
In a very perceptive appraisal of Bacon's Rebellion Dr. Washburn has reopened discussion of the motives and conditions which produced the first rebellion in England's American colonies. His work deserves attention because it uses for the first time the papers of Henry Coventry, one of the Principal Secretaries of State during the latter part of the seventeenth century, and because it challenges the assumption that Nathaniel Bacon in 1676 was a precursor of the men of 1776. Since Thomas J. Wertenbaker's Torchbearer of the Revolution (Princeton, 1940) unequivocally develops the theme that Bacon was a democratic rebel, precursor of Jefferson and the rebels of 1776—a thesis under attack throughout the present volume—those appreciating historical controversy are advised to have both works at hand before venturing far into this famous incident in seventeenth-century Virginia history.

The Governor and the Rebel, the outgrowth of a Harvard doctoral dissertation, is based on three propositions which it develops with varying degrees of success. The first rejects as a "democratic myth" the interpretation that the rebellion was a defense of traditional English liberties and rights against a tyrannical, irascible, corrupt, and senile governor. The growth of this fallacy is traced in a judicious first chapter. Its source is discovered in reliance upon records made after the rebellion, such as the complaints recorded by the royal commissioners who investigated Virginia affairs in 1677. But it rests on uncorroborated charges which were made by men seeking justification for their own treasonable roles in the rebellion. The similarities of the alleged grievances of 1676 to those of 1776, and the tradition that royal misgovernment was endemic in the colonial period, compounded the original error. The slaying of this myth is Washburn's first objective and that which he performs most successfully.

His second proposition, almost a corollary of the first, holds that differences over Indian policy provide the initial key for understanding the rebellion. In 1675-1676, when Indian unrest flared along the frontier, Governor Berkeley sought to meet the problem by an expedition to the centers of unrest; by use of the provincial militia; by fortifying the frontier with a chain of blockhouses; and by protecting friendly Indians both within the settled areas and along the frontier. This program was unacceptable to frontiersmen who objected to its cost, its policy of static defense, and its
discrimination between friendly and hostile Indians. Bacon emerged as spokesman for the frontier group who wished to exterminate all Indians within reach. This position had substantial support throughout the colony. When the cleavage between these viewpoints proved irreconcilable, Bacon led an unauthorized expedition into the Ocaneechee country. The parallels between this venture and the later Conestoga Massacre in Pennsylvania are noted. This action of May, 1676, marked the beginning of rebellion and civil war. From this point forward the supremacy of duly constituted government became the dominant consideration.

Chapters three through eight provide a careful account of the course of the rebellion and an analysis of the roles and objectives of the chief participants. Washburn's conclusions require us to reappraise our traditional views of these events. Bacon appears as an Indian fighter who triumphed over friendly Indians. His contacts with governor and assembly sought to legitimatize his past actions and to win sanction—at gun point if necessary—for his Indian policy. Failing in this, Bacon attempted, by imposing oaths of allegiance to himself, by threats to the property of those who did not actively support him, and in other ways, to commit the populace to his cause. Here was a leader turned demagogue; one who even contemplated the chances for success of an inter-colonial insurrection. But in these things he pushed beyond the mass of his supporters. Ultimately Berkeley regained control after the death of Bacon removed him as leader of the rebel movement. During this period of ferment and political maneuver Washburn finds no evidence that Bacon influenced the assembly to enact democratic reforms or that he even took cognizance of the reform legislation it passed with Berkeley's concurrence.

A third proposition runs through the work but it is most apparent in the final chapters. It is that the governor, not the rebel, was the defender of personal rights, civil process, an enlightened Indian policy, and representative government for Virginia. Grave historical injustice, Washburn finds, has been done the governor through failing to recognize that he fought for freedom against demagoguery. The error stems from lack of access to Berkeley's reports to Coventry; from failure of the governor's friends to clear him of unfounded charges before the Privy Council; and from Berkeley's differences with the commissioners sent to investigate the rebellion. In the eyes of Berkeley (and Washburn) they, especially Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, exceeded their authority, improperly deposed Berkeley from his governorship, coddled the supporters of Bacon, penalized adherents of the governor, and blackened Berkeley's name to the King and to posterity. The present work is a first step toward rehabilitation of Berkeley.

The volume, based upon extensive research, has the merit of asking rewarding questions about the evidence used and the conclusions drawn by historians concerning the rebellion. Both as an exercise in historical exegesis and as a revisionist challenge it deserves recognition. But it is defensively written, and its conclusions tend to be negatively drawn. Washburn makes lavish use of brief quotations. While these are appropriate and show diligence in documentation, they impede the reader and create an impression
that the author does not quite trust his own conclusions. In the last analysis one's acceptance of the Washburn thesis will depend, in part, on for whom the torch was borne, and how brightly it burned when the reader approached the book. Since this volume clearly places the champions of Bacon, the democratic rebel, upon the defensive, their rebuttal should be interesting.  

