

BOOK REVIEWS

***Shays's Rebellion: Authority and Distress in Post-Revolutionary America.* By Sean Condon. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015. 164 pages. \$19.95 (paperback).**

Prof. Sean Condon's *Shays's Rebellion: Authority and Distress in Post-Revolutionary America* is a gem of a monograph. He provides the "who-what-when-and- where" of Massachusetts' season of discontent between the autumn of 1786 and the spring of 1787, and the indispensable whys: the reasons, rooted in events and processes driven by separation and war and underway for years, that finally impelled central and western county farmers, agricultural laborers and small landowners, many Revolutionary War veterans, to rearm, form scratch militia, and close courthouses in Worcester, Concord, Northampton, Springfield, Taunton, and Great Barrington. This book could also serve as a case study in the foundations of political legitimacy. It is a warning, understood by many during the Constitutional Convention of 1787, that the road to legitimacy requires constant maintenance.

With clear prose and focused narration Condon recreates the Massachusetts of 1786, which in the aftermath of the American Revolution was overwhelmed by economic dilemmas. These produced winners and losers, often divided along economic, which then meant largely sectional, lines: specie-short farmers and rural laborers in the central and western counties sought more state-issued paper currency with which to pay debts, which had grown through mortgages and escalating taxes, the latter linked to Massachusetts' war financing. On the other side were mostly eastern county creditors, from Boston, Newburyport, Salem and New Bedford, bankers and merchants, some of whom had helped finance the Revolution but whose numbers also included easily vilified speculators, re-purchasers of discounted farmers' mortgages and state obligations who now sought repayment or foreclosure. The creditor class lobbied Boston for deflationary policies to retain their investments' value and for increased state taxes to secure debt service.

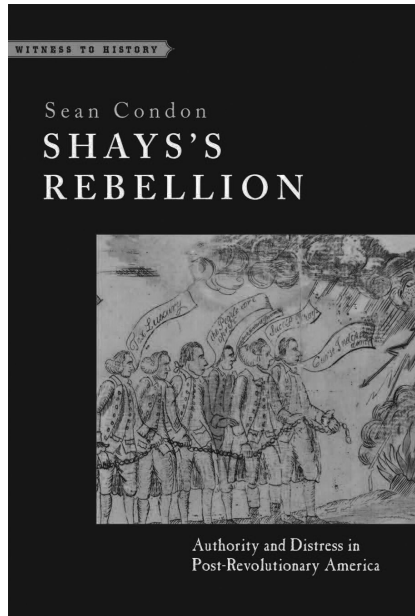
Standing between debtors and creditors were institutions differently distanced from both interests: there was the governor and General Court, dominated by representatives of creditors, yet struggling to raise taxes. There were courts, judges, juries, and sheriffs, which were tasked with enforcing creditor-friendly laws for collecting defaulted debt and delinquent taxes; foreclosures meant losing tools, livestock and farms, which often meant homes and livelihoods. There was the citizen militia, which, depending on

the county of origin, might be more (or less) inclined to suppress hostilities, often depending on whether the opposing line consisted of strangers or, instead, were neighbors and relatives. Finally, there were the Articles of Confederation, which found itself unable either to assist Massachusetts in quelling the revolt or funding adequate forces to protect the national armory at Springfield.

Economic deprivation was not the postwar future envisioned by returning veterans. Here Condon takes no sides. He notes the impulsiveness and naiveté of some rebels, the tin ears of state authorities, creditor overrepresentation in government, and the haplessness of all parties trapped in

macroeconomic displacement. Condon manages enough empathy to present the perspective of clashing, or just confused, interests. Desperate and fearful debtors, influenced by the Revolutionary War's egalitarian rhetoric, first organized county conventions to present grievances, perhaps mimicking the petitions that they had once sent to London in pre-revolutionary days; and when Boston (which some debtors now likened to the British Crown) failed to provide adequate remedies, the next step was to organize unauthorized militia units to close courthouses, thus halting foreclosures. To properly tell this story requires a broad grasp of period monetary and fiscal history, the minutia of state law collection procedures, eighteenth century Massachusetts' jurisprudence, regional social and political history, proceedings under the Articles and during the 1787 Constitutional Convention, as well as necessary anecdote and biography as can only be developed from primary sources. Condon draws from these mixed studies to present a balanced account.

