

BOOK REVIEWS

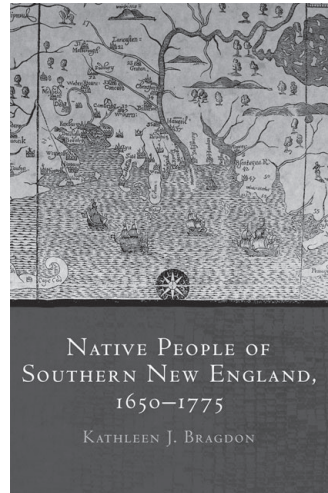
Kathleen J. Bragdon. *Native People of Southern New England, 1650-1775.* Norman, O.K.: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. 293 pages. \$28.95.

In 1666, Joseph Daggett, an English settler colonist who owned a 500-acre farm near Oak Bluffs on Martha's Vineyard, married a woman closely related to two chiefs of nearby Native American tribes. Over the next twenty-five years, local sachems, or native chiefs, conducted a number of land transactions with Daggett's descendants, most likely based on an affinity established by the 1666 marriage.

The story of Daggett's marriage illustrates one of the main themes of *Native People of Southern New England, 1650-1775* by Kathleen J. Bragdon. Bragdon attempts to demonstrate that scholars who consider the relationships that existed between English colonists and Native Americans in New England rely too much on English sources. An anthropologist with an extensive linguistic familiarity with several Native American languages, Bragdon argues that the incorporation of primary source documents written in those Native American languages can provide new perspectives on well-known historical topics.

For example, based only on evidence taken from the letters and journals of other English settlers, local historians and descendants of the Daggett family maintained a belief that the mixed-race children produced from Joseph Daggett's marriage splintered his family into two distinct groups. Supposedly, the pureblooded English branch treated their mixed-heritage family members as outcasts and pariahs.

However, Bragdon's research revealed that land records and other Native American sources indicate that Daggett's descendants continued to interact with one another and the Native American community at Sangekantacket throughout the late eighteenth century. Bragdon's efforts demonstrate that political, economic and social relationships in New



England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are infinitely more complex than previously thought, and that an examination of sources written in the Native American languages can help to clarify misperceptions perpetuated by the attitude of racial superiority in some sources written by English colonists.

Essentially, *Native People of Southern New England* is a continuation of Bragdon's 1999 book *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650*. Bragdon's new book attempts to show the ways in which Native American tribes in southern New England resisted English attempts to homogenize native culture. The six main Native American tribes of the area—the Pequots, Massachusetts, Pokanokets, Nipmunks, Pawtuckets, and Narragansetts—reacted to English conversion attempts in different ways. Traditional historiographic interpretations have argued that, over time, the interactions between the English colonists and the Native American tribes resulted in the native population becoming anglicized as Christian converts and losing their unique cultural heritage.

Bragdon challenges this interpretation by pointing out that extreme diversity existed among each local community, largely shaped by the actions of their individual sachems. Instead, the author believes that the only universal experience shared by all the tribes was their attempt to preserve their culture via language. A holistic analysis of Native American languages, Bragdon argues, can reveal the cosmological and symbolic representation of tribal culture and distinctiveness previously hidden in each.

Bragdon wrote *Native People of Southern New England* thematically and used a wide variety of linguistic, archaeological, and ethnographic evidence. The chapters range in focus from a study of Native American cosmology to local linguistic communities, to the kinship networks established by marriage.

While Bragdon attempts to incorporate the experience of Native American women back into a male-dominated narrative, her efforts more accurately result in a limited consideration of some of the roles women played in establishing households and political alliances. Perhaps stemming from a gap in available evidence, many of the native women that Bragdon mentions remain unnamed and unknown apart from the influence that their marriages and children had on the local community.

One particularly useful portion of Bragdon's introduction is her theoretical analysis of historical ethnography. However, the most interesting chapter of Bragdon's work is her examination of the material culture of Native American communities during the colonial period. Bragdon's

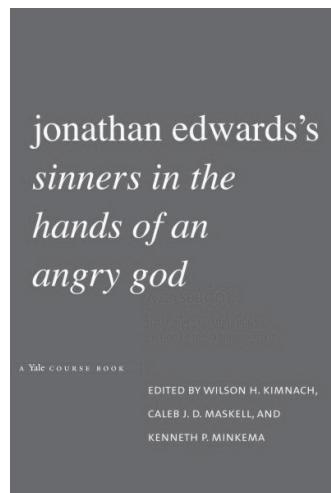
analysis of clothing, dwelling architecture, household goods, and food demonstrates the continuities and disparities present in the evolution of Native American culture at this time. Another positive attribute of the book is the inclusion of a wide variety of maps, diagrams, and illustrations that help to situate the various communities that the author references within their proper geographical context.

While *Native People of Southern New England* will have a certain appeal and usefulness to cultural anthropologists of Native American topics and colonial historians, it will be of little use to non-specialists unfamiliar with the theoretical underpinnings and methodological approaches of ethnographic studies. Overall, the book serves as an admirable continuation of Bragdon's earlier research in a period where most research seems more concerned with the clash between Native Americans and English colonists than their cultural exchanges.

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Wilson H. Kinnach, Caleb J.D. Maskell, and Kenneth P. Minkema, editors. *Jonathan Edwards's "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God": A Casebook.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010. 204 pages. \$14.00 (paperback).

The subtitle of this book reveals both its purpose and its worth. Developed by editors who have had a hand in the massive *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* project, this book is a well devised casebook that contains an abundance of resources for teaching Edwards' most famous sermon to the theologically challenged. Included in this book are the definitive version of the sermon; essays that tell the story of the text and place it in historical and theological context; a sampling of Edwards' theological, philosophical and personal writings to contextualize the sermon in the life and thought of the man; a number of



contemporary and historical interpretations of the sermon; and a number of lesser devices (chronology, glossary, teaching ideas, and a brief list of suggested readings).

The strengths of this work, from a teaching perspective, are the background essays by Wilson H. Kinnach and Caleb J.D. Maskell. An indispensable tool for shattering the popular and inaccurate caricatures of Edwards and his sermon that students bring with them to the classroom, Kinnach's essay places "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" within the broader context of the Great Awakening, not only tracing Edwards' views on conversion, but also elaborating on the Puritan strategy and style of preaching to save the lost from eternal damnation. Maskell has the more difficult task of making eighteenth century theology intelligible to twenty-first century minds, but he does so with an ease and transparency of thought that is the envy of any who have taught American religious history. Concepts like the sovereignty of God, predestination of the elect, origin of sin, and divine justice are all clearly explained and knit together into a logical whole that can be grasped easily by even a beginning student.

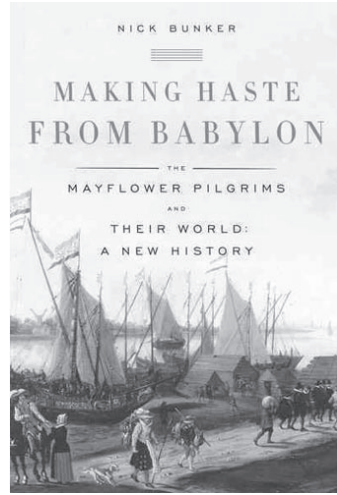
A good selection of readings is vital to a casebook, and this work includes a generous sampling of interpretations, both contemporary and historical, that can be used to demonstrate the diverse ways that people have responded to the sermon over the years. Each document is prefaced by editors' notes that place the writing in context and identify the salient points for the reader. Historians should remember that this is a work of history and religion and the readings found in the "Interpretations" section of the casebook reflect that dual purpose. Of the sixteen selections only four are drawn from the works of historians and two of those are from early nineteenth century historians (Trumbull and Tracy).

Given the great surge in Edwardsean scholarship after World War II, it seems odd that only Perry Miller merits inclusion. Surely an excerpt from George Marsden or some other contemporary Edwards scholar should have merited inclusion. Instead, the vast majority of readings are drawn from prominent cultural figures such as Mark Twain, Robert Lowell, Edwin H. Cady, and Marilynne Robinson, just to name a few. Some choices are a bit perplexing, such as Teddy Roosevelt and participants in the Toronto Blessing (two readings from the latter). Despite these minor quibbles with reading selections, this is still a worthy casebook that will be of great use in the classroom.

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Nick Bunker. *Making Haste from Babylon: The Mayflower Pilgrims and their World, a New History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010. 489 pages. \$30.00 (hardcover).

Plymouth Colony and the English men and women who settled there in the 1620s have been the subject of hundreds of books, at least twenty-five of which have been published in the last twenty-five years. The topics and controversies explored (and re-explored) by recent historians have included religious life, social life, Native American and colonial conflicts and acculturation, land transfers, changes in New England's ecology, the books read by Pilgrims, myths of American origins, law and authority, the role of women, and other matters. Classic first-person accounts of the Pilgrim experience penned by colonists William Bradford and Edward Winslow have been reissued in new editions.



Nick Bunker's thoroughly researched new history digs deeper than previous accounts into the economic circumstances that urged migration in the early- to mid-seventeenth century, as well as the intellectual and social backgrounds of the colonists and their backers. He notes that "the very early history of New England contains many hidden, forgotten corners . . . spots of vagueness or omission . . . because, in the British Isles, the evidence lies neglected, scattered in odd places in dozens of archive collections" (5). Who were the Pilgrims? Who influenced them, what were their options, and how and why were they persecuted? How were their decisions affected by their physical and political environment?

The author's well argued, multifaceted attempts to answer questions such as these are based on visits to key sites, extensive excavations in archives, and thoughtful reconstruction of places and events. Bunker (an Englishman who has lived and traveled in the United States) is a keen observer of environments and a resourceful researcher, whose skills as an investment banker and financial journalist are clearly on display.

The book's economic emphasis includes close analysis of agricultural and trade conditions in England, the stressful sojourn of the Pilgrims in Leiden, the fragility of their hardscrabble early settlement at Plimoth

Plantation, and the colony's eventual rescue from failure by means of transatlantic commerce in beaver pelts. The practices of the Church of England and Separatist (or "Brownist") objections to them are also carefully explained, as are the intellectual and spiritual connections linking Calvinism, Puritanism, and Separatism. The circumstances leading to the establishment of Puritan New England, as Bunker explains, were interconnected and complex, but the most important contributing factor was "Calvinist zeal" (408).

Bunker's emphasis on cross-disciplinary research (agricultural practices, climate, flora and fauna, trade relations, prices, population movements, etc.) owes much to the influence of the *Annales* school of historians in France, especially Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel. His extensive coverage, for example, of the mechanics and economics of the fur trade details the habits of beavers, how they were caught, how the skins were bartered for and transported, how the trade affected Plimoth's relations with Native Americans, which hairs were best suited for which purposes, how the felt was made, how the demand for beaver hats evolved, how the hats were shaped and decorated, and how the price of pelts and finished hats fluctuated in response to market conditions.

The author speculates at some length about what might or might not have happened if a few underlying events and conditions had been different: "Commenced in a dire economic climate, when capital was short and mishaps were many, the *Mayflower* enterprise might have fallen apart at any point in its first seven years if circumstances had been even slightly more adverse. Although they soon learned to feed themselves, the colony could have failed if the Pilgrims ran out of gunpowder, lead, copper, and iron tools, if they provoked Massasoit or lost all their boats, or if a smallpox epidemic as severe as that of 1633 had occurred ten years earlier . . . Without an ideology, potent but flexible too, how would they have weathered each of the catastrophes that befell them?" Subsequent waves of migration, whereby the English presence in New England was significantly buttressed, might have been delayed for years if the Duke of Buckingham and King Charles I had not provoked Cardinal Richelieu to lay siege to La Rochelle. The ensuing war sparked quarrels about taxation that precipitated the Parliamentary crisis of 1629, which "tipped the balance in favor of departure to America" for John Winthrop and increasing numbers of Puritans (408).

The book is replete with digressions whereby readers are enticed to look more deeply into some aspect of the lives of the *Mayflower* Pilgrims or their circumstances before and after migration. Extended departures

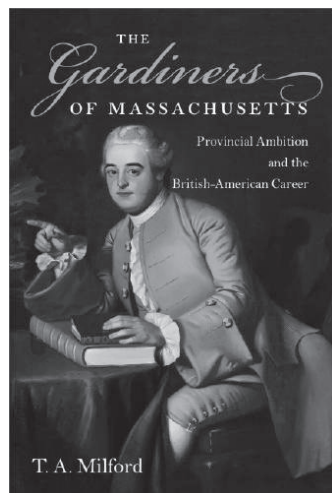
from the central narrative are introduced with phrases such as: “For that reason, we have to delve into the king’s character” (148); or “The only way to grasp the meaning of the country is to walk across it patiently . . . with an eye educated by what the archives contain” (105). The narrative jumps repeatedly from New World outposts to the Old World, from a Pilgrim to his biological ancestors or intellectual forebears, and from a landscape as it now appears to the way it would have looked and functioned four hundred years ago.

Bunker’s painstaking penetration through multiple layers is excellent research, but makes the book difficult to navigate, and the overall effect is less organized and coherent than some readers will prefer. Nevertheless, *Making Haste from Babylon* is a remarkable *tour de force* destined to become an indispensable resource for in-depth understanding of the colonial experience in New England.

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Milford, T. A. *The Gardiners of Massachusetts: Provincial Ambition and the British-American Career*. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005. 306 pages. \$24.95 (paperback).

In *The Gardiners of Massachusetts*, T. A. Milford tells the history of an ambitious, professional middle class and their role within the first British Empire and the new United States. He tells this history by means of three generations of the Gardiner family in Massachusetts. First was Silvester Gardiner, medical doctor and apothecary turned merchant and landowner, who remained loyal to the British Crown and the Church of England and so was exiled from revolutionary Massachusetts. Second was Silvester’s son, John Gardiner, a lawyer educated in the Inns of Court who practiced in Wales and



then on St. Kitts during the revolutionary period. John, a Whig, returned to Massachusetts after the Revolution, reclaimed his father's estate, and served as a leader in both the liberalization of Massachusetts politics and the shift to Unitarianism in King's Chapel. Third was John's son, John Sylvester John Gardiner, a high Federalist, the rector of Trinity Church in Boston, a defender of Trinitarian orthodoxy, and a leader of the *belles lettres* in New England.