*Dickinson College*  

**WARREN J. GATES**


In this, his most recent work, Thomas J. Wertenbaker traces what he terms "the struggle for self government in Virginia" from the settlement of Jamestown to the Declaration of Independence. Professor Wertenbaker sees this "struggle" beginning when King James granted a charter to the Virginia Company of London with no provision for representative government. He then follows the "struggle" through a long series of conflicts with royal governors to the outbreak of the Revolution, the climaxing episode in which the colonists tried to maintain the freedom that they had gained during the century and a half since Jamestown. The difficult years in which the Virginia Company ran the colony, highlighted by the establishment of representative government; the friction with Governor John Harvey and his eventual removal; Sir William Berkeley and Bacon's Rebellion; the arbitrary governorship of Francis Nicholson; the years of peace and prosperity under William Gooch; and those of stress and strain under Dinwiddie, Fauquier, Botetourt, and Dunmore; these, and more, find their way into the author's narrative as he relates the story of how Virginia obtained a measure of local self government.

There are numerous heroes in the story which Professor Wertenbaker unfolds, but, of course, the real hero is Nathaniel Bacon. Through the rebellion which he led a warning was given "that Americans would not submit to misgovernment and despotism under whatever form. Had not the British Government under George III forgotten that warning there might have been no American Revolution" (p. 96). Numerous villains also emerge in the course of the narrative. Governors Dale and Argall are compared with "Ivan the Terrible or a Hitler" (p. 7). Governor John Harvey "was by nature a despot" (p. 39). Sir William Berkeley is described as one of the best governors in the history of colonial Virginia during his first administration, but during his second he was one of the poorest. Wertenbaker feels that one of Berkeley's more conspicuous faults was greed, a vice that "grew on him with the years" (p. 76). The chapter which discusses Governor Francis Nicholson is entitled "The Virginia Hitler." Finally he infers that Governor Dunmore was a rather uncouth individual (p. 236).

The extremity of Professor Wertenbaker's judgments on these and other important figures forces this reviewer to hold reservations, particularly when it seems that the principal criterion for these judgments is whether or not the governors tried to get along with the House of Burgesses. Fre-
quenty it seems that the author sees things as either black or white, and does not recognize the large areas of gray which lie between. Also, the fact that the author is writing about the "struggle" for self government in Virginia, overstresses the element of conflict and leaves the impression that there was almost constant friction, which of course was not the case.

The book is well organized, the language is clear and concise, the narrative flows smoothly and is at times exciting. But aside from this there is nothing new here for the historian. Well over half the book is devoted to the seventeenth century, and almost everything related in this part is told just as well, and in more detail, in the author's *Virginia Under the Stuarts*. The last hundred pages are devoted to the eighteenth century and perhaps here he has rendered a service in describing events and showing how they led to the Revolution. But, here too no new light has been thrown on the period.

Professor Wertenbaker makes good use of primary sources. Much of his information comes from materials in the British Record Office. But in emphasizing primary sources the author seems to have overlooked some of the recent significant contributions of others in the field of Virginia history. For example, in describing the governorships of Dale and Argall, he calls them "reigns of terror," and in so doing ignores the modification of this interpretation in Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Baton Rouge, 1949), Chapter IV. Nor does he take note of Professor Craven's somewhat milder interpretation of Bacon's Rebellion; in fact, he does not cite the aforementioned work. Neither does the author cite Wilcomb Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion* (Chapel Hill, 1958), which takes an opposing point of view to his own; but perhaps he did not have access to this since it was published at about the same time as his own work.

University of Pittsburgh

EMORY G. EVANS

*Crane Hook on the Delaware, 1667-1699.* By Jeannette Eckman. (Newark, Delaware: Delaware Swedish Colonial Society and the Institute of Delaware History and Culture, University of Delaware, 1958. Pp. 143. $3.50.)

Miss Eckman, an indefatigable student of the settlements of the Swedes and the Dutch in the valley of the Delaware River in the seventeenth century, has here given an account of a Swedish Lutheran church in that early setting. Crane Hook was the name given to the country that lay south of the Christina River but north of the Dutch environs of New Amstel (New Castle), albeit under Dutch control. Today the site of sprawling South Wilmington and a mixture of suburbia and industrial installations, it was then a wild spot where marshes encircled plots of *fast* land that were like unto and were called islands. The story of the Crane Hook Church she has assiduously pieced together out of a most laborious examination of the documents of the period—land grants, deeds, court records, and letters. In this fashion the site of the original church—a log structure erected it is believed in 1667, with an overhang like that of a blockhouse, and designed
BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

for the same protective use—is fixed with substantial accuracy. The tale of
the congregation is recounted out of an abundance of documentation through
the days when it moved and there was constructed the present Old Swedes
Church north of the Christina in present-day Wilmington. The last chapter
is an account of the life of its best known lay reader—Charles Springer,
1658-1738.

