights in various parts of the country. At times, the forest is somewhat obscured by the trees; but, without the trees, there can be no forest. Also, in the attempt to maintain chronology, in the middle period, there is some rather confusing transition from trade-union activity to suffrage and back again to trade-unions and suffrage.

The book is a valuable addition to the growing but still inadequate body of literature on women’s role in history. It has particular merit in synthesizing rights activities in various fields, and over the long sweep of American history.

Temple University
Frances May Manges


In this engaging book Mr. Whitehill has created a new kind of social history and given us a superb model for more of it. Though there are 116 illustrations in 244 pages of text, this is not an iconography of Boston in the sense of I. N. Phelps Stokes’s study of Manhattan. It is not the familiar kind of urban history, nor is it a town planning account, nor a guide book; and though it makes use of antiquarian studies and sociological monographs, it is neither of these. It is the story of the changing physical appearance of Boston during three hundred and thirty years, and the social forces which
brought these changes about; and it is a vivid, dramatic story told by a skillful and knowledgeable raconteur as he takes you by the arm and conducts you on an informal but systematic walking expedition through the city which he deeply loves. The result is a new kind of window flung open to the American panorama.

The subjects of this history are Boston's natural and man-made land areas; the original streams, hills, points, and coves, and what became of them; the appearance, transformation, and disappearance of those particular buildings, building developments, residential sections, streets, squares, parks, docks, dams, bridges, and railway lines that have been the physical body of the life that is Boston. The story is full of such absorbing major themes as Charles Bulfinch's impact on the city's architecture, cutting down the hills to fill up the Mill Pond, filling in and developing the Back Bay, the flight from the South End, and the westward movement through the Muddy River flats and across the Charles River. A useful appendix lists forty-seven surviving historical sites and monuments erected between 1631 and 1909.

Topographical changes are deftly described in relation to the forces and individuals bringing them about. Fires loom large in this list; so also do population shifts which prompt the relocation and enlargement of churches and public buildings; an expanding city's needs for wharfing, harbor defense, sanitation, communication; wars, immigration, urban finance; the prospects of profit in real estate developments, the tides of taste in architecture and residential sections, the motor car which brings the country within reach, and the rising cost of domestic servants. With equal succinctness are mentioned the moving spirits who responded to and helped direct these social forces: the civic leaders, the architects, the town planners, the contractors, and the influential homeowners who set building trends.

Dr. Whitehill's familiarity with the most dependable sources of information about Boston is authoritative. Happily, he has passed on to the reader useful comments on the most important of these in both text and chapter notes. The text is at all times fortified by an expert and discriminating use of the great number of Boston drawings, prints, photographs, and especially maps located at the Athenaeum and elsewhere. It takes thirteen pages to list, with handy descriptive notes, the pictures and maps splendidly reproduced for this volume by Meriden Gravure. The style is simple, clear, forthright; more important, it conveys much of the author's down-to-earth, salty, highly personal manner of speech. This is at least partly due to the fact that the book is based on the eight Lowell Lectures delivered in the spring of 1958 and here printed "almost without change." A special warmth and color are generated by the author's deep affection for his subject. In these pages, indeed, Boston becomes something breathing, growing, adjusting, knowing its hours of shame and pride, always intensely alive.

The fact is, that along with everything else, Dr. Whitehill has given us a tract for the times on the matter of urban planning. He is severe in his
censure of “rapacious real estate developers and greedy deacons,” “haphazard, nondescript, unrelated business buildings”; of indulgence in “the tourist-trade architectural style . . . best . . . described as ‘Madison Avenue Colonial’”; of the tendency to ignore historic continuity, or a city’s individuality. The book ends on a note of counsel and hope:

I have no desire to see a slavish antiquarianism in new construction, and no inclination to see any part of Boston as another Williamsburg. . . . Boston still retains a considerable degree of its own flavor and color. It would be a pity to let this be submerged in an “organization man’s” impermanent and glittering mediocrity, when there is still time to build soundly upon existing strengths.

It would be hard to imagine a better way to educate Americans to the support of such a position than to encourage them to know their cities in the spirit of this history.

Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum

E. McClung Fleming


Fiske Kimball went through life like a bull in a china shop, bellowed at people who, instead of being insulted, were charmed by his brutal honesty and gave money and works of art liberally to develop the great museum on Fairmount. George Roberts, a pillar of old Philadelphia, and Mary, his wife, were in a position to watch Fiske Kimball’s activities from the inside, and have told the story both of his triumphs and his disappointments in a forthright but impartial manner. They understood thoroughly this dynamic and often ruthless man who stalked collectors like a big game hunter, and they have recounted each episode in such a vivid manner that the reader, too, joins eagerly in the chase.

Fiske Kimball early in his career established himself as a noted historian of American architecture and was appointed chairman of the restoration committee for Monticello by the Thomas Jefferson Foundation. Academic circles were not charmed, however, by Kimball’s gaucheries, but John McIlhenny of Philadelphia sensed that behind his brusque façade lay a driving force, a force that was needed to develop the new museum then in the process of building on Fairmount to replace old Memorial Hall, a relic of the Centennial of 1876. As a result, Kimball went to Philadelphia in the fall of 1925 as acting director, only to have a head-on collision with Dr. Samuel Woodhouse, a dilettante doctor who had been acting director. Fortunately, under the new president of the board, Eli Price, Woodhouse lost favor and soon resigned, leaving Kimball a free hand.

He refurbished Memorial Hall, which had still to be used until the new building was ready, held a memorial exhibition for Joseph Pennell and
Mary Cassatt, and staged a gala evening opening. Philadelphia decided that the museum was both fashionable and fun. From then on, Fiske Kimball had the support he needed.

At last, in January, 1928, sixteen galleries in the new building were ready to open. Failing to borrow either Barnes or Widener pictures, they nevertheless succeeded in obtaining the loan of seventy pictures from the Johnson Collection, as well as others from Carroll Tyson, the McFaddens, and the Thomas B. Clarke Collection. A series of exclusive openings were held, carefully calculated to flatter prospective donors. Such tactics paid off well, if not successfully in every case. Mrs. Horace Harding gave a great Beauvais tapestry; a gentle old lady, Elizabeth Malcolm Bowman, was wheedled into giving armor and a medieval setting for it.

During the depression the museum fell on hard days; the city cut its appropriation from $168,000 to $100,000. Staff members went elsewhere, and the museum was open only four days a week.

A great coup was to get the John G. Johnson Collection transferred to the museum. Containing the Van Eyck "St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata," the van der Weyden diptych, and other fine early pictures, its location in the overcrowded Johnson house at 510 South Broad Street was impractical. The collection remains at the museum on "temporary loan."

One of the great plums that Kimball thought was in his hands was the Peter A. B. Widener Collection. Despite great hopes, the collection went to the National Gallery in Washington and Congress paid the tax. The Lessing Rosenwald Collection likewise went to the National Gallery instead of to Philadelphia. Kimball's disappointment was considerably alleviated by his success in obtaining the Eugene Gallatin Collection known as the Museum of Living Art. Containing twenty-three Picassos, including the famous "Three Musicians," as well as paintings by Klee, Gris, Léger and Miro, this was a great coup for Philadelphia.

A portion of the Chester Dale Collection came to the museum on loan, only to be taken away to Washington. Likewise, an important selection of the Alfred Stieglitz Collection was lent, but after the lender's death only a few Doves, Hartleys, and Marins remained permanently.

Another plum was lost when the Edward T. Stotesbury Collection, so hopefully expected as a gift to the Philadelphia Museum, was sold at auction. Fiske Kimball's greatest triumph was in obtaining, after long negotiations, the entire Walter Arensberg Collection, most noted for the Brancusi sculpture and the Marcel Duchamp "Nude Descending a Staircase."

In later years, Fiske Kimball began to lose his mind, had to resign, and died in Munich during a tragic last trip abroad. The Robertses have recounted brilliantly the life of this man who was one of the great figures in the American museum world.

*Art Institute of Chicago*        Frederick A. Sweet

Anthropological studies under the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania have come a long way in the past two decades, having emerged from state-supported amateurism to researches of professional grade in prehistory and ethnology. This development is largely attributable to the editors of the present colloquium on the aboriginal lords of Pennsylvania’s great river valley. These Iroquoian-speaking villagers and traders left on the broad terraces of the lower valley even richer remains than New York can boast of their famous northern cousins, the Iroquois proper, with whom “they waged continual warfare.” It is encouraging to read these pages, if only to learn that after generations of vandalism by well-intentioned but misguided pot-hunters the record is not entirely lost to history. Though the editors fashionably profess to be no longer concerned as prehistorians with attributing archaeological remains to the forebears of known historic tribes, in this case Algonkian or Iroquoian-speaking peoples, they, nevertheless, are pleased to concede this case by default to the latter.