The rebellion's violence (astonishingly mild compared with later experiences) inevitably transformed the issue from despairing debtors to the restoration of law and order. This eased the state's burden in suppressing disorder and pursuing ringleaders. Shays's Rebellion tested the legitimacy of Massachusetts' state government and while severely stressed, in the end was not found wanting: elections soon increased debtor representation, and changes in law reformed some collection procedures. There was no



“Appomattox” at rebellion’s end; it did not so much conclude as fade, in later years becoming an embarrassment to many participants.

The Articles of Confederation would fare differently. Condon casts the rebellion’s story in a broader narrative; before the first Massachusetts courthouse was closed, the nation’s senior statesmen were already organizing a Constitutional Convention. In May 1787 it convened in Philadelphia while Shays’s Rebellion was still fresh. In a strong epilogue, Condon traces Shays’s impact: one legacy was the Constitution’s Article I, Section, 10, which stripped states of their right to “emit Bills of Credit”; the Framers would no longer entrust states with control of currency. But what would prove to be of far greater importance was Article I, Section 8, Clause 15 of the US Constitution, which gave Congress the right “To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Law of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions.” When the Whiskey Rebellion erupted several years later, the new federal government now had the power to quell the revolt and, this time, retain its legitimacy and assure its survival.

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***Scoundrels Who Made America Great.* By Martin Henley. Bloomington, IN: Abbott Press, 2004. 257 pages. \$17.99 (paperback).**



In light of current events, this title caught my eye and begged for review. A fortunate event for me, as it turns out that this is a fascinating and illuminating book. It presents the stories of five very different individuals, four of whom were vilified, ostracized, and persecuted by their contemporaries but vindicated by posterity; and one who started his illustrious career as a hero and military genius, only to become the personification of treason and treachery for generations to follow.

“Anne Hutchinson, The Trial of the Puritan ‘Jezebel,’” gives us a portrait of a seventeenth century feminist and

crusader for religious toleration in an age where both of these notions were severely frowned upon. Many people believe that the pilgrims and others who immigrated to Massachusetts Bay were in search of a tolerant society where people could worship as they chose. Not so. They were searching for a place where they could worship their own brand of Christianity, but were as intolerant of others as their native country was of them. Anne Hutchinson dissented from the prevailing orthodoxy, rebelled against the all-male church elders and paid a heavy price. She was imprisoned, tried, and banished. She then founded the colony of Rhode Island, which she was eventually hounded from because of her beliefs. Welcomed into the tolerant Dutch society of New York, she found a measure of peace and tranquility before being tragically murdered by a band of Native Americans at war with the locals. This former "scoundrel" has been hailed as the first feminist, the first of America's foremothers, and the only woman founder of a colony.

"Benedict Arnold, The Battle of Valcour Island," presents the story of a hero and great military tactician who saved the rebellion before finally betraying it and his own legacy. Few remember the multiple examples of courage and leadership that Benedict Arnold displayed during the invasion of Canada, the Battle of Saratoga, or the Battle of Valcour Island. The latter was an act of brave desperation. Arnold delayed and harried a far superior British invasion force on Lake Champlain with a series of brilliant maneuvers using a home grown naval fleet that was out gunned and eventually decimated. But they delayed the British into the winter season, which gave the Continental Army time to organize and led to the decisive victory at Saratoga, where Arnold distinguished himself again for bravery and leadership. But all this has been overshadowed and forgotten due to Arnold's subsequent act of treason. It seems that he was one of those men who are always at war with his contemporaries, jockeying for power, maneuvering for position, harboring jealousies, and nursing frustrated ambitions. All this led to his now famous denouement, with his name forever to live in infamy.

"John Brown, The Raid at Harper's Ferry," recalls the famous raid on the Federal arsenal that made Brown a household name and led to almost universal condemnation, except among the most radical abolitionists of his time. Brown's quixotic plan was brave and futile, bold and unhinged, and resulted in the foreseeable defeat, capture and death for himself and his compatriots. Forestalled by another future immortal, Robert E. Lee, Brown's raid never had a chance to trigger the desired slave revolt on which he was banking. His subsequent fearless and uncompromising behavior prior to his execution helped to foster his legend for posterity, and actually did help to start the rebellion, although not exactly in the form that he had foreseen.