Of such is the stuff of the account. Equipped with maps and an adequate
index and bibliography, it will be of interest mainly to those concerned
with this microscopic bit of history and culture. But the account has a
wider and larger aspect. In quoting copiously from contemporary docu-
ments the author has opened windows that throw successive beams of light
on the life in early colonial America. It calls to mind the York County
Records* where one finds recorded the day-to-day life of the West Country
fishermen who settled the coast of Maine.

Life was a lusty affair, close to the soil and replete with rugged incident.
In 1653 upon the occasion of a petition complaining of the harshness of his
rule, Governor Johan Printz in a rage hanged the leading petitioner. The
first pastor of the Crane Hook Church, the Reverend Laurentius Carolus
Lokenius, is described in a contemporary Dutch account as “a wild, drunken,
unmannerly clown, more inclined to look into the wine can than into the
Bible. He would prefer drinking brandy two hours to preaching one; and
when the sap is in the wood his hands itch and he wants to fight whom-
soever he meets.”

In 1651, his wife having run off with an Indian trader, he married a
young girl in a ceremony that he performed himself. Later he got himself
involved in the abortive revolt against English rule that is known to local
history as the affair of the “Long Finn,” which prompted Governor Love-
lace to write—“I perceive the little Dominie hath played the trumpeter to
his disorder.”

His successor, Magister Jacobus Fabricius, seems to have been of similar
kidney. Of him it was said: “He is very fond of wine and brandy, and
knows how to curse and swear too. In his apparel he is like a soldier, red
from head to foot. He married a woman here [New Amsterdam] with five
children and has dressed them all in red... It seems that he likes it
better among the Swedes at the South River [Delaware River]. There he
can follow his own will and live in the woods, away from the people.”

The third pastor, Erick Björk, appears to have been more accustomed
to the cloth. He supervised the building of Old Swedes Church.

Wilmington, Del.

DUDLEY C. LUNT

This Glorious Cause: The Adventures of Two Company Officers in Wash-
ington’s Army. By Herbert T. Wade and Robert A. Lively. (Princeton:
Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. 254. $5.00.)

This Glorious Cause is a story of the experiences of two company officers
in the American Revolution. Considering the limited information on the

*Libby, Maine Province and Court Records, Volume II.
lives of the two officers, Lieutenant Joseph Hodgkins and Captain Nathaniel Wade, Mr. Lively is to be congratulated for his success in weaving their careers into the course of the war. Admittedly the book "offers no new truths about the causes or conduct of the Revolution, nor does it question accepted views of the conflict." Its aim is rather to give "personal dimension" and reveal the thoughts and feelings of the common man in the war. So far as his sources allow, Mr. Lively has accomplished this objective.

The principal source of information on the two company officers is the collection of quaint and fascinating letters of Joseph Hodgkins and his wife, Sarah. The letters which fill seventy-nine pages in the back of the book afford an unusual insight into the thoughts and feelings of the common people who bore the brunt of the long struggle. But otherwise they are of limited value since officers below the rank of colonel seldom had inside information. Consequently the letters are unreliable as to military facts and must be checked against more authentic sources. Hodgkins' descriptions of battles, especially, are confused and unreliable. Mr. Lively realized the shortcomings of the letters and used standard secondary works for most of his facts and interpretations dealing with the war itself. Respecting Wade's Orderly Book, however, he is in error in assuming that it throws light upon the views of the common man, for ordinarily the orders came down from the senior commanding officer. Though the Hodgkins letters do not add much to our knowledge of the military side of the war, there is one that is illuminating. On July 3 he wrote a letter which should dispel the longstanding doubt that Washington held a review of his troops upon reaching Cambridge. The letter reads: "I have nothing Remarkebel to rite Except that general Washington & Leas got into Cambridge yesterday and to Day are to take a vew of ye Army & that will be attended with a grate deal of grandor. There is at this time one & twenty Drummers & as many feffors a Beating and Playing Round the Prayde."

Other than the letters of Hodgkins and the Wade Orderly Book, Mr. Lively's narrative rests upon the thorough research of the late Herbert T. Wade and his father. Mr. Lively, therefore, had the task of sifting a vast amount of material gathered by two generations of Wades before making it into a book depicting the life and experiences of the two officers. No doubt the best chapter is the one entitled "A Soldier and His Family." In this chapter the author is at his best in using the Hodgkins letters to illuminate his subjects' thoughts and feelings. The ordinary soldier, naturally, was most concerned with everyday life in the army. The food he ate, the clothes he wore, the marching and the camping, and the all-important factor of health take up most of the space devoted to army experiences.