The present miscellany includes discussions of Susquehannock history and prehistory from various viewpoints, making no pretense at complete coverage. This reviewer hopes that a comprehensive monograph on the Susquehannocks will be forthcoming from Commonwealth anthropologists and historians, for it is eagerly awaited by students of adjacent areas. But this is a noble beginning.

A. K. Guthe of Rochester reviews current trends in the archaeology of the Northeast, addressing himself mainly to how the work is being organized and accomplished, rather than posing scientific problems and discussing the present state of our knowledge in terms of available data. The two most challenging papers are those of historian William A. Hunter and anthropologist John Witthoft, of the Pennsylvania Commission, who divide recorded history and prehistory between them. These wide-ranging discussions are followed by topical treatments of pottery (Kinsey), a valuable systematic analysis with perception of the influence of the brass kettle on change of style; of shaft polishers (Witthoft again), of Kaolin pipes (Omwake); and two site reports: a cemetery (Witthoft, Kinsey, and Holzinger), and the Strickler site (Futer); closing with reminiscences of a grave digger (Fenstermaker).

Readers of a historical magazine may find greatest satisfaction in the remarks of Hunter limiting the field of history to written records and his strictures on the fuzzy field of “ethnohistory,” that shatter belt between orthodox disciplines in which “there is little to be gained by labeling as an ethnohistorian, any ethnologist who thinks he can write history, or any historian who happens to take a special interest in Indians” (p. 9). There is
more to it. Its "distinctive features are two: First, it attempts to correlate data supplied by historical, ethnological, archaeological, and other research; second, it attempts—as history alone cannot—to relate Indian history to the Indian's own background." The real point of ethnohistory, however, has not been made; it is the adaptation into the historian's kit of tools—into historical criticism—of ethnological concepts and the tests of the validity of cultural data. From his own vantage point, Hunter identifies the principle of a unifying theme—that the Susquehannocks were primarily traders, citing George Hunt's *The Wars of the Iroquois* (Madison, Wis., 1940) as his model. He then proceeds to show how some sense can be made of their history. At the time Hunt's book appeared, I indicated the limitations of his approach and the dangers of an eggs-in-one-basket theory of economic determinism to explain the tortuous political history of Indians in contact with whites (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 42, pp. 662–664); nevertheless, as Professor Alexander Lesser, the distinguished anthropologist, remarked of Hunt's book, "How well off we would be if every people were represented by such an important mistake!"

And from Witthoft's presentation of a portion of the thesis for the in situ development of this portion of Iroquois culture, to which "ancient language relationships cannot give us a key," this reviewer is at a loss to pick among several brilliant passages to illustrate Witthofian insight. This thumb-box sketch (pp. 30–31) captures imagery worthy of larger canvas: "The large pots which occur in all of our Late Woodland sites, and which increase in abundance and size as we come upward in time, imply much about communal economy and the size of household. But when the Susquehannock was laid away in his last house of earth, his people placed with him a small pot of a sort that never did service at his family's hearth; in it was the pathetic single meal of a boiled squirrel, a handful of corn, a chunk of fish, or a puffball, in marked contrast to the great family soup kettle of the living."

New York State Museum

William N. Fenton

**Covered Bridges of the Middle Atlantic States. Their Illustrated History in War and Peace.** By Richard Sanders Allen. (Brattleboro, Vt.: The Stephen Greene Press, 1959. [viii], 120 p. Appendices, bibliography, glossary, index. $6.50.)

A book on covered bridges should carry the aura of an old-time country store, with village gaffers clustered round cracker barrel or ten-plate stove. Richard S. Allen's present book on the covered bridges of Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia and the District of Columbia, like his earlier *Covered Bridges of the Northeast*, bears at moments just such an atmosphere. Its author is an able and graphic narrator never lacking for a homely phrase. But the importance of his work is that it interests itself far less in the wooden coverings of wooden bridges than in the various modes of
structure followed by the men who built them. Moreover, Mr. Allen adds to a clear and forthright style a deftness in technical usage which makes his subject thoroughly knowledgeable and attractive. It becomes matter for the thoughtful reader rather than a sop for the enthusiastic fan.