Milford uses the Gardiners as representative of a provincial professional class. The professional sensibilities of that class did not dispose them to one or another side in the American Revolution, but instead gave them a shared commitment to liberalism and the ability to fit in with either side. Silvester Gardiner made his fortune trading and receiving preferment within the empire so he could send his son to be educated as a professional in London. But though the metropole drew the ambitious John Gardiner, he found preferment impossible after his radical Whig convictions led him to serve as a defense attorney for John Wilkes in his *cause célèbre*. Gardiner stands for the disappointed seekers of preferment in the provinces. (We have here shades of the opposition to Thomas Hutchinson in Bernard Bailyn's biography.) When Gardiner returned to Massachusetts, having spent the Revolution in St. Kitts, he was part of the reconstruction of Massachusetts on more liberal political ground but also, as Milford interprets the 1790s theater controversy, on grounds more luxuriously cosmopolitan than virtuously republican. John's son, J. S. J. Gardiner, continued the ambitions of his father. Reverend Gardiner was a Trinitarian, unlike his father, but as much out of a defense of tradition and authority as belief in the doctrine. In the tragedy of the high Federalist Party, Gardiner lost the notion that refinement, ability and political participation should be virtues of all citizens, not just an elite.

The book, then, is a history of how ambitious provincials functioned in the first British Empire, of how they failed to fit in, but how the residues of empire continued into the early republic. Along the way, Milford provides some finely drawn portraits of the professional class at work: the trading of Silvester Gardiner, John Gardiner's practice of law in Wales and St. Kitts, and J. S. J. Gardiner's literary scene in early nineteenth-century Boston. With that central story, the book succeeds very well. One wishes only that religion, present in the book, though not fully elaborated, had received greater attention. In each generation, religion was important to the Gardiner family, and there is another story here of how liberalism and religion were intertwined in revolutionary Massachusetts.

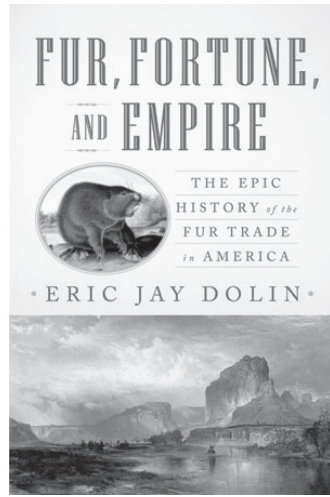
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Eric Jay Dolin. *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, July 12, 2010. 442 pages. \$29.95 (cloth).

Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America is a sweeping work that showcases the vital role the fur trade played in the colonization and expansion of the United States. Most of us think of Canada or perhaps the north woods of Maine or Minnesota when we think of furs. Few realize that the fur trade was a key factor in the survival of the Pilgrims and Puritans of Massachusetts, the Dutch in New York, and of the early settlers of the Mid-Atlantic States. The Puritans in particular were so assiduous in their pursuit of the fur trade that for a time all Europeans were referred to as “Boston Men” by their Native American trading partners.

Eric Jay Dolin relates many of the familiar horrors and injustices of our relations with the native inhabitants, including the introduction of diseases, firearms, and alcohol. But he also sheds light on many little known facts that give a far more nuanced picture of the intercourse between two vastly different cultures. It is now taken as an article of faith that European settlers cheated the Native Americans out of vast wealth by trading trinkets for valuable furs. But iron fishhooks, pots, and tools were of immense value to members of a less developed culture, especially when all they needed to provide in exchange were pelts from a seemingly limitless supply. As for wampum and beads, they were a medium of exchange for the Native Americans of no less intrinsic value as gold was to the settlers, and therefore seemingly a bargain when traded for surplus pelts.

This book demonstrates how the Native American culture grew to be dependent on European trading goods, and was transformed accordingly. The common perception of Native Americans living in harmony with nature before the advent of the White man was perhaps true. But it is also true that the near extermination of many North American fur bearing animals, with the exception of the buffalo, was accomplished primarily by these natives in pursuit of trade goods. The slaughter was initiated at the



behest of the settlers to be sure, but it was perpetrated primarily by Native Americans. It was not until the widespread use of the leg hold trap allowed Western mountain men the option of easily killing their own prey that this equation started to substantially change.

The author also recounts an anecdote that illustrates just how destructive alcohol, another item of trade, was to Native American cultures. Women learned from experience to hide all weapons of any kind from their men on the eve of a trading conference with the settlers. If the men received alcohol as compensation for furs, they would often drink until fighting broke out. This would frequently prove serious or fatal if weapons were at hand. Perhaps there is a history lesson here as our society debates “open carry” legislation allowing firearms into bars and restaurants.

The early exploration of the West was primarily driven by the quest for furs. Gold, silver, and farmland were later factors that attracted succeeding waves of settlers to the West. But it was the beaver’s misfortune that their pelts were perfect for the making of felt hats, then in high fashion in Europe, and they are what attracted the earliest inhabitants. The eastern beaver was nearly exterminated, so after the Louisiana Purchase the western beaver drew the mountain men who in turn discovered the passes and trails that enabled subsequent settlers to reach the coast. And it was the fabulous wealth to be gained by trading sea otter and seal pelts to Asia that enticed many of the early sailors to the Pacific Coast. They charted the coastline and out competed the British, Spanish, and Russians for control of the fur trade, nearly wiping the sea otter off the face of the earth in the process.

The final depressing chapter of the monumental environmental disaster known as the North American fur trade involved the near extinction of millions of buffalo for their fur, for sport, and as a means to deny sustenance to the remaining Native Americans still at war with the White man. The size of the herds and the animals themselves, the number of so many wanton hunters, and the vast wastage of so much potential food left to rot on the prairie all contribute to a bleak commentary on human nature and a seeming inability to control the quest for wealth.

The fur trade illustrates the folly of unregulated market capitalism operating in the realm of renewable resources. The rallying cry of the American fur trade during the “Age of Extermination” was “get the furs while they last.” This led to fabulous wealth for a few, like John Jacob Astor, and limited wealth for a limited time for relatively few more. In the end it led to extinction of the animals and therefore the trade. A properly managed fur trade that harvested a percentage of animals each year would have insured a steady livelihood and limited wealth in perpetuity, and

protected the many species that were threatened or extinguished. This principle was demonstrated by Canadian fur trappers during the same time frame. The Canadians would trap a stream for a season and then move on to a different stream for two years before coming back. This ensured a constant renewal of animal population and consequently a never-ending source of revenue.

It now appears that humanity is on the brink of repeating our fur trade disasters with ocean overfishing. The earlier decimation of whales, the recent collapse of our cod fisheries, and the impending Bluefin tuna crisis seem to indicate that we are forever condemned to repeat the mistakes of history. Farmed shrimp and salmon will play the same role that farmed mink play in the modern fur industry due to the fact that they will have almost disappeared from the wild.

Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America is a fascinating, informative and well written history. It should be read by anyone interested in exploration, colonialism, the history of New England, the expansion of the West, capitalism, environmentalism or American History in general. The reader is likely to learn a lot about a topic one may have thought was familiar. And one will be entertained while being informed, which doesn't get much better for the general reader.

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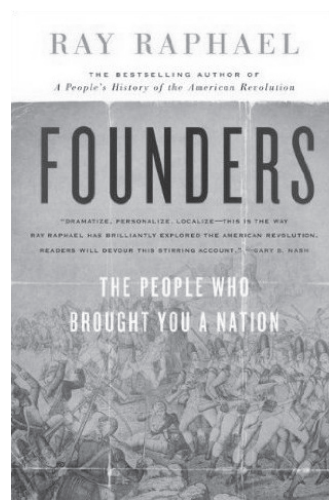
Ray Raphael. *Founders: The People Who Brought You a Nation*. New York: New Press, 2009. 594 pages. \$29.95 (hardcover). \$21.95 (paperback).

Ray Raphael presents a vision of the American Revolution that is both accessible to the general public and satisfying to scholars. *Founders* is not the "Story of the American Revolution" but rather stories of the Revolution as seen through the eyes of many of its participants. Raphael challenges traditional notions that limit the pantheon of founders to a handful of planters and merchants who served in the Continental Congress, commanded the army or local militia, or who attended the Constitutional Convention. Instead, he incorporates the perspectives of others whose actions and attitudes contributed to both a political and social revolution.

In so doing, Raphael structures a narrative that opens in the Ohio country in 1754, detailing encounters between English militia, led by a young George Washington, and French soldiers and their Native American allies. The diplomacy and fighting on the American frontier led to the French and Indian War, a conflict that Raphael considers imperative in understanding the chain of events causing the Revolution and eventually leading to ratification of the Constitution and Washington's election as the first president of the United States. Although Washington plays an important part in this presentation of the Revolution, his story is just one among many.

Founders traces the experiences of six other patriots who have not achieved the same prominence in popular memory: Joseph Plumb Martin, a Connecticut soldier in the Continental Army; Mercy Otis Warren, an author and historian from Massachusetts; Timothy Bigelow, a blacksmith from Worcester, Massachusetts; Robert Morris, a Philadelphia merchant with immense influence in the Continental Congress; Henry Laurens, a slaveholder and reluctant politician from Charleston, South Carolina; and Thomas Young, a doctor from rural New York. Raphael effortlessly moves from one of these founders to another, giving readers a more complete view of the events and ideas of the Revolutionary era.

An assortment of images and extended quotations from primary sources help readers to experience the Revolution as it unfolded around Raphael's selected founders and other residents of British North America. The book features forty-four images, including contemporary political cartoons that trenchantly critique British imperial abuses, broadsides that rally support for the patriot cause, and portraits that reflect each subject's sense of his or her place in the social and political order of the emerging nation. Some of these items, including a musket and a powder horn carved with a scene of provincial soldiers facing off against British regulars in front of a liberty tree, testify to the experiences of common soldiers and other members of the populace that were considered the "lower sort." The inclusion of such items nicely balances the perspectives presented in portraits commissioned by the elite.



In addition, Raphael does not simply distill letters, pamphlets, newspaper items, and other texts down to key passages accompanied by an analytical description of the original source. Instead, he frequently inserts extensive quotations that allow readers to observe eighteenth-century minds at work, experiencing the emotions and the language of the period. Like the many images, this may be a particularly fulfilling aspect of the book for general audiences who likely do not have the same experience working with primary documents that many scholars consider a regular part of their professional responsibilities. The copious quotations that accompany Raphael's analysis and smooth narrative also present an opportunity for high school and college instructors to assign selected chapters in their courses, though the length of the book may make it impractical to incorporate all twenty chapters into a syllabus.

Throughout the volume, Raphael uses these sources to tell a broad story of America, not a single region. His seven founders come from the lower South (Laurens), the Chesapeake (Washington), and the middle Atlantic (Morris and Young). All the same, the story often concentrates on New England, both because so many of the events that led to the Revolution were centered around Boston and its hinterland and because Raphael's other three founders (Bigelow, Martin, and Warren) were children of New England (and Young migrated to the area, accomplishing the bulk of his political activities throughout the several colonies and states in the region). Readers interested in New England history will be satisfied with the way that Raphael often focuses on the region while simultaneously integrating it into a more expansive story of the Revolution by presenting connections to other founders and their activities throughout the thirteen colonies that became states.

Many readers, especially armchair historians, may find *Founders* especially illuminating since Raphael departs from traditional narratives of the Revolution that privilege the political and military accomplishments of relatively few men. But some scholars may still find his selection of narrators frustrating. Mercy Otis Warren, an elite woman married to a prosperous merchant and prominent politician, represents the only female voice among Raphael's seven founders. None of them are slaves, free Blacks, or Native Americans. This can certainly be explained by the lack of extant documents that would allow historians to reconstruct their lives, especially letters, diaries, and other manuscript material that would reveal their thoughts as well as their actions. Perhaps as a means of making his work accessible to the general public, Raphael chose to focus on individuals who left behind significant documentary evidence that allowed him to fully develop their stories in their own words.

This is not to say that Raphael does not deal with people who were not members of the elite. He repeatedly turns the rhetoric of the Revolution on its head to investigate how slaves thought about the events taking place around them. Though he may not have sources written in their own words, Raphael effectively analyzes the defection of slaves, including several owned by Washington, to British lines when offered their freedom by Virginia's royal governor. Indeed, two of Raphael's founders, Laurens and Washington, were Southern slaveholders whose human property provided fertile ground for examining the promises and the limits of calls for freedom from enslavement during the Revolutionary era. Raphael also provides glimpses of the Revolution from the perspective of Native Americans, though these are fleeting and less frequent than his attention to Black experiences. Unfortunately, he does not do quite as well meshing the rich historiography of women's political activism during the period into his narratives.

The strongest element of the book, however, is Raphael's commitment to exploring a revolution within the Revolution, an ongoing contest between elite patriots and their more common counterparts over popular sovereignty, power, and authority. Three of Raphael's founders—Martin the soldier, Bigelow the blacksmith, and Young the country doctor—represent the "lower" sort, people who advocated and fought for their own say about their relationships to their government and to their fellow citizens, whether affluent, poor, or middling. The Revolution, Raphael stresses, was not an unambiguous contest between patriots and the British Empire. Instead, those who favored the American cause often strived toward very different goals. Elite men like Washington, Morris, and Laurens usually assumed that they were best suited to lead the new nation, often distrusting "the people" and equating them to a mob. Founders like Martin, Bigelow, and Young, on the other hand, frequently believed that their needs and concerns had been overlooked by the same self-interested patriot leaders who did not recognize the inconsistency in demanding their own freedom while continuing to own slaves. In telling their stories, Raphael demonstrates that it is not enough to think about a single American Revolution. Instead, Americans participated in many revolutions in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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Margaret A. Hogan, et al., eds. *Adams Family Correspondence (Volume 9)*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2009. 570 pages. \$100 (hardcover).

Covering the years 1790 through 1793, the ninth volume of the *Adams Family Correspondence* provides insight into that important period of the beginnings of the American republic through the letters of one of the most important founding families of the United States. The correspondents of these letters include not only John and Abigail Adams, but also their children (especially Abigail, John Quincy, Charles, and Thomas), and other relatives and friends of the family. The conversations between the correspondents were influenced by both the political events of the day and the personal joys and sorrows of the various members of the Adams family.

In this collection, Abigail Adams is the main correspondent, and seems to serve as the primary connector between the various family members who are somewhat geographically spread out during this period. Though many of the letters that would have been included in the collection have been lost, those that are included provide great insight into the experience of the various members of the family. Through Abigail's letters we come to understand the difficulties faced by her and her husband when forced to move to Philadelphia after having built something of a life for themselves in New York.