Equally important was a constant concern for the welfare of the family back home in Ipswich, Massachusetts. Hodgkins sent instructions to his "loving" wife on digging the "pertatoes," buying corn, and so on. When near enough he sent his linen home to be laundered. With it went requests for more articles of clothing to supplement the meager and uncertain supply from the army. When he received his pay, most of it was dutifully sent to his wife who was always pressed for money to satisfy the wants of the
family. Sarah Hodgkins worried constantly over her husband and was continually wishing he would return as soon as his time expired. There were others with less family responsibility, she felt, to do the fighting. Though Joseph longed to be home, there was his pension to think about; nor did he want to desert his comrades, many of whom had families also. Sarah's letters kept Joseph informed of town news and helped him to carry on until his resignation in 1779, after most of the fighting had shifted to the South. Wade resigned in the same year, but reappeared at West Point as a militia officer at the time of Arnold's treason.

Although the standard secondary works have been carefully used, there are some interpretations that are wrong or of doubtful validity. On page 96, for instance, Mr. Lively states that the attack on Trenton in 1776 was merely a raid. "So Washington, instead of gambling his whole army on a general attack along the Delaware had conducted a raid," he writes. This is not correct, for Washington committed practically his entire army to this undertaking. More than half the troops under Cadwalader and Ewing did not cross the river, but as planned, only about a third of the army, mostly irregulars, remained behind in Pennsylvania. Lively states that Washington ordered his army over the Delaware following the attack on Trenton when he learned that Von Donop had abandoned the area around Burlington. But according to Washington's letter he thought the enemy was still there, and that he had a good chance of closing in and destroying the remainder of the Hessians.

Some critics may feel that the Hodgkins letters do not supply enough information to warrant the writing of a book. The force of this criticism is reduced by the fairly wide use of other published sources. Since the letters speak for themselves, no doubt for many readers a publication of the letters with an appropriate introduction would have sufficed. However, because Hodgkins and Wade were typical officers of the Revolutionary army, or at least were typical of those from New England, This Glorious Cause will be found helpful in understanding the American Revolution. Readers will also find the sketch of the long and useful lives of the two men following the war of great interest.

*Newark College, Rutgers University*  
THEODORE THAYER


Professor DeConde has written a scholarly book about the interaction of American foreign policy and domestic politics during George Washington's presidency. The book is not a diplomatic history in the traditional sense, but is a synthesis of diplomatic history and political history. Its main theme, according to its author, is the interaction of foreign policy and domestic politics centering around the Franco-American alliance of 1778. However, the author could just as readily have taken as his main theme the interaction of foreign policy and politics centering around the Hamiltonian "system" of trade and friendship with Britain.
Foreign policy became entangled with politics to such a degree during the Washington administration that many Americans came to look upon each other as being pro-French or pro-British. Alexander Hamilton and his followers were pro-British and pro-monarchical in the eyes of Jeffersonians. Thomas Jefferson and his supporters were blindly pro-French in the eyes of Hamiltonians. Jeffersonians and Hamiltonians failed to find any common ground, and political strife broke out between them. Political warfare, much of it centering around foreign policy, helped to create the Federalist and Republican parties despite President Washington's efforts to prevent political "factions" (parties) from developing.

The clash between Federalists and Republicans arose as the result of differences of opinion between Hamilton and Jefferson over various matters of foreign and domestic policy. Hamilton turned his back upon the French alliance, which, he felt, had already served its purpose, and worked wholeheartedly toward the resumption of trade and friendship between America and Britain. Reconciliation with Britain was the very foundation of American foreign relations, so far as Hamilton was concerned, and the newly-created American federal government was financed from the proceeds of duties levied on foreign trade—especially trade between America and the British Isles. Moreover, Hamilton admired Britain's aristocracy and looked with suspicion upon Jeffersonian republican ideals which smacked too much to him of "mob rule."

Jefferson, on the other hand, was committed intellectually and emotionally to friendship with France. He was suspicious of Britain, wanted to avoid British domination of America's economy and politics, and was hostile to Britain's monarchical and aristocratic institutions. He opposed Hamilton's system of economics and diplomacy for various reasons; for one thing, he regarded the French alliance as the cornerstone of American foreign policy, and, for another, he wanted to build an America of farmers rather than an America of merchants, bankers, and industrialists. Finally, he was horrified by Hamilton's admiration for aristocratic ways and for government by the rich and well-born.