The writer is at home with bridges and builders. In fact, he knows the craft of the bridge architects of the nineteenth century, the challenges which they had to meet, the materials and the very tools with which their masons and carpenters had to labor. He is schooled in the designs and the trusses employed from the days of the Italian Andrea Palladio in the sixteenth century to the last years of James Moore on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania, or of Lemuel Chenoweth at Philippi in West Virginia. He knows intimately every form of truss, every auxiliary device in timber employed by Timothy Palmer, Theodore Burr, Lewis Wernwag, Ithiel Town, Stephen H. Long and William Howe, just as he knows the personality of every one of these men.

In his book is brash, raw-boned, dreamful Yankee Palmer, reluctant to hide the beauty of the first Permanent Bridge across the Schuylkill by putting a cover upon it. Through its pages Burr moves up and down the Susquehanna, authentic genius, total misfit as a man of business, arduously building five bridges in as many years, scoring an epic as with his carpenters he raises his McCall's Ferry Bridge in the bitter winter of 1814-1815. Blunt immigrant Lewis Wernwag appears methodical, quietly prankish with his board of managers, using the most romantic of three different combinations of chords and trusses to establish in one glorious span of three hundred feet his Colossus of Fairmount. In one way or another, Howe, Town, or Long shows up, each fully individual.

Yet the treatment of all, bridge architects and wooden bridges, is far more objective than sentimental. Mr. Allen is genuinely the historian of an era, a knowing and sincere interpreter of the bridge architect and his conquest of river and stream in the interest of American travel and commerce. Always he is alert to the use of the covered bridge, whether to accommodate a cattle drover and his herd, a stagecoach, a hay wain, or a railroad in getting over a broad current. He sifts the perils of ice, fire, and war to bridges; and he weighs their resistance to all danger and decay. And, while he does this, he provides his readers with an amazingly compendious but always appropriate host of illustrations.

If now and then he is inexact or contradictory in his dating, if perhaps he is too generous in his acknowledgments, he has certainly produced in his second book a work which puts five Middle Atlantic states in his debt. Particularly complete is the story which he tells of bridges in Pennsylvania. That Commonwealth and its citizens, from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, to Pittsburgh, and up and down all its rivers, owe him much. He makes a period of their traffic and travel history both sane and delightful.

_Camp Hill_  
_HUBERTIS M. CUMMINGS_

This is a pleasant book, offering the reader an intimate view of a number of crafts and occupations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey which have long since become generally obsolete as gainful occupations, and which, according to the authors, in spite of a revival of interest in the handcrafts, have reached the vanishing point.

Almost all of the craftsmen discussed are continuing in trades inherited from their fathers and are without apprentices to succeed them. The blacksmith, wood carver, lime burner, candy maker, charcoal burner, cigar maker, wreath and basket maker, potter, illuminator of manuscripts, button and comb maker, glass maker and ox-yoke maker are all visited at the scenes of their enterprise, and in a chatty, informal style the reader is told the story of their trades and their lives. Augmenting the text by Mr. Steinmetz, who is editor of the Lancaster Sunday News, is a series of some sixty-nine excellent photographs by Mr. Rice, many of them in the nature of character studies, of these craftspeople at work.

As one may gather, this is by no means a scholarly book; rather, the text resembles a series of journalistic human interest stories told with a decidedly folksy flavor. Nor is this volume a modern Moxon. Although an attempt is made to explain in a cursory manner the step-by-step techniques of some of the crafts, there is no illusion that preservation of these techniques has thereby been secured for posterity. In some cases, progression photographs offer a somewhat vague idea of the methods employed, but since captions are lacking, they serve as illustrations rather than augmentations of the text. Unfortunately, the volume devotes little space to historical background of the crafts themselves, nor does it purport to be in any way a complete list of the vanishing crafts.