“Iva Toguri, “Tokyo Rose’ and Zero Hour,” recounts how a first-generation American citizen of Japanese descent (Nisei) was in Japan at the outbreak of World War II to care for an ailing aunt. Coerced by the Japanese into becoming one of many Tokyo Rose propagandists, she worked with an Australian prisoner of war to turn her broadcasts into parodies behind her unwitting captors’ backs. Unfortunately for Toguri, she was made the scapegoat for the collective “Tokyo Roses” and prosecuted and convicted of treason. Two journalists withheld evidence of her innocence to increase sales of a book they were writing about her. She was vilified by the press, served six years in jail, and was divorced by her husband, whom she never saw again. It wasn’t until years later that the exonerating evidence was uncovered. This in turn led to a “60 Minutes” profile, a pardon by President Ford, a prestigious veteran’s award, and long cherished public vindication.

“Clarence Gideon, The Drifter and the Supreme Court,” shows us that even an indigent and uneducated drifter, if persistent and righteous, can prevail over the government and moneyed interests in the pursuit of justice. Unable to afford a defense lawyer in a case involving a possible five-year jail term, he was denied a court appointed defense attorney because at the time public defenders were only assigned in capital cases. Defending himself, he predictably lost and received the maximum sentence. Certain that he was unjustifiably denied a right, he pursued appeals all the way to the Supreme Court, and eventually won the right to a court appointed defense council. His case was retried, and, with the benefit of a good lawyer, he won easily. Not only did he win his case and the right to an attorney, he won the same right for countless poor people to follow who might otherwise have been railroaded into convictions or plea bargains without advice of counsel. This indigent and largely forgotten “scoundrel” has left a lasting impression and legacy for future generations in an important Supreme Court case.

Perhaps the stories and legacies of these historical “scoundrels” can provide some inspiration and hope that our current political scoundrels can be redeemed. Only time will tell.

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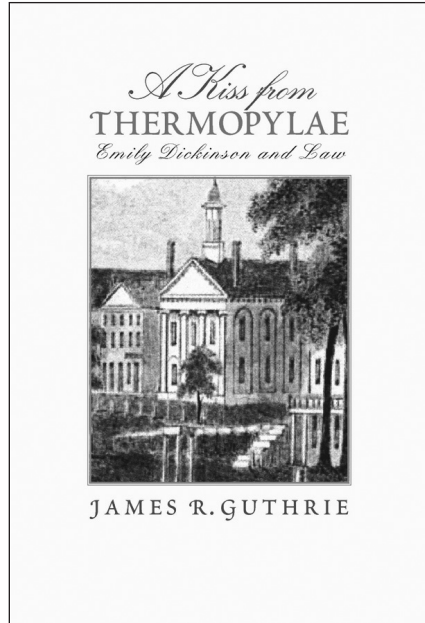
***A Kiss from Thermopylae: Emily Dickinson and Law.* By James R. Guthrie. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015. 256 pages. \$25.95 (paperback).**

As James R. Guthrie notes on the very first page of *A Kiss from Thermopylae*, it's not terribly surprising to find the language and issues of law embedded in many of Emily Dickinson's poems. After all, the poet was born into a family of attorneys and lived in Amherst, a small town which, "during the first half of the nineteenth century . . . was a town on the rise, and a congenial location in which to practice law" (1). Guthrie's 2015 book delineates many of the ways in which legal philosophy and language were infused into and influenced Dickinson's poetry.

The book's seven chapters are organized by different legal topics: bankruptcy, equity, contracts, property, estates and trusts, crime and punishment, and the rule of law. Within each chapter, Guthrie strives to give broad-strokes background on historical events and legal cases about which Emily Dickinson might have known, paints a portrait of both contemporaneous and historical issues within the poet's life and family, and offers a fine-lined analysis of some of her poetry, illustrating how she used legal imagery and concepts.

Guthrie, one of the leading Dickinson scholars, brings years of experience and insight into both the poet and her work. His melding of a granular textual analysis of Dickinson's poems with historical assessment of emerging legal philosophies of the mid to late nineteenth century, and biographical information from the poet's life, is a fascinating approach. But this tripartite examination is more effective in some parts of this book than in others.

For example, in his chapter on crime and punishment, Guthrie delves into Dickinson's use of imprisonment metaphors. He adeptly contextualizes this within the pre-Civil War social reform movements generally, and both the abolition and penal reform movements, specifically. He notes that as "an avid reader of contemporary journals, Dickinson would have been acutely aware



. . . of various penological theories being advanced by antebellum reforms” (164). He then focuses on the years 1864-65, during which time Dickinson was in Boston receiving treatment for her eye ailments. “Dickinson’s isolation throughout her treatments . . . taught the poet perforce quite a bit about what it felt like to be a prisoner,” he writes (169). Guthrie’s subsequent parsing of the imagery of incarceration in Dickinson’s poetry then makes good sense, and readers will feel that they’ve perhaps gained new insights into her use of language.