The move to Philadelphia especially taxes Abigail both in terms of the financial burden of setting up a new household for the new session of Congress, and in terms of the emotional toll of being away from family and friends. She takes responsibility for keeping up with family news and for offering advice to those members she felt were in need of assistance. She also takes charge of the family finances, including investments, about which she also advised her son, John Quincy. In their absence during her husband's tenure as vice president, she seeks the help of her uncle to take care of the family property back in Massachusetts. She bemoans separation from friends and family as well as the social obligations placed

The Adams Papers

Adams Family
Correspondence



MARGARET A. HOGAN, C. JAMES TAYLOR,
KAREN S. BAZZILAY, HOBSON WOODWARD,
MARY T. CLAFFY, ROBERT F. KARAGHUK,
SARA B. WIKS, GREGG L. LINT
EDITORS

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upon the wife of the vice president. Yet she also appears to appreciate being at the center of the political occurrences of the day. The various correspondents share their opinions about local political events in Massachusetts, discussing the aptitude of candidates for local offices and family members' individual desired outcomes for upcoming discussions regarding local policy and legislative concerns.

National and international events are likewise debated by the Adamses, as they express concern about the direction of the young nation in such areas as taxes and federal debt, Indian affairs, and the form of government that would be put in place to rule the nation. International matters also figure into the family's discussions, notably the French Revolution. Although the same ideals that motivated the American Revolution had been put forth by the revolutionaries in France, the Adamses stand opposed to the radicalism which took hold of the French Revolution.

John Adams, though the patriarch of the family, does not feature as prominently in the first half of the collection, but in the letters of his that are included, he offers advice, particularly to his son John Quincy as he begins his law career, and to his other sons as they, too, seek their way in the world. He advises patience to John Quincy, who regretted that he continued to be a financial burden on his family until such time as he would be become self-supporting through his law practice. We see more of John's writings in the second half of the volume, especially when he travels to Philadelphia for his second term of office as Vice President. Abigail remains in Massachusetts during this trip, and as a result the quantity of correspondence between John and Abigail, as well as between John and the rest of the family, increases.

All of the correspondents bridge the geographical gap between themselves and the other family members through letter writing, as the family shares family news, discusses political developments both national and local, and provides advice and support to each other, especially advice from parents to children. Discussions of the more mundane aspects of life for this founding family are as important as the more nationally relevant topics to our understanding of the obstacles overcome by the many founding families that helped to create the early republic that would become the United States.

This volume is a valuable tool for any student of early American history, both in terms of the information contained within the letters included, but also in terms of the editorial work that went into the volume. Not only have the editors provided a detailed guide to the editorial apparatus used, but they have also included notes with the individual letters that inform

the reader of the nature of the original source (whether held as an original of the document or a copy or part of a collection), and that clarify parts of the primary text originally unclear to the editors. Moreover, copious footnotes accompany the letters to provide context or to inform the reader about persons and events noted in the letters that were familiar to the authors and recipients, but that would otherwise have little meaning to the modern reader. The end result is a valuable source material for history of early America.

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Chandler B. Saint and George Krimsky. *Making Freedom: The Extraordinary Life of Venture Smith*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. 186 pages. \$19.95 (Cloth).

In 1798, the *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture Smith* was published in New London Connecticut. Smith was a former slave, born in West Africa, who had endured the horrors of the Middle Passage and twenty-five years of American slavery to emerge as a free man and substantial property owner in Haddam, Connecticut. In poor health and nearing seventy, Smith related the remarkable story of his life to Elisha Niles, a White Colchester, Connecticut schoolteacher who regarded his subject as noble man whose “native ingenuity and good sense” had allowed him survive the ordeal of slavery (116). Reflecting the Enlightenment’s bedrock belief in reason and human improvement, Niles recommended Smith’s life as an example to his fellow citizens, both White and Black. He insisted that Smith was “a Franklin and a Washington in a state of nature” who, though “destitute of all education,” had risen from slavery to freedom and prosperity because of his “honesty, prudence, and industry” (115). Though Niles was clearly opposed to slavery, he wanted the reading public to see



CHANDLER B. SAINT & GEORGE A. KRIMSKY

Making Freedom

*The Extraordinary Life
of VENTURE SMITH*

Foreword by James O. Horton



Smith's story as an American story, one that reinforced the new nation's political and economic values.

Yet as Chandler Saint and George Krinsky amply demonstrate in their book *Making Freedom*, Venture Smith's life was far too complex to reduce to any simple rags to riches story. From their painstaking research on the details of Smith's odyssey from Guinea to New England, a portrait emerges of a deeply proud West African whose birth into a wealthy and aristocratic family provided an enduring sense of dignity and self worth. Abducted and sold into slavery around the age of ten, Smith (or Broteer as he was then called) was purchased by the Mumford family of Rhode Island. They soon put him to work as a herder on their property on Fischer's Island off the southern coast of Connecticut. In one of the most interesting parts of the book, Saint and Krinsky discuss the rhythms of life for New England slaves like Smith, contrasting their daily experiences with plantation slaves further south.

Smith's work, which revolved around production for the West Indies provisioning trade, was more varied than that of plantation slaves and less directly supervised by owners. In this environment, the authors contend, Smith developed the agricultural and carpentry skills that eventually allowed him to purchase his freedom. While acknowledging the intermittent violence and isolation that characterized the slave system in New England, Saint and Krinsky suggest that there were cracks in the institution that enslaved people could use to their advantage.

Following the order of the *Narrative*, which is reprinted in facsimile form near the end of the book, Saint and Krinsky examine Smith's persistent determination to use those seams to his advantage. First, he began trading upon his skills and seemingly endless capacity for work to earn money through odd jobs. His newfound resources allowed him to marry another Mumford slave, and to consider plans to escape slavery altogether. But after an escape attempt failed, Smith was sold, along with his wife young daughter Hannah, to a new owner in Stonington, Connecticut. It was in this new context that Smith began formulating the plan to purchase his freedom and the freedom of his family. Saint and Krinsky present Smith as a canny businessman who learned through experience to rely on himself rather than on the paternalism of Whites. He possessed the confidence to "negotiate with a White man" and came to trust his own "intrinsic business acumen" (58).

Placing the colonial struggle with Great Britain in the background, the book describes Smith's tenacious quest to "make" his freedom through his own labor, making small payments to his master, Oliver Smith, over

a period of five grueling years of self-denial and scrupulous economy. In describing the bargain in which Venture Smith paid his owner for the right to work on his own, Saint and Krimsky make the important point that “such an arrangement had its roots in Africa,” where enslaved people purchased their time from masters (64). They remind readers that Smith had come from a “culture of commerce” in West Africa where the accumulation of capital was a guarantor of freedom and independence (70). Similar to many enslaved people in North America, Venture Smith drew upon his African heritage as he made his freedom in America.

Even before purchasing his freedom in 1765, Smith had begun to accumulate property of his own. By 1770, he owned valuable land in Stonington and continued to buy and sell property for the next several years, giving him the resources to purchase the freedom of his wife, daughter, and two sons. Although Smith’s *Narrative* says little about the libertarian ideology of the American Revolution, he clearly used the turmoil of the war to improve his family’s prospects. Selling his holdings on Long Island in advance of the British occupation, he relocated his family to Haddam, Connecticut, where he had access to the valuable Connecticut River commerce. By the time his *Narrative* was taken down in 1798, he had amassed 130 acres of land, three houses, and a fleet of small river craft. Yet perhaps most importantly to a man who had worked so hard to preserve his dignity and self-worth, Smith had “earned unprecedented respect from a society acculturated against giving it” (91).

In their larger evaluation of the *Narrative*, Saint and Krimsky note several distinctive qualities in the text which make it an important addition to the corpus of slave narratives. First, it contains little or no mention of religion, a topic that forms an important part of classic narratives by Olaudah Equiano and Frederick Douglass. Second, it says nothing about the natural rights ideology that so often appears in accounts by former slaves. Although they might have argued that these subjects were excluded by Niles in the creation of the *Narrative*, they conclude instead that these omissions were Smith’s “own intention” (98). They see him as a pragmatist whose determination to win freedom and respect left him little time for abstractions. While this may well be the case, it should be noted that in contrast to Douglass and Equiano, the antislavery message of Smith’s own *Narrative* is quite muted, perhaps by the design of its White sponsors. The five “respectable persons” whose endorsements appear at the end of the 1798 text, for example, praise Smith not only for his industry and honesty, but also for having been a “faithful servant” (144). Elisha Niles would have understood that a text that placed Christianity and American

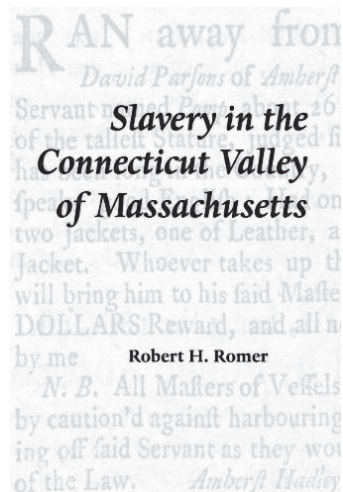
Revolutionary ideology in direct conflict with slavery would have been much less likely to receive elite sanction, especially in a state where slavery was still being practiced.

Making Slavery is a book worthy of its subject. Saint and Krinsky have provided readers of the *Narrative* with a vital roadmap for a text which might otherwise have remained obscure to all but specialists in the field. The fact that they chose to include a facsimile copy of the *Narrative*, moreover, ensures that Venture Smith's voice remains strong and clear even as the details of his story are excavated and explored. For those interested in the genetic and archaeological work being carried out by the Documenting Venture Smith Project, the authors provide an epilogue which details this ongoing research. Students of New England and American slavery will profit enormously from a careful reading of *Making Slavery*.

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Robert H. Romer. *Slavery in the Connecticut Valley of Massachusetts*. Florence, MA: Levellers Press, 2009. 286 pages (paperback).

Despite this volume's ambitious title, this is really a work of local history that focuses on slavery in Deerfield in the 1700s. The heart of the book and its primary contribution to the study of slavery in Massachusetts is the biographical sketches of twenty-five Black men and women enslaved in fifteen White households on Deerfield's main street in 1752. The author's selection of the year 1752 has no special significance other than its placement within a time period when slavery was legal in Massachusetts. These sketches range in length from a few paragraphs to a few pages and are based on information the author collected through his careful and extensive research



in primary documents including wills (of the individual's owners), court records, deeds, account books, military records, and letters.

These biographical sketches, whether short or long, provide new information on the lives of Black individuals in colonial western Massachusetts and confront us again with the reality that little of what we know about slavery comes from the very people who were enslaved. Almost everything the author learned about these twenty-five individuals comes from what was written down about them by others: by their owners, shop keepers, judges, and town officials. Particularly striking and reminding us again that slavery was "social death" is the almost total absence of mention of these persons in the letters and journals of the members of households in which they were enslaved. Romer is to be applauded for not trying to fill this information gap by imagining what the slaves and their lives were like or by trying to massage his information to fit grand theoretical schemes. He allows the record he has uncovered, as limited as it is, to stand by itself.

These twenty-five sketches are supplemented and afforded some context by a summary of slavery in Deerfield before and after 1752 and by brief summaries of slavery in other Connecticut River valley cities and towns. The author gives all this detail some additional context by devoting several chapters to an overview of slavery in Massachusetts.

Romer's purpose in writing this book is to alert readers to the reality that there was slavery in Massachusetts, that it did not end until about 1790, and that it was soon forgotten and ignored by local historians. The author is correct in stating that many local Massachusetts histories written in the 1800s and even in the 1900s ignored slavery, but it is also worth noting that these works generally ignore the lives of poor Whites as well. In fact, these histories are mainly the histories of the town's wealthiest and most influence residents. It is also true that, as Romer suggests, some people in the state today do not know that slavery once existed in their communities. However, one doubts that this ignorance is as widespread as the author suggests, considering the many articles and books on the subject published in the last twenty or so years and also the establishment of several African-American heritage trails in the state.

Who is the audience for this book? Certainly those interested in the history of Deerfield and of the Connecticut River Valley. But it will have limited appeal to professional historians, anthropologists, and others who are involved in the study of slavery in Massachusetts as it largely ignores the concepts, theories, and controversies that define their research. And when the author does dip into a few of the issues, such as why Col. John

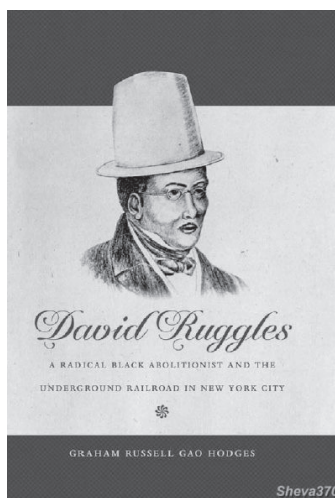
Ashley in Sheffield freed his slaves, the discussion lacks the nuance that would come with a fuller reading of the existing literature. All readers will benefit from the many long excerpts of primary text and reproductions of many pages from primary documents spread throughout the volume. The author's decision to let the documents speak for themselves was a wise one.

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Graham Russell Gao Hodges. *David Ruggles: A Radical Black Abolitionist and the Underground Railroad in New York City*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 266 pages. \$30.00 (cloth).

In this captivating biography, Graham Russell Gao Hodges explores the life of one of the most important yet understudied abolitionists of his time, David Ruggles. While countless historians have written studies of Black activists such as Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, and Richard Allen, none have examined in depth the life of Ruggles. Hodges cogently demonstrates in this book the significance that Ruggles had on the antebellum abolitionist movement, including his publications, speaking tours and, most importantly, his work in New York City's Underground Railroad. With his examination of Ruggles's exploits, Hodges is able to shed light on both his subject's life and important themes in the larger antislavery movement, including class divisions, views on gender, and radicalism versus moderation.

David Ruggles was born in eastern Connecticut in 1810 to a free Black couple. His father was a blacksmith, a special position in the Black community, and his schooling in a small New England town during the 1810s and 1820s trained him in classical and sacred literature, ethics, and



logic. At the age of fifteen, Ruggles left home for New York, where he became a mariner, an occupation that exposed him to “militant black abolitionism,” according to Hodges (30). Slavery existed in New York City until July 4, 1827, and Blacks still had to be wary of kidnappers and slave catchers because of the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act. It was in this context that Ruggles began his activism on behalf of both slaves and free Blacks during the early 1830s.