As a pastime, this little work may well be enjoyed by those with antiquarian interests since it is a reflection of what life was like “in the old days,” but as a historical contribution, it is limited to a series of illustrations of old methods and equipment in use and an indication of the status of certain crafts in a given area in the year 1959. Be that as it may, one cannot put aside this book without a feeling of impending loss, for here indeed is a vanishing breed of characters practicing, perhaps for the last time, the skills which carried America forward to the industrial era.

Old Sturbridge Village  
Alexander J. Wall

So much has been said repeatedly about the quality of the editing and editorial procedure of the Jefferson Papers that it need only be noted here that each new volume consistently maintains the high standard established. This standard has become a working model, in principle at least, for many of the burgeoning "papers" projects of American statesmen.

In much the same manner, succeeding volumes of Jefferson's papers confirm and underline the great variety of the man himself. Running like threads through his activities are his interests in agriculture, science, architecture, literature, philosophy, human rights—virtually the whole range of experience. In volumes 13–15 (March, 1788–November, 1789), these themes occur and recur, their variations deriving mainly from new conditions and impacts. Politically, there was so much in these years to concern Jefferson—affairs in Europe, especially in France, and above all, those in his own nation, which was seeking to establish both its new government and its place in the world. Jefferson's papers truly provide a history of his time in all its aspects.

These three volumes represent the final eighteen months of Jefferson's mission in France. At the outset, they find Jefferson and Adams in Amsterdam, negotiating a Dutch loan for the United States. One finds reports on the constitutional debates in America and the first federal election, matters of trade and diplomacy. Of particular interest are the papers relating to the beginnings of the French Revolution, of which Jefferson was a keen observer. He gave advice from his own convictions and experience on the drafting of the Declaration of Rights and the French constitution, and wrote fully of the fast-moving, turbulent events before and after the fall of the Bastille. By October, 1789, Jefferson was on his way home with his two daughters. A new career lay waiting for him in America, for on the day of his departure from France he had been confirmed in his nomination for Secretary of State.

Two editorial changes should be noted. Beginning with volume 13, the table of contents is arranged in an alphabetical rather than a chronological order. In effect, this serves as an index to Jefferson's correspondents and to this degree facilitates the use of the volumes. This in no way, however, alters the editorial plan to publish temporary indices at intervals in the series. Secondly, at the conclusion of volume 15 there have been printed in about one hundred pages supplementary documents from 1772 to 1789.

Fort Mifflin on Mud Island in the Delaware River was begun in 1772 by the British as a defense for Philadelphia, and was completed by the Americans in 1776 as a defense against the British. Reduced to a shambles by British bombardment in 1777, the fort was rebuilt at the end of the eighteenth century, and other buildings were constructed at various times down through the Civil War. Despite these later changes, Fort Mifflin today is a "virtually unspoiled original 18th Century fortification."

In 1956, through legislative action, the Congress of the United States and the Assembly of Pennsylvania relinquished all interest in Fort Mifflin, and offered the forty-two-acre fort tract to the city of Philadelphia. City action is still pending.

In order to evaluate the significance of Fort Mifflin as a historic site, G. Edwin Brumbaugh prepared this extensive report for the Greater Philadelphia Movement. Mr. Brumbaugh, the well-known architect who has restored a number of major historical buildings, has investigated every aspect of the preservation problems of the fort. He has discussed both the historical and architectural values of the fort as a landmark, has recommended its restoration, and has suggested a program of preservation and public interpretation, should the city decide to assume the responsibility of administering this property. The report is attractively presented, and is copiously illustrated with maps and with photographs of Fort Mifflin as it stands today.

They Who Fought Here. Text by Bell Irvin Wiley. Illustrations selected by Hirst D. Milhollen. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959. x, 273 p. $10.00.)

This handsome Civil War picture book will be welcomed by Americans north and south. Here in both text and illustrations is the story of the fighting man of both armies, presented with fascinating detail. Not only does one find specific information on equipment and encampments, on diversions, crime and punishment, but also on the sick and wounded, and on morals and religion. The whole experience of the soldier is included.

Bell Irvin Wiley has drawn on his thorough knowledge of the Confederate and Union soldier, and his use of contemporary letters and diaries adds an appealing intimate touch to a factual account. In the same way, Hirst Milhollen's selection of pictures, mostly photographs, emphasizes the human story that surrounds the facts and statistics. For reference purposes, one regrets the absence of an index.
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