But in other instances the pairing of historical and biographical fact with literary analysis feels a bit more of a stretch. Take, for example, Guthrie’s extended discussion of the Dickinson poem “Alone and in a Circumstance.” He describes in detail not only the language of the poem, but also its unusual appearance in manuscript form—written around a mini-collage she constructed by pasting magazine clips and a stamp on a piece of paper. Guthrie infers that the stamp, itself, depicting a locomotive “. . . is a pictorial, almost cartoonish, reference to Edward Dickinson, for whom the engine is a visual metonym” (67). True, the poet’s father was responsible for the development of the Amherst & Belchertown Railroad and his political advocacy helped to extend the line, and yes, his influence was so significant that a locomotive was named in his honor. To be sure, Guthrie is not the only scholar to suggest that this poem’s presentation, if not its content, refers to the centrality of Edward Dickinson in his daughter’s life. But to suggest that “Dickinson wrote the poem as a humorous homage to the man” seems a little speculative, especially given the widely varying interpretations of this poem (68). In fact, the catalogue from the 2017 Emily Dickinson exhibit at the Morgan Library in New York reflects that “interpretations of this poem range widely from playful verse about sitting in the outhouse to a Freudian meditation on Dickinson’s father.”¹ Sometimes biographical detail is clearly germane to artistic production, and sometimes it is just biographical detail.

Some present-day Emily Dickinson-ophiles might take issue with how centrally Guthrie places Judge Otis Phillips Lord in the poet’s life. Lord, a jurist in Salem, MA and contemporary and friend of Edward Dickinson, seems to have played a prominent role in Emily’s life toward the end of his own. The two certainly corresponded, he visited her in Amherst; he may or may not have been the subject of her so-called “Master letters,” love letters whose object is not named. Whether or not Lord was involved in some kind

¹Mike Kelly et al., “Literary Influences and Connections,” in *The Networked Recluse: The Connected World of Emily Dickinson* (Amherst, MA: Amherst College Press, 2017), 50.

of romantic relationship with his oldest friend's oldest daughter is a hotly debated topic. Guthrie, for his part, continually refers to "her love affair with Lord," as he assesses the many instances in which he believes that the poet viewed the judge as a personification of law in her writings.

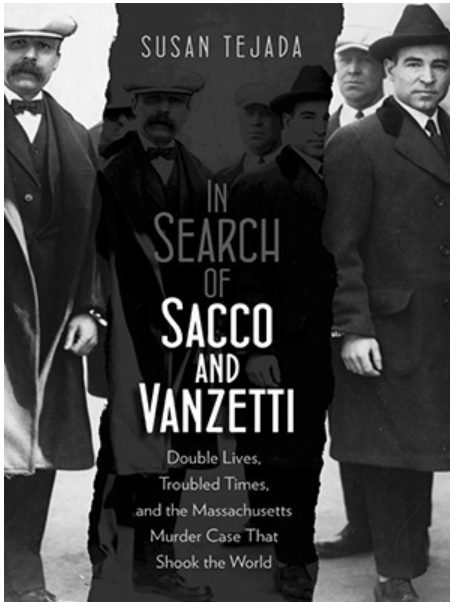
The literary allusion in the book's title refers to the epic battle between the Spartans and Persians. In the nineteenth century, as Guthrie points out, Thermopylae became a Victorian symbol for the importance of fighting to maintain civic order. Dickinson's repeated use of Thermopylae in her poetry, he suggests, shows an evolution of "conventional recognition of a military sacrifice made for the sake of a state to an intensely personal symbol of selflessness and emotional steadfastness" (174). Guthrie's work in this book clearly demonstrates Dickinson's blending of legal, philosophical, religious and historical themes. His close reading of her poems and efforts to contextualize them more broadly will provide readers with different interpretations and possibly new ways of understanding the poet behind her poetry.