Ruggles started his abolitionist career in June 1833 as an agent for *The Emancipator*, the newspaper that Arthur and Lewis Tappan started in New York. That year he also gave up his grocery business to become a full-time abolitionist. As an agent for the newspaper and the American Anti-Slavery Society he traveled often to rural areas, speaking to residents and attempting to persuade them to oppose slavery. The following year Ruggles opened up a bookstore and an antislavery circulating library, where he featured, among other works, the writings of Maria Stewart. Stewart, along with David Walker, Samuel Cornish, editor of *Freedom’s Journal*, and William Lloyd Garrison were the chief intellectual influences on Ruggles during this period.

Hodges argues that Ruggles was central to the northern abolitionist movement with his work in New York City’s Underground Railroad. Frustrated with the growing presence of racial violence in the city, Ruggles and other friends organized the New York Committee of Vigilance in 1835 to oppose kidnappings and slave catchers. This committee held large public rallies on kidnapping, which helped raise funds for the movement and got ordinary Blacks involved in the cause. Hodges notes that this organization was “by far the most radical response any abolitionist group had made to the problems of kidnapping and easily the most overt demonstration of support for self-emancipated slaves” (89). Among these self-emancipated slaves that Ruggles helped to freedom was none other than Frederick Bailey, later known as Frederick Douglass, who made a point to thank Ruggles in his autobiography.

Ruggles’ work with the New York Committee of Vigilance demonstrates the complexity of abolitionist loyalties during the antebellum period. While remaining a committed Garrisonian, Ruggles never eschewed the use of violence in response to slavery and kidnappings. Indeed, this refusal to forswear the use of violence, as Garrison did, made Ruggles that much more popular among young Black activists in cities such as Boston. The New York Committee of Vigilance became the model for similar organizations in Boston, Worcester, Cleveland, and Detroit, among other

cities. In Boston it was William Cooper Nell, an associate of Ruggles, who formed the local Committee of Vigilance in 1841.

While much of his antislavery activism was centered in New York City, Ruggles' activities help shed light on the antislavery movement in the Bay State as well. Along with serving as an inspiration to and establishing connections with activists in Massachusetts, Ruggles established a pipeline on the Underground Railroad that often ended up in cities such as New Bedford and Northampton, Massachusetts. The Boston Committee of Vigilance, modeled on Ruggles' organization, would play a central role in the showdowns over slavery after the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. After 1842 Ruggles relocated to Northampton, Massachusetts, to attend his health and would remain there the rest of his life. While his abolitionist activities were diminished, he still remained active in the movement and opened up a thriving medical practice employing a cold-water remedy, where he treated both Garrison and Sojourner Truth, the latter of whom would remain in Northampton for five years.

Ruggles' activities were not without controversy among contemporary abolitionists. Hodges shows that Ruggles became one of the most forceful proponents of female abolitionism, urging women to "unite in organizations, to drop the deferential position commonly taken in petitions, and to shun slaveholding women" (80-81). In these endeavors, Hodges argues, Ruggles went far beyond the positions of most male abolitionists of the time. Ruggles also engaged in a public conflict with Samuel Cornish in 1839 over a libel suit that led to Ruggles' resignation from the New York Committee of Vigilance. Hodges speculates that this conflict may have arisen over a personality clash but probably owed as well to their different tactics. Ruggles was a brash and confrontational abolitionist, in true Garrisonian form, while Cornish advocated a cautious approach to the movement. Despite the conflicts that Ruggles endured in the later part of his career, Hodges convincingly demonstrates the importance that Ruggles wielded on the northern antislavery movement and the generation of even more radical abolitionists that came of age during the 1840s.

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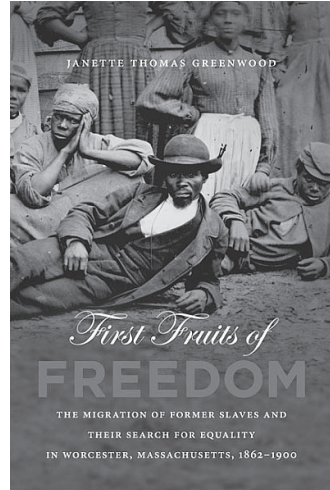
Janette Thomas Greenwood. *First Fruits of Freedom: The Migration of Former Slaves and Their Search for Equality in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1862-1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 256 pages. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.

This relatively small work covers a lot of ground and breaks some as well. It offers the first study of post-Civil War Black migration to New England, with previous works dealing with the migrations to the Midwest, from Kansas to the Great Lakes. It is also original in that it deals with migrations other than those sponsored by the Freedmen's Bureau.

Worcester is different from Chicago or the Black towns of Kansas. At the time of the Civil War it was a well-established city enjoying a boom in manufacturing. It was attractive to immigrants from Ireland as well as French Canada, sympathetic to runaway slaves and had a strong abolitionist community. When the war began, Worcester had a small Black community and a powerful impulse to join the anti-slavery war in the South. Troops made their way to Virginia and eastern North Carolina, establishing themselves especially in the latter state.

The Union forces attracted contrabands, or runaway slaves, and contraband encampments attracted New England teachers to the enclave near to the coast. As the war pushed rebels and more contraband into the coastal areas, and the volume of contrabands, refugees, and "schoolmarm's" grew. During and after the war, former slaves made their way to Worcester and environs, mostly sponsored by soldiers or teachers and other social welfare workers, often as servants or otherwise in the households of their sponsors.

During Reconstruction another Black migration occurred, this one under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau. This group came without sponsorship. All three waves received favorable welcomes in Massachusetts, probably because the numbers were small, unlike the large waves sent to unwelcoming Midwestern sites. The Black population through the period remained below one thousand souls. Those who had sponsors in the community fared better than the Freedmen's Bureau group who were relocated but not provided resources.



Once in New England, Southern Blacks adapted to Northern life but did not abandon their Southern preferences. The Southern Black and Northern Black communities were on opposite sides of Worcester, and the Southerners built their own Baptist Church rather than joining the older Black denominations or the White Baptists. They did share fraternal organizations and celebrations with the Northern Black community, however, even celebrating West Indian independence as well as the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Greenwood's story covers not only the first generation but also their children and later migrants. She portrays the demise of the reform impulse as the abolitionists and veterans got old and died. She discusses the political disadvantage suffered by a population unsure about remaining a taken-for-granted Republican bloc as well as the difficulties both first and subsequent generations had in achieving economic improvement. This part is particularly interesting as she contrasts the Black situation with that of French Canadians, who rose quickly despite their insistence on creating their own neighborhoods, including their own churches and other institutions, and preserving French as their primary language. Throughout, the Black community struggled with limited resources and dependency on the dominant community—and the reality that whiteness mattered, even for abolitionists.

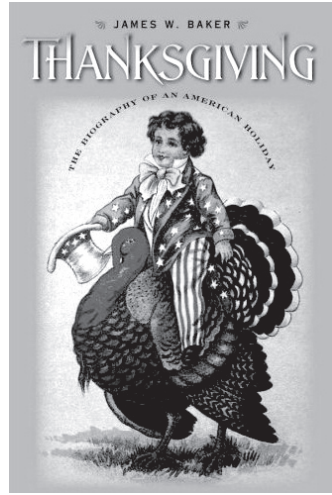
At the end of the period under study, Worcester was a formerly thriving city that found itself bypassed by the late-nineteenth-century industrial boom. Blacks, still less than two percent of its population, were Jim Crowed by what industry there was and their initial hopes for a bright future were replaced by a second-class reality.

The text is extremely well documented, a first-rate work of scholarship. Greenwood uses the pertinent archives, secondary sources, and oral history where necessary. Her ability to provide context is notable, particularly the way she compares the Black and French Canadian communities and New England and Midwestern migrants. The photographs are meaningful rather than an obligatory add-on, as is too often the case. The end matter includes tables detailing population change during the period, but doesn't break down "White" into potentially useful categories such as old New Englander, Irish, Swedish, or French Canadian. That's just a quibble, but something to consider for the future edition of this well-put-together work on an under-examined aspect of Massachusetts and Black history.

John Barnhill is a retired civil servant and independent scholar who writes history in Houston, Texas.

James W. Baker. *Thanksgiving: The Biography of an American Holiday*. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2009. 273 pages. \$26.95 (paperback).

In *Thanksgiving: The Biography of an American Holiday*, James W. Baker examines the myths, origins, and ever-changing nature of the Thanksgiving holiday. Thanksgiving, he argues, did not descend from the feast celebrated between the Wampanoag Indians and the Pilgrims in 1621. Rather, it originated in Europe with English Puritans celebrating the special holy days associated with their Calvinistic religion. Thanksgiving evolved from there to become a distinctly American holiday as Americans made and remade the holiday throughout American history. From turkey and pumpkin pie to football, Baker demonstrates the changing nature of the American holiday from the 1600s to the present day.



Baker shows that though Thanksgiving developed as an American tradition, it originated with English Puritans. Disgruntled with the vast number of extra-biblical holy days, the Puritans developed two of their own holy days: thanksgiving and fast. The Puritans put in place fast days and thanksgiving days to deal with sin and to give thanks for God's great works. They brought these traditions with them to New England. Yet as Puritans transformed into Yankees, these days lost their religious significance and led "ultimately to the modern Thanksgiving tradition" (23).

Until the mid nineteenth century, Thanksgiving remained traditional, with turkeys, pumpkin pies, church attendance, games, and families reuniting. Americans, though, never associated Thanksgiving with the past. They did not view the 1621 feast celebrated between the Wampanoag Indians and the Pilgrims as the first Thanksgiving dinner or as justification for the holiday. As Baker argues, Americans viewed Thanksgiving as an "unquestioned tradition, the accepted thing to do at each year's end" (36).

With nineteenth-century industrialization, Thanksgiving took on new associations. Economic downturn pushed New Englanders to the Western

frontier in search of work. As they moved, they brought with them their traditions and ancestry. With the instability of nineteenth-century industrialization, the rest of America also began to commemorate the past. Thanksgiving became one of the events which Americans looked back at with a “golden age” mentality, where families reunited and the “simple” life of agricultural society was esteemed. Thanksgiving, nonetheless, kept most of its “traditional” elements with the exception of adding the annual football games.

The idea that the 1621 feast directly begot Thanksgiving would emerge in the nineteenth century, but it would not gain centrality until later in the twentieth century. This idea and other Thanksgiving themes, however, would be strengthened in the nineteenth century through education and print media. While immigrants flooded the country, classrooms greatly impacted students by instructing them in the significance of Thanksgiving and other American holidays. Progressive reformers believed that to be American meant to be ingrained in American culture. Print media also served this function by reinforcing Thanksgiving themes such as turkeys, pumpkin pies, autumn, pilgrims, etc., through pictures and postcards. Through these mediums, American traditions were preserved and reinforced.

By the 1940s, Plymouth and the Pilgrims were firmly entrenched in the Thanksgiving holiday. During the rationing and food shortages of World War II, Americans identified with the Pilgrims, who had also experienced food shortages. This theme of identifying with Pilgrims continued after the war, especially as immigrants began entering the country. Through most of the twentieth century the Pilgrims occupied a prime place in American minds and at the Thanksgiving dinner table.

Yet the view of Thanksgiving as a peaceful holiday celebrating unity between Pilgrims and Native peoples would be challenged in the 1970s. Native Americans protested past European abuses to their people. In the context of the Civil Rights movement, Native Americans established a “day of mourning” to replace Thanksgiving. Historiographical emphasis also changed, giving more weight to the Natives’ side of the story. Yet, as Baker argues, most of this new history was as much myth as the traditional views of Thanksgiving and the Pilgrims. Rather than portraying accurate history, new myths replaced old myths. Baker contends that whichever way the history and the Thanksgiving story are presented, Americans continue to shape the holiday and believe its history according to their liking.

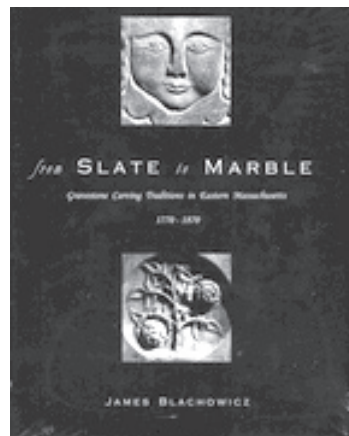
James W. Baker has given a lucid and interesting account of the Thanksgiving holiday. Baker also does well in placing the Thanksgiving holiday in its historical context. He shows how Thanksgiving took on new meaning during larger events such as the Revolutionary War, Industrial Revolution, Civil War, Great Depression, World War II, and the Civil Rights movement. Furthermore, he exposes the myths that most of us are taught about Thanksgiving from youth, but does so with a balanced approach. His aim is historical accuracy, not moral judgment. I recommend this book to any interested in American history, the Pilgrims, or the Thanksgiving holiday.

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James Blachowicz. *From Slate to Marble: Gravestone Carving Traditions in Eastern Massachusetts 1770-1870*. Evanston, IL: Graver Press. 2006. 440 pages with accompanying Compact Disc. \$59.95 (hardcover).

Some of the most important clues to our past linger in some of the most overlooked parts of our landscape, gravestones. For *From Slate to Marble*, James Blachowicz spent years not only studying and documenting the rich heritage of gravestone carving in Eastern Massachusetts, but also recreating a connection to an all but forgotten artisan craft important to the region's past.

The strength of the book is the vast level of research and stunning photographs that offer excellent examples of the characteristic designs of specific shops in eastern Massachusetts and the District of Maine (part of Massachusetts until 1820). The work moves from important commercial centers outwards, mimicking the influence of Boston from the early city to the industrial city. Blachowicz provides examples from each artisan's shop as well as a map showing the regional distribution of stones by Nathaniel Holmes,



totaling over 1,400 gravestones identified by Blachowicz. Because of these resources, the stylistic nuances, details, and trends unique to the each shop are made more recognizable. When looking in chapter two at some of the stones carved by Horace Foxin, one can see the details: while an 1817 stone carved entirely by Fox for Captain John Boyd shows a willow weeping over an urn, a stone carved for John M. Houston shows a similar relief of a willow over an urn, though the urn is slightly different in detail. The Houston stone shows how one artisan could carve the headstone, but the footstone might be carved by another once the owner was deceased. Such cases lead to a very tricky area for scholarship, but Blachowicz maneuvers it well, using other examples of an artisan to add strength to his conclusion. If an uncertainty arises on a particular design component or stone itself, he points out his views on the issue at hand and suggests that further work be carried out before drawing a conclusion. This method of investigation strengthens his observations and work as a whole.