Professor DeConde has written a brilliant analysis of the struggle between Hamilton and Jefferson, Federalists and Republicans. His study is based upon exhaustive research and is written with sympathy and understanding for Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians alike. He has traced painstakingly the clash of their ideas on foreign policy, the impact of foreign policy ideas and decisions upon domestic politics, and the extent to which politics influenced foreign policy. His study throws new light upon the motives and actions of Hamilton, Jefferson, Washington, and many other leading statesmen. It is interesting to note that he has concluded that Washington "is not seen at his best" as President (p. 510), and that Washington "seems at times a bewildered figure" (p. 511) who was overshadowed by politicians and "manipulated by Hamiltonians to their own political advantage."

Professor DeConde has been particularly successful in bringing to life the partisan fury of the battles of Federalists and Republicans. Leaders and publicists of both parties came to believe that the opposing party was "be-
traying" the interests of the country. Jeffersonians felt that the Federalists were blindly pro-British and were making America too dependent upon Britain. Hamiltonians feared that the Republicans trusted France too much and were blind to the excesses of the French Revolution. Each party attacked the other as being subservient to foreign interests, and, as the author has shown, there was some truth to the charges and counter-charges which were so recklessly made. Clearly, Hamilton was more than a little indiscreet in the manner in which he kept George Hammond, British minister to the United States, closely informed of confidential cabinet discussions and decisions on foreign policy. Similarly, Jefferson and some of his followers were guilty of indiscretion in revealing confidential foreign policy matters to French officials.

*Entangling Alliance* is a fine, scholarly work. Modern defenders of Washington, Hamilton, or Jefferson may quarrel with some of Professor DeConde's interpretations, but they will be hard put to it to overthrow his well-documented and carefully considered conclusions. The book has, however, at least one flaw. It quotes in detail arguments of Hamilton (or Jefferson) and then quotes or paraphrases supporting arguments of various editors, writers of letters to the editor, and assorted political camp followers. The result is that there is a little too much repetition; such repetition could have been avoided if some of the supporting arguments, editorials, and letters had been boiled down a bit or summarized briefly.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE


Dr. Beers' well-written and fully documented study of French archives, their reproduction by American and Canadian scholars, and the research missions which made the reproductions is a welcome addition to American bibliographical and historiographical literature. Many, however, will regret the limitations which the author imposed upon the scope of the work.

The 267 pages of text begin with a chapter on the history of French archival depositories and a description of their holdings relating to the United States and Canada. This is followed by six chapters describing the research missions and copying activities of historians of American diplomacy, historians of the French régime in America, state institutions and libraries, the Carnegie Institution, the Library of Congress, and Canadian institutions and historians. A final chapter sets forth the author's conclusions.

Dr. Beers has managed to convey something of the exciting spirit of discovery which filled those who located and made available these rich sources of American history. Here are to be found the stories of Sparks, Bancroft, and Parkman; of the Stevens facsimiles, of Pierre Margry, of Brodhead, Thwaites, Burton, and Ayer; of Leland, Bemis, and Ford, and a host of others. Here, too, is the story of the change from manual copying to photostating and microfilming. The author concludes that scholars should seek to use photographic reproductions wherever possible, both because they
are centrally located and because of their greater accuracy and indications of provenance. He believes that much additional work needs to be done in exploring and reproducing American material in French local archives, business records, and private papers, but he is also convinced that the material already reproduced has been insufficiently used and offers a rich field for monographic studies.

Two appendices list French representatives to the United States to 1811 and investigators in the French archives from 1828 to 1955. A bibliography of 72 pages and an index of 63 pages greatly enhance the value of the book as a research tool.

The organization of the text introduces some repetition, but the chief criticism of the book is its limited scope. Despite its title, it is concerned almost completely with materials relating to the present United States and its foreign relations, although there is a less comprehensive consideration of Canada. More regrettably, it is limited to French materials in French archives and to reproductions obtained therefrom. Thus, French manuscript collections brought to the United States and Canada are not included; and no attempt has been made to describe the French sources available in courthouses, state and church archives, libraries, and private collections in the United States and Canada when such sources are not reproductions of materials on deposit in France. Likewise omitted are French sources in other foreign depositories, and non-French sources, wherever located, bearing on the French régime in America and on Franco-American relations. These omissions naturally circumscribe the usefulness of the work.

The binding, paper, and typography conform to the high standards of the Louisiana State University Press.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission  S. W. Higginbotham


Dr. Alfred Owen Aldridge gives us in this volume a timely and important contribution to the much discussed, frequently recorded theme of Benjamin Franklin's career and sojourn at Passy, 1777-1785.