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***In Search of Sacco and Vanzetti: Double Lives, Troubled Times, and the Massachusetts Murder Case That Shook the World.* By Susan Tejada. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2012. 385 pages. \$29.95 (cloth).**

On April 15, 1920, Frederick Parmenter and Alessandro Berardelli were murdered in South Braintree, Massachusetts as they delivered the payroll for the Slater & Morrill shoe factory. Two Italian Americans, shoemaker Nicola ("Nick") Sacco and fishmonger Bartolomeo ("Bartolo") Vanzetti were accused of the heinous crime and put on trial. The case garnered national and international attention, becoming an emotional touchstone for debates about immigration and radicalism. Some saw Sacco and Vanzetti as anarchists out to destroy America, yet for others they "became heroes in a morality play, worthy combatants in an epic battle of the underdog against the system" (308). Crowds gathered on Boston Common—and other cities throughout America and the world—as the two men spent their final days awaiting their execution at the Charlestown State Prison on August 23, 1927.

Journalist Susan Tejada has written an exhaustive and well-researched account of the famous Sacco-Vanzetti case that places the two men's stories



within the history of early-1900s immigration, working-class life, and labor radicalism. Her main objective is “to decouple Sacco from Vanzetti and to write a double biography.” After all, the two men “met for the first time in 1917, were arrested three years later, [and] then spent most of the next seven years incarcerated in prisons miles apart” (ix). Tejada succeeds in her aim. The fates of Sacco and Vanzetti were clearly linked by the trial and its aftermath, but each man had his own story and personality. Sacco was a passionate family man and diligent factory worker, while Vanzetti was quiet and thoughtful, a voracious reader

prone to philosophical reflection. Although Vanzetti has been portrayed as a loner with no interest in romantic relationships, Tejada has unearthed writings that reveal the deep affection he felt for Virginia MacMechan, his English tutor while in prison.

Although Sacco and Vanzetti were distinct individuals, their trajectories were similar. Both men moved to the Boston area from Italy in 1908, around the peak of pre-World War I immigration. The 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, led by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) seems to have radicalized them. Sacco canvassed for the strikers, and by the end of the year Vanzetti was subscribing to Luigi Galleani’s anarchist periodical *Cronaca Sovversiva* (“Subversive Chronicle”); Sacco’s subscription began a year later. In 1917, Sacco, Vanzetti, and other followers of Galleani fled to Mexico to evade the draft, an action that would later come back to haunt them in the era of the postwar Red Scare.

The Sacco-Vanzetti trial, held in Dedham in 1921, pitted IWW lawyer Fred Moore against Massachusetts Judge Webster Thayer. In Tejada’s portrayal, the erratic Moore may have been more interested in advancing radical causes than in securing his clients’ acquittal. Meanwhile, the vindictive Thayer—who became convinced during the 1912 strike that Italians were a major threat to American society—appears so focused on stamping out radicalism that he firmly placed his thumb on the scales of justice. Tejada writes: “There

is near unanimity that the trial was unfair by the legal standards of 1921, and certainly by later legal standards” (309).

The book is sympathetic to Sacco and Vanzetti. Each man professed his innocence to the very end, with Sacco enduring multiple hunger strikes and Vanzetti insisting repeatedly in his letters that he never participated in the crime. Tejada places little credence in Fred Moore’s 1927 interview with Upton Sinclair, in which he asserted the two men’s likely guilt; she reveals that others close to the case, including the attorney’s ex-wife, contradicted Moore’s claims.

In the final chapter, Tejada offers her own case for what may have happened in April 1920: members of the notorious Morelli gang (based in Providence, Rhode Island) probably carried out the double murder. This interpretation is plausible. Nevertheless, Tejada is correct when she states that the debate will almost certainly continue: “The polarization that set the Sacco-Vanzetti case at the fault line of liberalism and conservatism in America endures and deepens . . . Like actual shadows, the figurative shadows cast by Sacco and Vanzetti grow longer over time” (310).

Tejada’s narrative is heavily documented, with over 1500 endnotes. Primary sources include several Boston newspapers, the trial’s official transcript, oral histories, and archival manuscript collections located at repositories such as the Harvard Law School Library, Indiana University’s Lilly Library, and the Massachusetts Archives. Tejada has “relied heavily on first-person primary sources” as a way “to let participants speak for themselves” (x). This objectivity is admirable, and it has yielded a balanced analysis. Yet it has also resulted in a somewhat choppy narrative that can feel overwhelmingly detailed. Readers may get lost in the minutiae and find themselves yearning for more interpretive guidance than the author has offered.