A unique characteristic of *From Slate to Marble* is that it follows the evolution of the shops, craftsmen, and apprentice relationships that created or continued generations of particular styles. Some of these artisan relationships were carried on through more prominent carvers, such as the three classical Boston shops, to the secondary artisans such as the Hope Brothers, to the later rather obscure or less known artisans, such as Oliver N. Linnell.

The author's level of scholarship is apparent through his capability to accurately trace the stones produced by Massachusetts carvers from Nova Scotia, Canada to Charleston, South Carolina, and destinations in between. Through the tireless research of deeds, private correspondence, cemetery, courts, estate, and shop records, along with other documents, the reader gets a sense of the interactions of particular shops and the lives that some of the more prominent cutters lived.

The accompanying compact disc is an invaluable resource in the study of gravestone carvings for the New England region. The photography is so precise and well composed, further exploration on the subject matter by future scholars utilizing this material is easily foreseeable. One of the treasures of the work aside from the disc is the "freytag27+" scale in the appendix created by the author. This chart maps the letters and numbers of nearly all of the carvers in alphabetical order, showing each artisan's individual style.

This is a highly polished and accomplished work that is easily engaging, yet holds a wealth of information on people, shops, aesthetic trends, and historic periods. *From Slate to Marble* is the type of publication that

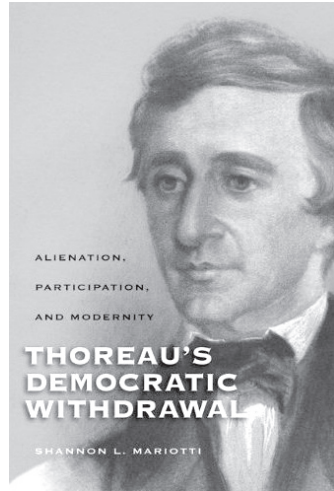
crosses over genres, engaging readers from a history background to crafts and beyond, and is strongly recommended.

Adam Krakowski has a MS in Historical Preservation from the University of Vermont and is a conservator with Meeting House Furniture Restoration, based in Quechee, Vermont.

Mariotti, Shannon L. *Thoreau's Democratic Withdrawal: Alienation, Participation, and Modernity*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010. 222 pages. \$29.95 (paperback).

Almost 150 years have passed since the author of *Walden* took his last breath of Concord air. Yet each year brings with it the release of at least a dozen new Thoreau-related volumes. Many of the entries are mere quotation compilations, but a few others dare to offer fresh interpretations of the man and his writings. With this book, Mariotti (a political scientist at Southwestern University) expands upon a thesis that she first voiced in an essay in *The Political Companion to Henry David Thoreau* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2009). Her approach should raise more than a few “Thoreauvian” eyebrows.

Mariotti chooses to examine selected writings of American Transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) “through the lens” of the critical theories posed by German intellectual Theodor W. Adorno (1903-1969). Adorno participated in the Frankfurt School movement, and his philosophic study, *Negative Dialectics*, was published in 1966. By analyzing Thoreau’s work through the viewfinder provided by Adorno and *Negative Dialectics*, Mariotti outlines the positive effects that alienation and democratic withdrawal can have on an individual and, as a result, on society as a whole. She maintains that these practices are best illustrated in several of Thoreau’s nature-based writings, and not among his political essays or lectures. Thoreau’s frequent forays into the woods



and surrounding countryside are therefore considered not as thoughtful launches *into* Nature, but as intentional and useful retreats *away* from the town, from politics and from democracy.

Her concept is a logical one, but it creates a sometimes challenging thread to follow. Devoted scholars are apt to find a few holes in her hypothesis. For example, it was only after Henry Thoreau left the shoreline that he claimed that his goals at the Walden Pond house had been “to live deliberately” and “to front only the essential facts of life” (“Where I Lived, and What I Lived for,” *Walden*). His more tangible assignment had been to find a time and place to write a manuscript about the two-week boating trip he took with his brother John in 1839. Mariotti ignores that well-documented objective and never once mentions it, the excursion, John Thoreau, or the resulting book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Instead she considers Thoreau’s move solely as a departure from the town’s business district. She addresses his time at the pond by focusing just on political insights found within the chapters of *Walden; or, Life in the Woods* which, in reality, is a retrospective memoir. Students who hear from their instructors that Thoreau did not go to Walden to write *Walden* may be confused by the omission of key information in this portion of her argument.

Mariotti’s further study dwells upon Thoreau’s “traveling practices,” defined here as his “physical displacement to border spaces outside of town” (163). His two years at Walden qualify, as do any random walking expeditions, swamp muddlings or captaining of huckleberry parties. She analyzes such essays as “Walking,” “Wild Apples,” and “Huckleberries” with an eye for Thoreau’s expressed political analogies in each piece. Except for a few references to his daunting confrontation with raw nature atop Maine’s Mount Katahdin, Mariotti regrettably rejects the relevance to her theory of Thoreau’s longer trips around New England, eastern Canada, and New York City. She refers more than once to those journeys as being “only brief excursions elsewhere in the United States and in Canada,” thereby implying that they have little meaning (186). Ironically, an investigation into Thoreau’s two-month trek to the American Midwest during the opening weeks of the Civil War would have fit perfectly into her premise, if she had allowed it.

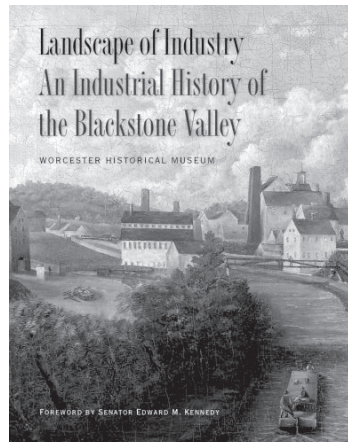
Thoreau’s Democratic Withdrawal is at its core a “compare and contrast” examination of the philosophies of Thoreau and Adorno, despite the fact that only one of those men is represented in the title, the cover art and the library classification. As an entry in the “Studies in American Thought and Culture” series, the book’s specific interpretation holds

enough merit to join other titles of historical and literary analysis on the life and works of Henry David Thoreau. Any savvy cataloger could find a more suitable home for it on the shelf for books on political theory or activism, where advanced graduate students and faculty members in philosophy or political science would be more likely to find it. They constitute the recommended audience for this book. Undergraduates and casual reader-followers of Thoreau may not find the explanations or validations they seek in these pages.

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***Landscape of Industry: An Industrial History of Blackstone Valley.* Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2009. 178 pages. \$35.00 (hardcover).**

The American industrial revolution established its earliest beginnings along the Blackstone River as it stretches from Worcester, Massachusetts and rapidly rushes south through Pawtucket before it empties into Rhode Island's Narragansett Bay. Through its use of attractively reproduced pictures and maps, the collection of articles in *Landscape of Industry* traces the industrial development along the river from Samuel Slater's arrival in 1790 until the eventual migration of the textile industry to the American South by the 1960s. Through the voice of six different writers, each thematic chapter covers a variety of aspects of the Blackstone Valley, from the growth and then demise of the textile industry to the building of roads, canals, and railroads. Circumstances surrounding new immigration, the burdens of slavery, and the anxieties brought about by the fight over the eight-hour work day and the demands for worker's rights formed a Blackstone region "distinct in its history and its habits" (3).



The story of the rise and development of the Blackstone River Valley cannot be adequately retold without the notable Samuel Slater and his relationship with “novice mill owners Moses Brown and William Almy” (4). Together these early entrepreneurs could claim “the first fully mechanized spinning mill in the United States”(5). Within a few years the news of Slater’s success fueled interest in building a canal to cut transportation costs, which increased the economic development along the river valley. By 1830 a fully functional canal that avoided the rougher parts of the Blackstone River made its way from Worcester to Narragansett Bay. At approximately the same time, the railroad made its mark felt as Worcester became a hub for the developing rail system. Businessmen saw the advantage of the railroad and challenged canal transportation. “Three cotton mills, eight woolen mills, two paper mills, textile machine makers, [and] a wire company” soon made their home in Worcester (8). In the first chapter, Richard Greenwood traces Slater’s success by examining the multiplying of mill villages throughout the Blackstone River Valley, creating an environment for entrepreneurial success and technical innovation (15).

Several of the authors are quick to point out that Slater’s success, while an incredible saga itself, contains only part of the tale. Slater and his associates tinkered, planned, and instituted a financially successful factory system and unwittingly created a scheme that could, and in fact was, replicated throughout the Blackstone Valley (85). Unfortunately, the developing new factories also proved to possess a particularly voracious appetite for cotton and since “cotton did not grow on the banks of the Blackstone,” New England became firmly tied to the slavery of the cotton South (110). One of the more remarkable aspects of Northern manufacturing dependence on the cotton South is the failure of abolitionists to make the connection. As the Blackstone valley continued to industrialize, it continued its dependence on the “cotton” from the South.

Increased industrialization brought an unexpected social realignment. As workers flocked to the newly emerging manufacturing centers in the Blackstone Valley, they carried a sense of justice and fair play that became the founding kernels of an American labor movement. In “We Walk!” Albert T. Klyberg provides a moving description of the Pawtucket Strike of 1824, which was ignited by the “concerted action of the mill owners to lengthen the workday by an hour . . . and cut . . . [the] pay of weavers by 25 percent” (134-35).

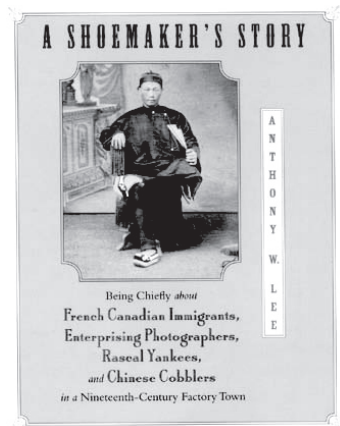
The rich descriptions, the use of many period photos and graphics, and the generous quantity of footnotes and primary sources not only make this

work a great introduction to modern industrialization as it occurred in the Blackstone River Valley, but also take the reader beyond mere preliminary stages of Massachusetts's industrial development. *Landscape of Industry* provides a glimpse into the future of industrial development in the United States.

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Anthony W. Lee. *A Shoemaker's Story: Being Chiefly about French Canadian Immigrants, Enterprising Photographers, Rascal Yankees, and Chinese Cobblers in a Nineteenth-Century Factory Town.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2008. 314 pages. \$45 (cloth).

In 1870 workers at a North Adams shoe factory went out on strike to force their employer, manufacturing upstart Calvin Sampson, to bargain with their union. Sampson, having not the slightest intention negotiating, immediately set out to replace them. Finding a new source of labor proved difficult, however, as the workers he brought in from nearby regions were consistently either unwilling to work as scabs or were themselves union members. Recognizing he needed to find workers that would not be pulled in by sentiments of union or ethnic solidarity, Sampson broadened his horizons and sent for a crew of Chinese immigrants to be brought in from San Francisco on the newly completed transcontinental railroad. Taking the bold step of importing replacement workers from China set off a storm of protests and national interest. It also successfully broke the strike and resulted in Chinese workers residing in the small New England town for the next decade. Ten years later, the anti-Chinese hysteria that preceded the Chinese Exclusion Act neared its apex, but with the local union ground into dust, Sampson simply declined to renew his contract with the Chinese workers and they vanished from the area never to return.



A Shoemakers' Story gives us a history of these events, offering an instructive and vividly written case study into the development of industry and unions, the deskilling of labor, the growth of immigration, and the transformation of identities that characterized post Civil War America. Lee successfully integrates the localized history in North Adams to the national and international current of events, ranging from the economic underpinnings of the French Canadian diaspora to the ethnic and cultural heterogeneousness of Chinese immigrants.

More than a simple history, Lee tells this story by exploring the various visual documents left behind by the main participants, primarily in photographs. He centers his narrative around a photograph of the newly arrived Chinese workers standing in front of the North Adams shoe factory. Sampson inexplicably arranged to have the photo taken in the midst of the drama and protest of the very day of the Chinese workers arrival, when thousands had gathered to protest, and Sampson himself was carrying numerous firearms in anticipation of a fight. Lee investigates what each of the major protagonists "saw" in this photograph and the events surrounding it, giving each perspective an entire chapter to be explored: the shoe manufacturer, the photographers, French Canadian union workers, and the Chinese workers.

In each of these chapters, Lee contextualizes and unpacks how the various groups were affected and responded to the arrival of the Chinese in North Adams. But reviewing the flood of photographic documents that resulted remains his focus. As an art historian, Lee shows his talents by offering rich analysis of the images that beautifully illustrate the pages of this book. He not only uses the photographs as a means to shed light on how the groups viewed themselves and wanted others to see them, but also as a way to show how the visual culture created by these photographs formed a new medium for struggle, conflict, and expression.

Shoe manufacturer Calvin Sampson, who had avoided any pretense of paternalism in dealing with his labor force prior to the strike, used photographs and illustrations of the Chinese workers to help construct a new image of himself as benevolent patriarch. The photographs he commissioned also tended to highlight the differentiation of the Chinese workers from the broader society, particularly the organized working class, which would have no power of persuasion to win them to the union cause.

The striking workers turned to photographs with their own agenda in mind. Having started their own shoe manufacturing cooperative, a large group of the strikers returned to Sampson's factory to have a photograph

taken as a direct response to the picture of the Chinese on the day of their arrival. They also turned to individual portraiture to celebrate the artisanship and craft of shoemaking as a way of contesting the deskilling and displacement of labor that was at the center of the drama at Sampson's factory.

The Chinese workers themselves experimented with photography for their own reasons. Mostly coming from peasant backgrounds in the unindustrialized countryside of China, the camera represented a new and strange technology to them. After Sampson introduced the Chinese workers to the process of having their pictures taken, many became hooked, spending not a small portion of their earnings at the photographers' studio. They experimented with portrait styles, ranging from traditional Chinese portraiture to the most modern Western trends. They shared these pictures as greetings and well-wishes with friends and relatives in China, San Francisco, and locally. Over the years of their stay they produced one of the most comprehensive photographic records of any early group of Chinese in the United States.