So fierce a glare of publicity has beat upon this phase of the sage's life that it might seem to have been adequately considered. However, this last erudite analysis makes former brochures, articles, and books upon the subject seem inadequate and sophomoric. It is a far cry to the present masterly thesis from Edward Hale's Franklin in France published in 1887. This faulty earlier work with its surmises and want of factual support contrasts sadly with Dr. Aldridge's well annotated compendium.

We of the older historical school may perhaps glance doubtfully at the fantastic cover with which the printers have garnished this book and wonder whether this mountebank portrayal of a revered ambassador really attunes to the dignity of the subject. But this is harping at trifles. There is enough of real scholarly work in the volume to merit from any reviewer a high degree of meed.

As to the usefulness of this book at the present time it might be urged
that every aspect of the Passy embassy has been treated before and at some length. Nevertheless, the subject has never been so excellently arranged and collated for the edification, instruction, and delight of the contemporary reader. Mr. Aldridge's chapter on the Eulogiums would alone warrant this publication, as would that on the Bagatelles, or those on Fiction, on Poetry, and on the Drama.

In perusing the passage entitled "Anecdotes," so amusingly presented by our author, we may suspect that many of these legends originated long after Franklin's death in the fertile imaginations of subsequent raconteurs. Similarly many of the oft-quoted aphorisms of Poor Richard are to be found in the works of writers who were long gathered to their fathers before the Philadelphia printer's apprentice went overseas. Nevertheless, the stories repeated by Dr. Aldridge are so amusing that we find ourselves wanting to believe them. This much in the vein of Voltaire's sacrilegious suggestion that if there were no Deity it would behoove mankind to create one.

The painstaking research evidenced in the author's chapter upon Contemporary French Opinion must evoke in any reader a profound sense of admiration. In our time so much attention has been focused upon eighteenth-century French memoirs which even hint at Franklin, that semi-apocryphal works like L' Espion Anglois, La Case Verte, and the memoirs of Bachaumont are now priced on the Quais at ten times the price for which they could have been acquired only a few years ago.

We have alluded to Dr. Aldridge's chapter upon the many references to Franklin in the French drama of the period. We wonder whether the author with all his enthusiasm has really exhausted this field, for certainly these Franklinian allusions upon the French stage were many. Even here in America few of the plays and skits which introduced Franklin in the first half of the last century are now known. Of John Brougham's "Franklin" produced at Wallack's in New York just before the Civil War only two copies seem to have survived.

This reviewer remembers well a chat he had with Carl Van Doren while that writer was producing his great biography of Franklin. Van Doren regretted that he had not had the advantage of brochures and magazine articles dealing with separate episodes of Franklin's life. This gives us a suggestion for Dr. Aldridge. He has acquitted himself so well in his present task that we beckon him on to further research. There is for instance Franklin's German journey, made in 1766 and never adequately treated. To be followed perhaps by the Envoy, a visit to Switzerland of which we know still less. We invoke the author's further labors upon a subject which he has here handled so well.

Reading, Pa.

J. BENNETT NOLAN

Banks and Politics in America From the Revolution to the Civil War.

For anyone deeply interested in politics on the one hand and money, credit, and banking on the other, Mr. Hammond has performed a real service. He
has meticulously and with much devotion accumulated material in this field over a quarter of a century, occasionally producing magazine articles thereon. Now he has assembled his data for presentation. He boldly proclaims—in his preface—that he finds the general trend of scholarship in this field sadly deficient (although he singles out but few culprits by name) and he proceeds to write the story as he sees it.

He has not chosen to present a history of United States banking per se, in the narrower sense, so he may disappoint “pure” economists in search of a treatment divorced from much which Hammond includes. Instead, he delineates his analysis against the broad background of American social and economic development, which he pictures with considerable insight. The historian, sociologist, and political scientist can delve here alongside the economist.

They will find that Hammond’s major contributions to their thinking, in his chosen field, are threefold. He states that businessmen, seeking and often finding prosperous status, were far more important borrowing components in the demand picture, for expansion of currency and of credit facilities, than were poverty-stricken debtors. Secondly, he says that the “Jacksonian” onslaught against Biddle and the Second Bank of the United States was chiefly an attack engineered by business interests (not poor agricultural debtors so much), especially by New Yorkers envious of Philadelphia. Thirdly, his narrative of the pre-Civil War attempt to apply laisser faire to money and banking, is a stark presentation of the irrationality, hypocrisy, ineffectiveness, subterfuge, and instability, which were part and parcel of the attempt. These qualities (one might interject) are not peculiar to this period or this problem.

With firm, purposeful tread Mr. Hammond walks along Chestnut Street in Philadelphia, Wall Street in New York, and elsewhere, reporting on the plans and behavior of speculators and other hustling men of burgeoning business. In the process of demolishing the familiar “myth” as to who were spokesmen for the rich and who were defenders of the poor, he reassesses Hamilton, Biddle, Jackson, the First Bank of the United States, and the Second. Obvious throughout is his distaste for the crass political manipulation of financial issues; it may be hazarded that one who has experienced long service as Assistant Secretary to the Federal Reserve Board becomes continuously aware of persistent efforts of certain types of politicians to undermine “sound” banking. There was plenty of this sort of effort during Mr. Hammond’s service.

However, the author tends to stumble somewhat in traversing the rough terrain of the agrarian point of view. The farmers were not united in their political attitudes toward banks, and all of them needed and sought credit, long-term or short, as their situations dictated. Therefore, although it is true that the agrarian vocabulary was a prime device of the business borrower, to cloak and disguise his own self-seeking, it will not do to underestimate or oversimplify the agrarian participation in politics relating to banking, credit, and currency issues.
Anyone keenly interested in the details of American politico-financial developments will find this a useful reference book at many junctures. They will like the placing of the notes on the pages to which they refer. They will relish the broad cultural background of the author, repeatedly evidenced. They will appreciate the precision in chapter titles; evidently the author is allergic to the occult titles which popularizers employ to the inconvenience of readers searching for material on a specific matter. They will find it handy to have the listing of the categories, under which the author decided to construct each chapter, furnished at the head of each chapter; in the use of this device economists are more expert than are most historians. Further, they will save time when they happen on summary paragraphs which place in brief form the substantive contentions elaborated (sometimes at too great length) in the pages to follow. A good example of succinct treatment is the section of four pages (pp. 326-329) introducing Chapter 12 on “The Jacksonians.”

But readers are likely to be annoyed by a tendency to prolixity and to dullness; apparently so much material was assembled and it so emphatically served the author’s purposes that he could not bear to prune his manuscript. Also, his inclusion of material on Canadian banking will of course be of only moderate interest to many United States users of this book.

Furthermore, as the much-used and valued work of reference which this book is likely to become, its utility could have been greatly enhanced by a better index. The index is too short (pp. 761-771) for a volume covering so much detail. It is lacking in classification by subheads; the seriousness of this fault is evident in the references to the most militant participants in the argument—to such men as Biddle, Calhoun, Gallatin, Hamilton, Jackson, Taney, and Van Buren. When the user turns to look up details on non-personal aspects of the treatment, he will wish for a breakdown into useful, timesaving classifications. The breakdowns should have been employed on such topics as agrarians, the Bank of England, central bank action, laissez faire, state banks, and the United States Bank of Pennsylvania.

Overall, the fact remains that this book is a monument of labor. It will save considerable time for researchers, and it will serve as a healthy stimulus to lively disputation. Insofar as lawmakers may be permitted time to inform themselves on the “lessons” taught by past experience, Mr. Hammond’s exposition could conceivably help in avoidance of mistakes in oncoming decisions. But how many of the fifteen members of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, and the thirty House members in the same field, are likely to be able to look within these hefty pages? Regarding the ultimate usefulness of Mr. Hammond’s researches, perhaps our legitimate optimism would have to be confined to the hope that some of Hammond may percolate down (or up?) through the official research staffs maintained in government agencies into the drafting of legislation now being awaited.

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JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

Mr. Cochran's book is an ambitious attempt to analyze American business development during the first half of the twentieth century. His expressed aim is to broaden our understanding of the operation of the business system in the interest of future "economic stability, democracy, and human welfare." To this task he brings some thirty years' experience in research and writing about American business activity. The result is an eminently readable and informative essay presented in broad factual strokes with incisive interpretations.

The discussion is divided into two parts by the year 1930. This is in recognition of the fact that with the onset of the Great Depression, the older concept that business flourishes best in a self-regulating economy began gradually to yield to a new doctrine of extended social control. We are informed that prior to 1929 business, particularly big business, held a unique position in American society. Compared with businessmen in other nations, those in America enjoyed unusual social prestige. Indeed, business and its values constituted the most pervasive elements in our culture. The cataclysmic events beginning in 1929, however, shattered faith in the basic tenets of the system and in the omniscience of its leaders. Even the businessmen themselves in many instances entertained doubts about the validity of the old philosophy. In any event, we read that following the economic crash, the federal government under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt launched an intensive drive to promote recovery. Inevitably, this led to federal assumption of greater powers in the supervision and regulation of the economy. Although the New Deal and business obviously distrusted each other, they were forced by circumstances to work more closely together. The fusion of effort thus effected was forged by the demands of waging war in the forties into a merger of political and economic activity that has crystallized into our current "centralized, militarized, and welfare-directed state."