Lee also turns to the two men largely responsible for taking these pictures. The two photographers ran a studio together and struggled to earn a living taking and selling pictures in North Adams. They had a difficult time trying to create commercial interest in their photographic products, ultimately parting ways and going out of business. But their efforts were largely responsible for producing the photographic record of the arrival of the Chinese in North Adams and the fallout it created. By telling their story, Lee completes the circle, drawing in the unseen participants of the photographs that are the focus of his book.

All this "arguing in front of the camera" that took place between the Chinese, Sampson, and the French-Canadian unionists created a vein of rich historical material (8). By fully mining this vein for all the meaning and understanding it can provide, Lee has given a voice and personality to groups and individuals that would otherwise remain unseen and unheard. Lee puts it this way: "The photographs . . . were social relations momentarily hardened into images. How we untangle and understand those relations through pictures, in a remarkable place and time, is what this book is about" (10).

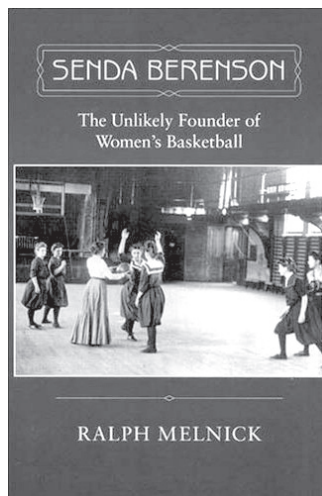
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Ralph Melnick. *Senda Berenson: The Unlikely Founder of Women's Basketball*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007. 265 pages. \$22.95 (paperback).

Ralph Melnick has written a richly detailed and vivid narrative tracing the life and works of Senda Berenson, best remembered as the founder of women's basketball in the United States. In *Senda Berenson: The Unlikely Founder of Women's Basketball*, Melnick presents a portrait of Senda Berenson as an individual and as a pioneer in women's sports, deliberately providing neither a history of early twentieth century "new woman" feminism nor a history of women's basketball and physical education.

In 1890, Berenson enrolled at the Boston Normal School for Gymnastics (BNSG), which trained teachers in Swedish gymnastics techniques. The Swedish approach, as explained by Melnick, emphasized personal growth, social uplift, interpersonal skills, and physical health. In contrast, the German approach that had come to dominate American athletics during the Civil War promoted strength, nation building, and competitive athletic skills. During her training in the Swedish athletic philosophy at BNSG, Berenson accepted Smith College's invitation to fill a temporary gymnastics instructor post, only to stay at Smith for over a decade as the highly influential and persuasive Director of Physical Training. During her tenure at Smith and in spite of early faculty resistance, she created women's basketball, institutionalized a wide range of women's sports, introduced physical education courses, and was a successful fundraiser, all key hallmarks of modern college athletic directors.

Melnick argues that Berenson was a surprising choice for the frankly Christian Smith College, given Berenson's background as a Jewish immigrant from Eastern Europe. In fact, Melnick demonstrates that athletics was a touchpoint of anti-Semitism in America at a time when Jews were regularly barred from Gentile sports associations and clubs as well as higher education institutions. In carefully tracing her life by pointing out her ongoing connection to Europe through family, travel, and



politics, Melnick explores Berenson's personal dismay over anti-Semitism abroad and in America as expressed by figures like Hitler and Father Charles Coughlin.

The most fascinating and compelling sections of Melnick's well-written narrative relate to Berenson's gendered sports philosophy. According to Melnick, Berenson believed that the so-called women's sphere was greatly expanding during the late nineteenth century and thus deemed it essential for women to become physically fit to adjust to and command their new roles. Of any sport, Berenson regarded basketball as the greatest value to women because, she argued, it developed physical and moral courage, self-control, self-reliance and teamwork. Melnick reveals that Berenson viewed female sports competition as morally and socially indefensible, instead seeking to encourage women's "self-control and gentle manners," characteristics essential she claimed to women's good "character and true womanhood"(187). Melnick concludes that Berenson's ideas regarding womanhood prompted her to continually change the rules of women's basketball to prevent competitive individualism and to cultivate women's health and morality, so that women could apply their basketball skills and moral learning both on the court and throughout life.

Melnick asserts that Berenson's story represents the ongoing historical debate as to whether women and men are fundamentally different, concluding that Berenson herself adamantly emphasized physical and emotional gender difference and intentionally molded women's athletics to have a posture significantly different from that of men's athletics. Berenson contended that women were more emotional than men, so to prevent alleged female hysteria and selfishness, women's sports had to focus on physical and moral health as well as the civic and social benefits of sports. James Naismith developed men's basketball in 1891 at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Springfield, Massachusetts, in part to advance notions of Muscular Christianity. Berenson read about his game but was determined to adapt and change it to, in her view, better serve the different needs of women. For one, Berenson forbid Smith women from playing against other college teams, fearing overwrought competition, though her students played against each other before large and boisterous Smith audiences. Melnick might have strengthened this discussion by placing Berenson's views within the larger early-twentieth century debate between "protectionists," who sought special protections for women, and "feminists," who sought equal rights for women without regard to sex.

Melnick's work relies primarily on Berenson's family correspondence, though her speeches and comments concerning women's sports are sprinkled throughout his book, which means readers also learn a great deal about Berenson's brother, the renowned art historian Bernard Berenson. In many ways, Melnick's book is a family history, or a study in family—and particularly sibling—dynamics, as much as it is a narrative about Berenson's role in creating and writing the rules for women's basketball.

Ralph Melnick's *Senda Berenson: The Unlikely Founder of Women's Basketball* offers a readable and enjoyable biography of a woman who simultaneously shaped and reflected the newly emerging ideals and roles for women in America at the turn of the twentieth century.

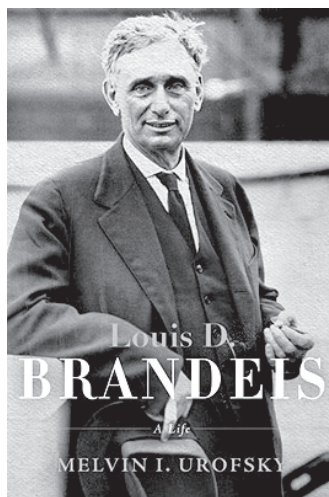
Brooke Orr is an associate professor of history at Westfield State University in Massachusetts, and is currently writing a book called The 'People's Joan of Arc': Mary Elizabeth Lease, Gendered Politics, and the Populist Party in Gilded-Age America.

Melvin I. Urofsky. *Louis D. Brandeis: A Life*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2009. 953 pages. \$40.00 (Hardcover).

Melvin I. Urofsky has written a monumental biography of Louis Dembitz

Brandeis (1856-1941), a judge who sits among the pantheon of the greatest United States Supreme Court Justices, a group which includes John Marshall and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. A native Kentuckian, the first Jewish Supreme Court Justice can also be claimed by Massachusetts, as this legal leviathan spent his entire career based in Boston before ascending to the high court at age 59. Urofsky provides evidence that Brandeis imbibed New England's traditional values of democracy and self-reliance, giving him a head start towards becoming one of the most prominent

social reformers in the first decades of the twentieth century. At the same time, Urofsky presents a politically astute "attorney for the people" who



became one of the few Supreme Court justices not to have occupied a previous judicial position. A controversial figure during the Supreme Court nomination process, Brandeis ultimately helped create the modern legal foundation for privacy and free speech. In a year (2010) that has seen two Supreme Court appointments that may set the tone for the coming decades, Urofsky's monumental work on Brandeis is timely.

An editor of a five-volume collection of Brandeis' papers, Melvin Urofsky, a legal scholar and professor emeritus of history at Virginia Commonwealth University, writes as an admirer of Brandeis. The author introduces Brandeis as a scion of well-off merchants of eastern European Jewish heritage with a childhood in Kentucky. Armed with an education in Europe, Brandeis arrived at Harvard Law as a young man who discovered that "Cambridge and Boston [were] attractive places to live"(36). Brandeis' "intelligence, handsome, outgoing personality, and [his many] friendships" with classmates from Brahmin Boston opened doors. Initially, the young lawyer did not suffer from blatant anti-Semitism, according to Urofsky, though he provides evidence that the wife of Brandeis' best friend and law partner, Samuel Warren, snubbed him by not inviting young Louis to their wedding. Still, Brandeis began his career with great vigor teaching part-time at Harvard Law and MIT. Brandeis also co-founded the Harvard Law Alumni Association. It appeared, therefore, that the native Kentuckian was on his way toward scaling the summit of Brahmin Boston.

Urofsky posits that Brandeis' concept of democracy, in which government did not interfere in the economy to aid big business, had its foundation in "traditional American principles" found within the New England ethos (92). Such a government was also a defender of the public interest, a mindset also indigenous to Massachusetts. This traditional (or parochial) Boston worldview eventually clashed with Boston's financial and professional elite, which consisted of Brahmins who had originally welcomed Brandeis. The prescribed new business philosophy of the 1890's and the early 1900's emphasized profits, often made possible through monopoly. This was the Gilded Age, which saw the likes of Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller. In what the future justice referred to as "my first important public work," Brandeis opposed the Boston Elevated Company, a syndicate that included J.P. Morgan & Company, in its efforts to build a railway line through downtown Boston including Boston Common (132). Though not altogether successful in his efforts, according to Urofsky, the young lawyer earned a reformist reputation.

Throughout the work, Urofsky presents successes that occurred for Brandeis due as much to the unique Massachusetts ethos as to Brandesian

wherewithal. In what the author calls Brandeis' most successful reform, the Boston lawyer created savings bank life insurance for Massachusetts residents. At the time, working class insurance holders were unable to protect themselves against insurance companies due to opaque financial statements that hid diversion of funds for private use and large salaries.

Upon discovering financial irregularities and graft, Brandeis coordinated a lobbying effort throughout the Bay State, sending out press releases and organizing local supporters to lobby state representatives while he himself lobbied old contacts from Harvard Law, politicians, journalists, and labor leaders in Boston. Urofsky overreached by saying that this effort amounted to "one of the first modern citizens' lobbies" in American history (174).

That said, Brandeis' bank life insurance efforts were only replicated in the Empire State. It was the fight against the attempted merger of the *New York, New Haven, & Hartford Railroad* with the *Boston & Maine Railroad* that brought national fame for Brandeis, posits Urofsky, though this effort also served to make "outright enemies" of Boston's elite. This provided an opportunity for the author to show rare disagreement with his subject: Urofsky criticized the Boston reformer for attacking bigness while "oblivious to the economic realities that led many people to support consolidation" (182).

Indeed, for many civic leaders and business people consolidation was rational because getting rid of aging facilities and redundancy served the public interest. Brandeis held on to "an antiquated attitude," claims the author, whereby consolidation had to take place within the framework of Massachusetts laws and not those of corporations headquartered outside the state (186). At the same time, Urofsky provides evidence that Brandeis had a blind eye for defending a monopoly provided it was headquartered in the Bay State. Brandeis defended the McKay Shoe Machinery Company earlier in his career. Yet, when this detail was made public during his Supreme Court nomination, he disavowed this fact.

In 1912, Brandeis entered national politics, starting with the presidential election of the same year and leading up to his elevation to the Supreme Court in 1916, thereby ending many years of intense public service to Boston and Massachusetts, asserts Urofsky. Brandeis became a key figure in Washington, providing advice to President Woodrow Wilson while also dispensing patronage appointments in Massachusetts. At the same time, Brandeis was prevented from a Cabinet position by Brahmin sentiment. As Harvard president Abbott Lawrence Lowell once thundered: "no one of any standing in Boston trusted Brandeis" (372).

These vitriolic attacks were a precursor to the fight to prevent the Boston lawyer from sitting on the Supreme Court. Indeed, Urofsky claims that during the four-month nomination process it looked as if Brandeis would not be confirmed. Conservatives saw the Court as a “citadel to protect property and individual economic rights” while the reformist Brandeis proselytized a “living law” with judges responding to social change (439). Interestingly, Urofsky is oddly reticent in charging anti-Semitism in Brandeis’ challenge to sit on the Court. Urofsky mentions a petition against Wilson’s nomination signed by prominent Bostonians, which included names such as Adams, Gardner and Peabody. Earlier in the work the author acknowledged the existence of a nativist backlash against immigrants from Eastern Europe at the cusp of the twentieth century that saw a corresponding rise in anti-Semitism in Boston, “a city whose ancestors had patterned themselves on the ancient Hebrews” (122).

Of course, Urofsky’s book is not all about Brandeis’ legal career in Boston. Prior to his tenure on the Supreme Court, Brandeis conceived what was later called “the Brandeis brief,” a legal technique backed up by voluminous data, which made use of “non traditional and non legal materials to uphold a particular view” (220). Such a procedure is now a received practice in the legal profession, with *Brown v. Board of Education* among the more prominent cases that made use of the social sciences, current factual materials, and scholarship to confront accepted traditional legal thinking. The teacher in Brandeis also wished to educate judges using voluminous facts: “a judge is presumed to know the elements of law, but there is no presumption that he knows the facts” (215). Brandeis also popularized the concept of *pro bono* work, a model of public service that is now part of the legal professional landscape.

Louis D. Brandeis: A Life is a work of tremendous breadth and scope by a legal scholar who has spent a lifetime studying his subject. Urofsky’s work verges on the hagiographical, however. Brandeis is portrayed as a paragon with few faults, though with an occasional tendency towards tilting at windmills, a trait that Urofsky explicitly denies. The author also struggled mightily not to charge that Brandeis faced virulent anti-Semitism throughout his career but rather made enemies due to his reformist mindset. Urofsky is too reliant, in this instance, on Brandeis’ letters that rarely mentioned anti-Semitism but instead should have brought to bear scholarship that documents the bigotry of the day. At times, Brandeis was presented as a rather humorless, two-dimensional figure. A wealthy man by middle age, Brandeis led a life described as “ascetic.” He was not given to gregariousness; rather, he preferred small social gatherings at his home

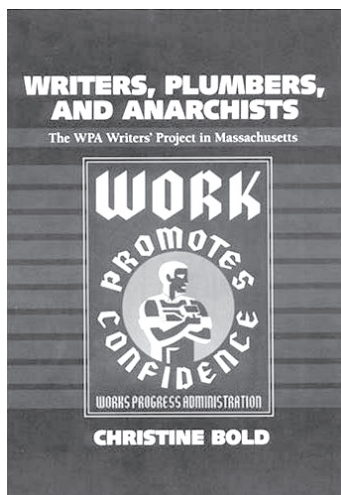
where he could expound on a variety of issues. Unlike Oliver Wendell Holmes, and later Felix Frankfurter, who treated their Supreme Court law clerks as “surrogate sons,” Brandeis treated his with formality. Urofsky presents his subject as a supportive husband and father. Brandeis’ wife Alice was given to unexplained illnesses throughout their marriage while his daughters, a lawyer and an academic, respectively, were his pride and joy. In the final analysis, *Louis D. Brandeis: A Life* is a superbly written and researched study that enhances understanding of twentieth century American legal history and the legal leviathan that shaped it.

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***Writers, Plumbers, and Anarchists: The WPA Writers’ Project in Massachusetts.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006. 272 pages. \$24.95 (paper).**

My family groans when I pull the car into a visitor’s center on any road trip. Why? Because I am a brochure nut. I love gathering them, reading them, and collecting them. I want to learn all I can about any area I am driving through, as well as any cultural, natural, or historic gems that may lie ahead.

As someone who studies history and teaches public relations, I also find them to be a fascinating representation of the genre we might call “booster literature.” They are meant to promote a location and to attract tourist and business dollars. So it is no surprise that the writers and editors make content choices with that purpose in mind. The Mt. Vernon brochure I got recently, published by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, makes no mention of slaves. Colonial Williamsburg and Monticello have, since controversial decisions in the late 1970s, included a more critical perspective on slavery in their depictions of early American life, as well as that of Native Americans in the case of



Williamsburg. The nature of that inclusiveness continues to be the subject of dispute from all sides of the political and historiographic spectrum.

But what if the federal government were to hire thousands of writers with the charge to simply document local histories, and to do so with an emphasis on the lives of the common folk, not just the rich and powerful? What kinds of choices might the authors make, and what kinds of biases might affect the editing process?

Christine Bold, in this volume, gives us an impeccably researched view of what she calls the “memory-making” process initiated when the New Deal’s Federal Arts Project employed writers through the Works Progress Administration. The title of her work, *Writers, Plumbers and Anarchists*, is her own play on the acronym. The project lasted from 1935 to 1943. Its Massachusetts office set out ambitiously to document the cultural and economic histories and sites of 316 towns and thirty-nine cities in the Commonwealth. It ended up documenting life through about twenty-four guides to the state, different regions, and communities. The program itself was a lifeline to unemployed writers, journalists, white-collar workers, and others who were barely scraping by on government relief checks. It also made the important leap in considering artists to be worthy of support for the good that they can provide the wider community. We see some of the legacy of the program in the National Endowments for the Arts and for the Humanities.

Bold writes, “The writers’ project organized the first large-scale charting of America, thereby serving as the discursive edge of the New Deal plan to refashion the public landscape” (5). But, as the author thoroughly documents, this effort was beset by controversy and dispute over the content of the state and community guides.

One of many examples that Bold explores was the treatment of the case of Nicola Sacco, a shoe-factory worker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, who were charged in 1920 with an armed robbery and the murder of a paymaster and security guard in South Braintree, Massachusetts. The controversial case, in which the anarchist-leaning political views of the defendants were highlighted, has led to some 30 books (including a recent and highly readable treatment by Bruce Watson), and ultimately to a declaration by Governor Michael Dukakis in 1977 that the trial was unfair. The two men were executed in 1927, but the strong feelings around the case were still strongly felt when, ten years later, the WPA guidebook, *Massachusetts: A Guide to its Places and People* was published. The guidebook briefly mentioned the case five times, but most extensively in the section on Labor. The inclusion of the case in the Labor section, which

detailed numerous strikes and the official repression they encountered, reinforced the contention made by advocates for the two men. John Dos Passos, for instance, in a 1927 pamphlet, contended that their arrest had much more to do with the need by mill owners and those officials who supported them to link radical labor activism to thievery and murder than it did with any concrete evidence against the two.

The paragraph on the case in the original guidebook ends with this claim: "It was widely believed that, although legal forms were observed, the determining factor in the case from start to finish was the affiliation of the two men with an unpopular minority political group." The first part of that sentence was later changed in a revised edition to substitute "widely believed" with "It was contended by liberals and radicals that" (65-66). That alteration and others were the result of a virtual political and media firestorm launched against the book by conservatives in Congress who were anxious to find ammunition against New Deal programs. Bold refers to this and other editorial changes and deletions as "silent censorship" since no attention was drawn to the changes in subsequent editions, and a number of historians since have overlooked them, indicating that Massachusetts officials stood firm against the criticism, when they had, in fact, at least partially caved to it.

In considerable detail, Bold discusses the failure of most guidebook authors to include African Americans and the relegation to historical relic status of Native Americans. She also details the more positive sides of the project's ability to give visibility to labor struggles and to such groups as Albanian Americans or Armenians in the state's life, and to rapidly document the catastrophe of the 1938 hurricane. Bold offers a thorough and analytically sophisticated treatment of the fascinating process of "memory-making." She takes us inside the internal disputes among often well-meaning and hard-working reporters and editors and those to whom they had to report as the choices they made helped to shape Americans' notions of who is to be counted in "we, the people." Her volume is not only a fascinating and informative look into the Commonwealth's cultural history, but it is highly valuable for any student of history (or avid reader of brochures) in terms of understanding the forces behind the choices made in the recording of history. This book should be read by students and teachers of history and social studies, and all of those interested in considering how collective identity is shaped by the written word.

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Rhetoric of Law and Order: How ABC Framed the Mumia Abu-Jamal Story (*Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2010*).

Stuart E. Weisberg. *Barney Frank: The Story of America's Only Left-Handed, Gay, Jewish Congressman*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009. 500 pgs. \$29.95 (hardcover).

Writing a biography about a living subject presents formidable challenges. Remaining as unbiased as possible, portraying a well-rounded character, and creating an engaging text are key components of any biography. Stuart Weisberg succeeds admirably with his biography of Barney Frank. Weisberg's preface explains the author's reasons for writing this book and states that much as Oliver Cromwell requested his portrait to truly look like him, warts and all, Weisberg reveals that while this book admires Barney Frank, "it shows warts and everything" (x). Weisberg incorporates extensive quotes from friends, teachers, acquaintances, family, journalists, fellow politicians, and Barney Frank himself to create a thorough portrait of Congressman Frank's activities, characteristics, reflections and life. Although Weisberg's preface explains where he acquired his information, footnotes or a citations page would have been of interest to the reader. Overall, Weisberg's book was a pleasure to read and provided insights into Congressman Frank's life as well as a general history of Massachusetts politics.

Weisberg follows a chronological presentation of Frank's life, beginning with his birth in Bayonne, New Jersey, and progressing through his childhood, touching on events that Frank noted as significant in his early life, such as the murder of Emmet Till, knowledge of prejudice against homosexuals, and life at Harvard University. Weisberg presents numerous examples of Frank's personality that have been consistent throughout his life, such as his quick wit and fast talking as revealed by people who have known Frank from an early age. Weisberg navigates Frank's political

BARNEY FRANK

The Story of America's Only
Left-Handed, Gay, Jewish Congressman



STUART E. WEISBERG

career beginning with his work for Mayor Kevin White, his first campaign for the legislature from Ward 5, and ending with Frank's chairmanship of the Committee on Financial Services in the House of Representatives in 2009.

Weisberg also provides many details about Massachusetts politics that are particularly fascinating, especially for someone who grew up in Massachusetts and heard these names repeatedly over many years. Of particular interest was the connection between Father Robert Drinan's departure from the political scene and his assistance in getting Frank elected to fill his seat. Tales about Margaret Heckler, redistricting of the Fourth District in Massachusetts, and Tip and Tommy O'Neill delve into the history and workings of Massachusetts politics. Weisberg not only describes Frank's efforts in and for Massachusetts, but he elucidates key events to enrich the text without confusing or leading the reader too far away from the life of Barney Frank.

Weisberg explores the evolution of Frank's acceptance of his homosexuality throughout the text. While Frank had numerous accomplishments throughout his life—a rich family experience, graduation from Harvard University, serving in various elected offices—opening up about being gay consumed his thoughts and energies for many years. Weisberg spoke with women who dated Barney Frank early in his life as well as friends to whom Frank confided about being gay before he publically came out. Weisberg spoke with Frank regarding his struggles with leading what Frank felt was a “dishonest life” and keeping his personal life secondary to his political career (342).

Throughout Frank's political career, he fought for a variety of civil rights issues for the gay community, but lived with the knowledge that he was denying that he was part of that community. Adam Clayton Powell Jr.'s determination and dignity to reject the discrimination that existed against African Americans even in Congress encouraged Frank to follow in Powell's firm footsteps on the path for civil rights for gays and lesbians. Weisberg interviewed both Frank and his former partner, Herb Moses, to explore their experiences in Washington society. Weisberg also addresses the sex scandal that interrupted Frank's life and revealed Frank's ability to be misled by a young man Frank felt he was trying to help, as well as Frank's talent for attacking problems head-on. According to Weisberg's research, Frank's actions during this challenging episode contributed to his reelection and provided evidence that his life's work serving the public was highly respected.

Weisberg concludes his book with the Clinton and Bush administrations' political policies and challenges. Weisberg quotes Frank's thoughts on Clinton's actions regarding gays in the military, his interactions with Newt Gingrich, the impeachment hearings, and the homophobic insults Frank faced from within Congress. Other issues on which Frank worked during the Clinton presidency included the Defense of Marriage Act and raising awareness about hate crimes against gays such as the violent murder of Matthew Shephard. During the Bush administration, Frank rejected the Patriot Act and believed that Americans were being misled about the reasons for war against Iraq. Weisberg's final chapter focuses on Frank's role as chairman for the Committee on Financial Services and reveals Frank's beliefs about the free enterprise system, regulations, and capitalism. Weisberg explains the very intricate workings of the banking crisis using accessible language that enlightens the reader without leading to confusion, certainly a challenging task. Throughout these chapters, Barney Frank's views and humor enliven the discussions of potentially painful topics.

A five-hundred page biography with twenty-two chapters may strike some readers as daunting, but Weisberg's writing style is engaging and flavored. Multiple quotes on every page add to a very enjoyable literary experience. Upon completing this text, readers feel they really know Congressman Frank's strengths, weaknesses, personality, successes, and adaptability. Frank's temperament led him to work hard at compromise and he understands how to play the game in Washington. Further attesting to Frank's character and the respect he received from others is the fact that several of his staff members have worked for Frank for many years. A person who did not live the values that he espoused would certainly not have the decades of dedication he has received from his co-workers. Weisberg satisfyingly clarifies the political machinations of Washington, D.C. and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts through extensive interviews and research while he simultaneously reveals the many facets of Congressman Barney Frank's life and personality.

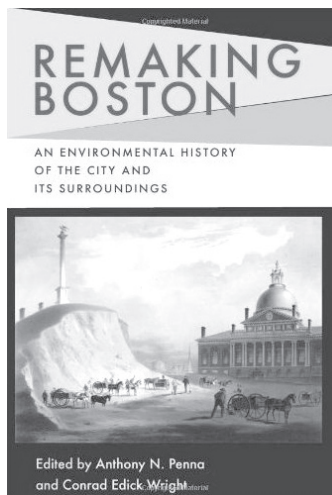
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***Remaking Boston: An Environmental History of the City and its Surroundings.* Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009. 333 pages. \$40.00 (hardcover).**

Remaking Boston: An Environmental History of the City and its Surroundings is a collection of thirteen short essays documenting the environmental history of Boston from prehistoric to modern times. The essays are a product of the Boston Environmental History Seminars produced by the Massachusetts Historical Society. They are skillfully edited to retain their academic character in a concise and readable format that the casual student of history will readily appreciate. Stylistically, the essays are presented almost with one voice. They emphasize short, precise chapters that highlight fascinating nuggets of information, often shattering the reader's preconceived notions.

The book is organized into three main sections: The Harbor, The Town and the Countryside, and The Climate and the Weather. The casual reader may be tempted to skip a chapter based on their normal reading preferences. But each essay is interesting in its own right, often containing gems of information that the reader would otherwise never encounter. For example, much of the Boston harbor was fortuitously saved from further environmental degradation through the application of an incorrect scientific theory of the time. Until the late nineteenth century, it was believed that the deep ship channels so essential for Boston to remain a vital port were formed and maintained by the constant scouring of the harbor by rivers and tides. Any diminution of the volume of water scouring the harbor would therefore result in the silting of the ship channels, with predicted disastrous results.

For decades this theory helped to minimize the environmental damage of land making, although it did not stop it entirely. This process leveled many hills in the city, which at the time were impediments to the prevailing available modes of transportation. The displaced soil was used to fill many salt marshes and flats. At the time this seemed reasonable for two reasons: The most obvious was the need for valuable commercial and residential



land. A less apparent motive was that this land was considered useless by many to begin with and had been consigned for use as refuse dumps long before. One way to eliminate the resulting noxious smells and supposed disease causing “miasma” emanating from this land was to cover it with the surplus soil and turn it into desperately desired useable land. We now understand that the deep ship channels of Boston Harbor were actually created by glaciers millions of years ago, and that the action of tidal scour has little effect on their configuration. Hundreds of acres of tidal wetlands so important to our environmental health were saved by a scientific theory since proven to be baseless, though it was seen as definitive at the time.

A common preconception is that large Midwestern dairy farms and railroads combined to flood Massachusetts with cheap dairy products during the middle of the nineteenth century, destroying the dairy economy and leading to the first great reforestation of the state. This book convincingly shows that there was a direct cause and effect involved, but for different reasons and with different results. At this time, refrigeration was not advanced enough to bring fresh milk cross-country. But cheap Midwestern grain did become available to the farmers of Boston. This in turn led to vastly higher milk yields and favored stall-feeding over free range feeding. This reduced the need for pasturage land, resulting in reforestation. The dairy industry actually thrived in the Boston area as a result. An unintended additional benefit accrued to the farmer. The predominant white pine that carpeted his unused pastureland grew to maturity at the exact time that there was a huge demand for boxwood to feed the emerging packaging industry. So, counter-intuitively, Midwestern farming initially proved a huge boon to Boston farmers, increasing their productivity and providing them with an unintended and unanticipated second crop. The advent of refrigerated trucking and the tremendous increase in twentieth century Boston land values finally decimated the local dairy industry. The insatiable demand for additional area land was the most telling factor: witness the still-viable Vermont dairy industry.