This study is not simply an exposition of the changing relationships of government and business. Illumined for us is the total impact upon society of the technological developments that have occurred since the turn of the century. Considerable attention is given to the changing role of the businessman, the adjustments he has been forced to make. World events have projected the American business system, as an integral part of American culture, into the international spotlight. There it has become a key protagonist in the current struggle with Communism for the mind of the world. As so many have said, including the author, our success in this struggle cannot be achieved solely by the respect that our economic power demands. The appeal has to be made on a higher level. Since the American business complex is now so closely identified in its operation with governmental needs and policies, the businessman is becoming more important as a representative of this nation in its contacts abroad. His share in the
communication of American ideas and ideals to foreign peoples has in con-
sequence become greater than ever before. Success or failure in the effort
to win the approval of foreign masses may accordingly rest largely in
his hands.

No student of the life and culture of the United States in the modern era
can afford to overlook this book. Not only does it fill many gaps left by
the customary accounts of the period; it provides the reader with new in-
sights that will occupy his thoughts long after he has completed the script.
Furthermore, it is to be hoped that the author's message will reach a wide
audience. Indeed, it should be required reading for all businessmen and
statesmen who are associated with the conduct of the nation's affairs.

Muhlenberg College  

VICTOR L. JOHNSON

*Industrial Medicine in Western Pennsylvania, 1850-1950.* By T. Lyle Hazlett
and William W. Hummel. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press,
1958. Pp. 301. $6.00.)

This is a useful contribution to medical history in an area that sorely
needed attention. It represents a collaboration between two men of dissimilar
backgrounds. Dr. Hazlett is a physician who played a direct role over a
period of many years in the improvement of industrial medicine. Mr. Hum-
mel is a historian who has done much of the research that lies behind
this book.

The authors have relied heavily upon the memories of still living partici-
ants in the development of industrial medicine in the Pittsburgh region,
and the information thus garnered accounts for the principal value of their
work. In addition to their many interviews, they have made extensive use of
the occasional publications, journal articles, and historical treatments dealing
with their subject. This material they have organized under topical chap-
ters where it will be consulted by interested historians and by many of
the practitioners and policy makers in the field.

The story that unfolds is inspiring and dramatic—even though much of
the drama is lost because the sense of chronology is not sufficiently strong.
The century involved in this study is a sufficient time span to portray the
growth of industrial medicine from the emergency treatment of the victims
of physical accident to a comprehensive effort by industrial organizations,
research organizations, governments, and universities to improve the over-
all health of the labor force.

The geographical unit treated here is significant. It was and is one of
the great industrial regions in the nation, and one in which many of the
pioneering steps in industrial medicine were taken. Moreover, it has received
very little attention in past historical studies. Most important, perhaps, the
limitation of this investigation to one well-defined region has permitted a
coverage and unity of treatment that might otherwise have been impossible.

The faults of this work were implicit in the approach. The most profound
questions about the subject were never asked, so the answers are not to be
found, or can be found only piecemeal. It is primarily relationships and
interpretation that are missing. Government, corporate, and university efforts to improve health are all mentioned but they are never related or explained. How were relevant laws brought about and how were they related to other social legislation? How did industrial budgets change with respect to health? How were the physicians engaged in this work trained and how did they compare in capacity with other physicians? What advances in medical knowledge influenced health in industry? What specific contributions to knowledge were made by individual physicians and organizations? How did the Pittsburgh region compare with the rest of the United States and the world in various respects? How are health and output related?

It was undoubtedly a "factual" compilation that was sought. The bibliography and footnotes reveal a lack of acquaintance with the best interpretive studies of the history of medicine, and even with some of the bibliographical aids that might have been used. It is not clear that the authors kept sufficiently in mind the general course of medical and social history during the period they considered. One man after another and one company after another are named in a succession of different connections with insufficient evaluation and interpretation. The study gives the appearance of being overencumbered with detail. The detail is all useful, however, and even if the book fails of the highest success, it will be of permanent value.

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Brooke Hindle

The Pennsylvania Historical Association

This Association publishes Pennsylvania History, its quarterly journal, to make available current research on Pennsylvania, news of historical activities, and book reviews. The News and Comment section serves as a clearing house for news of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, the county and local historical societies, the Department of Public Instruction, and the Historical and Museum Commission.

Application for membership may be made to the Secretary, Dr. H. Trevor Colbourn, Department of History, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa. Membership dues are as follows: active (annual) $5.00; sustaining (annual) $10.00; life $100.00; patron $1,000.00. All members receive the magazine and are notified of convention programs in a separate mailing. Subscriptions normally begin with the January issue; thus members joining in March should submit $3.75 for the balance of the year's issues. Back numbers are available in limited quantities from the Secretary's office, price $1.00.