Another fascinating section of the book deals with how Boston first polluted and then saved its beautiful harbor. Initially, the Back Bay was used as a refuse pit until it became unbearable to its abutters, when it was then filled in and turned into valuable real estate. Subsequent sewer systems were built that pumped millions of gallons of refuse into the harbor. Each time the pollution became intolerable, the solution became to pump the refuse further out into the harbor. Forced to act by the federal government in the late 1980s, Boston finally built modern treatment facilities to clean the wastewater before pumping it far out into Massachusetts Bay. The

harbor has been transformed, and is now a recreational and tourism center. In an ironic twist of fate, the Boston Harbor islands that were largely spared from development because of their once surrounding pollution are now part of the National Park System and attract thousands of visitors each year.

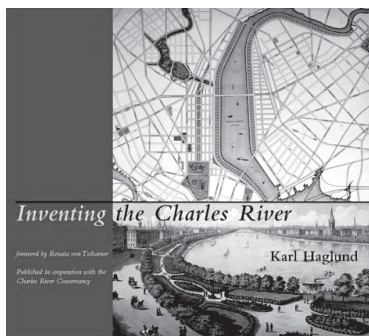
The final section of the book documents the weather changes to Boston over the centuries. It shows irrefutable evidence that Boston's climate has been gradually and continuously warming. From the time of the "Little Ice Age" encountered by the earliest settlers until the present day, the evidence is overwhelming. Using various forms of historical documentation such as journals, letters, and photographs, the authors have documented earlier migration patterns, tree flowering, crop maturity, and planting seasons. This surplus of evidence suggests that global warming is indeed real, and leaves an open question as to what the future holds for the city of Boston.

Remaking Boston: An Environmental History of the City and its Surroundings is both readable and enjoyable. There is much fascinating information in this book that could not be included in the space of this review. It stands alone as an overall survey of Boston's environmental history, but it can also be read as an introduction to the various topics presented for those who want to explore a particular subject in-depth. Either way, it is a valuable addition to the literature of Boston history.

Stephen Donnelly is a consultant for the insurance industry and a Westfield State University alumnus.

Karl Haglund. *Inventing the Charles River*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003. 493 pages. \$55 (Hardcover).

Inventing the Charles River, jointly published by the MIT Press and the Charles River Conservancy, is a history of that river over the four hundred years European immigrants have lived along its banks. The author, Karl Haglund, a senior planner at the Metropolitan District Commission, is extremely well suited to the task and has produced a compendium of prodigious dimensions.



The book can be read in a number of ways. It is so well illustrated and the captions are so informative that it can almost be read as a photo album. The reader is easily swept along from a fascinating map, to a photograph of a lost landscape, to a schematic of what might have been. And yet the reader invariably gets drawn back into a text that is comprehensive, effectively taking the reader through all the complex steps that led to the current state of the Charles River. In so doing, Haglund gives us a mix of history, urban planning, landscape architectural history, engineering, industrial development and, of course, environmental history. Whether one reads or dabbles in this book, the reader comes away knowing infinitely more about both the Charles River and the urban planning of the greater Boston area.

The illustrations are especially fascinating because Boston changed shape so significantly over its four-hundred-year history. Much of what we now know as Boston did not exist three, two, or even one hundred years ago. Every time the city changed shape so did the River. Maps of all kinds describe this transformation. Photographs confirm it. Architectural drawings describe the envisioned use of that new landscape. Prints and paintings capture the lost look of the Back Bay, the salt marshes of the West Cambridge and Brighton banks of the Charles, as well as places now so submerged under the concrete and structural supports of major highway and arterial roads as to be the equivalent of non-existent: Gerry's Landing or, more grievously, huge chunks of Charlestown, the Miller River, and current Somerville where I-93 crosses the river.

In telling the story of the Charles River, Haglund inevitably tells the story of the men who were essential in its development. Among these, none stand more prominently than the partners in Olmsted, Olmsted, and Eliot. The senior partner, Frederick Law Olmsted, the man who designed Central Park, wrote his partners in 1893, "nothing else compares in importance to us with the Boston work, meaning the Metropolitan quite equally with the city work. The two together will be the most important work of our profession now in hand anywhere in the world" (148). The "Metropolitan Plan" looked at the city of Boston within the context of the Charles River watershed. The idea was to buy up key geographical landmarks, most of them "wasteland" from a development point of view: escarpments and other rocky precipices; marshlands; river ways; kettle ponds; and the largest expanse of beachfront in the Boston area, Revere Beach. In conjunction with a private enterprise, the Trustees of Reservations, this land was acquired in the 1890s. It remains the core of

greater Boston's recreational areas: Blue Hill, the Middlesex Fells, the Arnold Arboretum, and Waverly Oaks.

Perhaps of even greater importance was the acquisition of river ways: not only the Charles River, but also Cheesecake Brook in Newtown, Muddy River in Brookline, and large portions of the Mystic River. This prevented the excessive pollution of these waterways, and it made a virtue of less desirable building land by ensuring that, despite the growth of the Boston metropolis, wherever one lives, there is some reservation of green space within reach. In this fashion, Boston has largely escaped the vast unrelenting concrete sprawl of other cities.

As for "the city work," the best example would be the Emerald Necklace, a greenway running along the Muddy River from Franklin Park in Roxbury to its mouth at the Charles River. Naturalistic in its aesthetic, it is entirely possible for the city dweller to fail to appreciate this achievement of open space, cherry blossom, recreational fields, beautiful sailing lake, and remarkable parkland containing a world-class collection of trees. But the Emerald Necklace also serves the intensely practical purpose of providing much needed drainage for those parts of Boston built on reclaimed land. Thus, what Bostonians think of as a primordial marshland is, in fact, an entirely artificially constructed environment using the Muddy River as drainage and connecting the old mouth of the Muddy River with the banks of the Charles River. This arrangement prevents most of the Back Bay from returning to its former status as the actual back bay of Boston.

Despite the visionary quality in Olmstead, Olmsted, and Eliot's design of both the Emerald Necklace and the Emerald Metropolis, serious questions are one hundred years later raised about whether that vision is now outdated. The demands of the automobile and the efficient circulation of traffic in a commuting age have taken their toll. The end of the Emerald Necklace where it meets the Charles River has been rendered completely meaningless by the overpasses and ramps connecting Storrow Drive with the Fenway and access to Route 1. Other problems involve the cost of maintenance and the resultant degraded landscape rendering a pale version of what was intended. Further problems echo the inequities of modern American cities: Do these green spaces serve all of Boston's citizens? Can the value of the open space, and the naturalistic landscape, and the leisurely enjoyment of boating, hiking, and biking in these spaces be appreciated citywide? Cambridge's Magazine Beach in 1935 was a real beach, and hordes came to swim. Does the MDC pool there now substitute for that loss? Will the Charles River at that site ever be swimmable again? Is it

enough that by careful use of the Olmsted plan Boston has simultaneously grown while preserving reminders of its historic past?

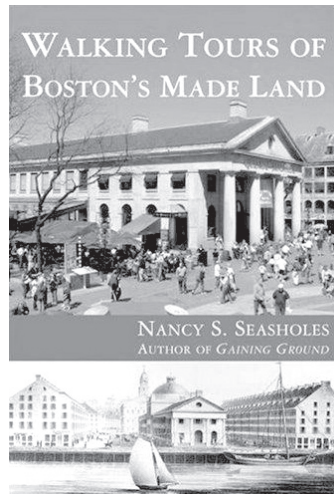
Haglund ends his book with questions and with photographs of the river over the last century and a half. The very last page of the text provides information about the co-publisher of the book, the Charles River Conservancy. Its mission is dual: to renew and maintain the Charles River Parklands as a key element in Greater Boston's metropolitan park system, and to further integrate the parklands into the fabric of urban life and community. Some may see this book as the highest end of advertizing. Certainly it is the best of public relations. If this book is an example of the quality of the Conservancy's work, they deserve all the support they can get.

Carol Bundy, an independent scholar, is the author of The Nature of Sacrifice: A Biography of Charles Russell Lowell, Jr. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2005).

Nancy S. Seasholes *Walking Tours of Boston's Made Land*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006. 212 pages. \$18.95 (paperback).

Walking Tours of Boston's Made Land is a collection of twelve illustrated walking tours focusing on the areas of man-made land in the city. It is a travel book made for historians, Bostonians, and walkers with interests as diverse as culture, architecture, and civil engineering. It is not, nor does it present itself as, an all-encompassing tourist guide. For a novice to the city, it should be viewed as a supplement to, rather than a replacement of, the typical Lonely Planet type travel guide.

Because of the book's unique focus, the reader will encounter many but not all of the major historical and tourist attractions of the city. Parts of the Freedom Trail, the Harbor Walk, and so on are included in these tours. However, the book is true to its title, concentrating on the one sixth of the city that was actually



man-made. This was usually done by building seawalls out into the tidal flats and filling in the resulting areas with dirt, often obtained by leveling the hills of other parts of the city. If an attraction is in or close to one of these areas then it is included in the tours; if not, you will not find it in the book. The flip side of this is that the walks often bring you to hidden historical gems that you would never find on the beaten path, such as the Charles River Dam in Walk 11. For this reason alone, this fascinating, inexpensive little book should be owned by any serious student of Boston. But the casual tourist with only a weekend in the city will want to first explore the more traditional venues such as the Freedom Trail or the African American Heritage Trail and would be better served by a more traditional tourist tome.

As a practicable travel guide, this book has many points in its favor. After reading the book, the reviewer took Walk 11 so that it could be experienced from the traveler's perspective. As stated in the preface, the author's aim was to provide a travel book that is easy to carry around. Mission accomplished, as the book is lightweight and easily fits into a small bag or larger coat pocket. The maps are excellent, the directions precise and easy to follow. The book avoids a major pitfall of some travel guides by numbering, bolding, and segmenting the directions from the descriptive text. A nice feature is the end flaps on both covers, which give the reader two ready-made bookmarks for a trip: one for the map and one for one's point on the walk, so there is no need to fold the pages of the book. Other excellent travel features are the noting of public restrooms, MBTA stops, mileage, and estimated time frames for the walks. In addition, the author provides optional detours not to be missed unless one has a pressing time constraint or some other reason to hurry along.

Walk 11 includes a number of historical wonders that everyone who lives in or visits Boston should see at some point in their lives. Some, like the USS Constitution and the dry docks, are fixtures of the Freedom Trail. The dry docks are particularly impressive, as it is one thing to read about or see a photograph of them and quite another thing to see a massive Navy ship displayed entirely out of the water. Many other points of interest are unique to this tour, including Harvard Mall, the Charles River Dam, the very touching Korean War memorial, the Historic Monument Area along the pedestrian-only Second Avenue, and the incredibly long Ropewalk Building.

Throughout the entire tour, the real points of interest within the book were the neighborhoods and the transformations that they went through over time. Seasholes never loses focus of the main premise of the book,

which is to highlight the man-made land of Boston and the communities that grew up upon it. This provides the real value-added element to the text that will be appreciated by any serious student of Boston and that makes this book a unique addition to the travel literature of New England.

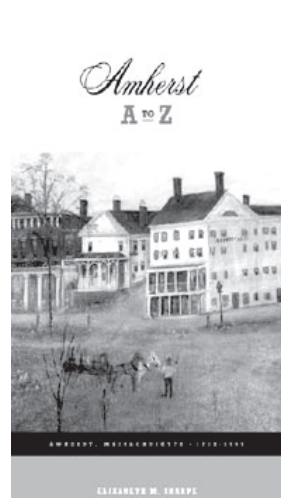
Stephen Donnelly is a consultant for the insurance industry and a Westfield State University alumnus.

Elizabeth M. Sharpe. *Amherst A to Z*. Holyoke, MA: Hadley Printing Co., 2009. 82 pages. \$19.95 (paperback).

Amherst, Massachusetts, marked its 250th anniversary in 2009. The Amherst Historical Society (AHS) offered up this wonderful little book to celebrate and recognize the history of the town. Author Elizabeth Sharpe, the president of the AHS at the time, has compiled an alphabetized list of historical events, people, and places, highlighting the famous along with the unknown.

The book feels like a website, or more appropriately a “Wiki,” in paper-form. Entries tend to be short and to-the-point in order to fit as much information into as few pages as possible. The brevity does not limit the usefulness or informational value at all. Many of the entries refer to others in the book for related information. Nearly every entry is accompanied by a picture or graphic of some kind, a nice touch in such a short book.

The first entry is a brief capsule on the town itself (it is a good thing that “Amherst” appears under “A”), providing a nice framework that the rest of the book fills out. The first permanent settlers arrived in the 1720s, and quickly became more numerous than those in the original settlement of Hadley. In 1759, residents petitioned the General Court to become a separate district, entitled to govern themselves. Governor Thomas Pownall named the newly created district after his close friend Lord General Jeffery Amherst. The town began sending delegates to the provincial Congress in 1774, although it was not officially incorporated until 1786.



Amherst has had a long and varied history, and Sharpe covers as much of it as possible. No topic is too big or too small. Short entries, such as a brief description of the first colonial settler of Amherst, or the first verified enslaved resident of the town, are contrasted by longer entries, such as on World War II. Entries on Robert Frost and Emily Dickinson, two of the most famous Amherst residents, are side-by-side with Frazar Stearns, a lieutenant killed during the Civil War in 1862, and Henry Jackson, the grandson of an escaped slave, who was a successful businessman and abolitionist. Jackson was arrested in 1840 for kidnapping a local Black girl who was in danger of being sold into slavery.

The subtitle, “Amherst, Massachusetts 1759-2009,” in no way limits the scope of the book. Sharpe includes entries not only from the days when Amherst was still part of Hadley, but also from much further back into prehistory, with entries on the original indigenous peoples of the area and on Lake Hitchcock, an ancient glacial lake that existed approximately 15,000 years ago.

The New England Museum Association recently awarded *Amherst A to Z* first place in its Publication Awards competition, as the best book of 2010 costing less than ten dollars to publish. NEMA made a wise decision. This book is excellent, and future historical societies planning commemorative works would do well to follow in Sharpe’s footsteps.

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