A brief review, though, cannot do justice to Susan Tejada’s book and the painstaking research that produced it. This volume will be useful for readers who want a well-researched and objective introduction to the Sacco-Vanzetti case that pays serious attention to the two men’s Italian-American backgrounds and their 1910s labor radicalism. *In Search of Sacco and Vanzetti* adds a valuable perspective to the copious literature on one of the most famous and controversial trials in American history.

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***Confronting Urban Legacy: Rediscovering Hartford and New England's Forgotten Cities.* Edited by Xiangming Chen and Nick Bacon. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013. 324 pages. \$46.97 (paperback).**

Confronting Urban Legacy is a dense but extremely worthwhile book. It is relevant to *HJM* readers because of Hartford's proximity and position in the "Pioneer Valley" corridor. It is essential reading to understand the city's contemporary dynamics, the historical roots of its urban problems, and possible solutions to those problems within today's globalized world. Although eleven of the chapters focus on the Hartford metropolitan region, three offer perspectives on other small New England cities: Lawrence (MA), Springfield (MA), and Portland (ME).

As the book's publisher's synopsis notes, *Confronting Urban Legacy: Rediscovering Hartford and New England's Forgotten Cities* "fills a critical lacuna in urban scholarship." Most of the literature in urban history focuses on global cities. As a result:

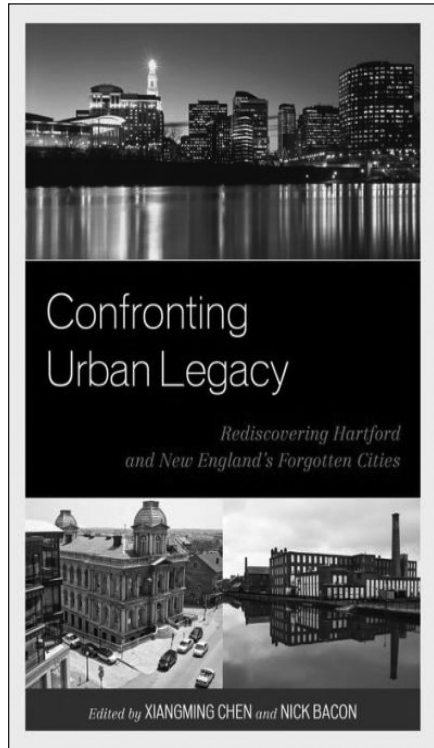
smaller, secondary cities, which actually hold the majority of the world's population, are either critically misunderstood or unexamined in their entirety. This neglect not only biases scholars' understanding of social and spatial dynamics toward very large global cities but also maintains a void in students' learning. This book specifically explores the transformative relationship between globalization and urban transition in Hartford, . . . Hartford's transformation carries a striking imprint of globalization that has been largely missed: from its 17th century roots as New England first inland colonial settlement, to its emergence as one of the world's most prosperous manufacturing and insurance metropolises, to its present configuration as one of America's poorest post-industrial cities . . .

Using the lessons from this book on Hartford and other underappreciated secondary cities in New England, urban scholars, leaders, and residents alike can gain a number of essential insights—both theoretical and practical.

Hartford's rise and fall has been dramatic. After the Civil War it was the wealthiest city in the U.S. in per capita terms. Today Hartford is one of the nation's most impoverished cities, despite serving as the capital of one of the nation's wealthiest states. In their introduction the editors ask: "What happened to the city that invented the revolver, the pay telephone, the gas-pump counter, gold fillings, air-cooled airplane engines, and the

first American dictionary? What is happening to the city that is still called the ‘Insurance Capital of the World’? (1)

Through fourteen in-depth chapters filled with informative charts, maps and graphs, the contributors seek to answer this question. One unique element of their analysis is the global and comparative perspectives that run throughout the book. The editors’ introduction places Hartford’s evolution in a global context. Part I provides a rich historical overview. Part II analyzes recent immigration and examines the demographic and educational dimensions of the city-suburban divide. Part III unpacks Hartford’s current social, economic, and political situation and discusses what the city could become.



A sampling of chapter titles suggests the wide range of topics: “Hartford: A Global History”; “Podunk after Pratt: Place and Placelessness in East Hartford, Connecticut”; “Poverty, Inequality, Politics, and Social Activism in Hartford”; “Investigating Spatial Inequality with the Cities, Suburbs, and Schools Project”; “A Metro Immigrant Gateway: Refugees in the Hartford Borderlands.” While the first two sections of the book focus on Hartford’s history, changing demographics and the limitations imposed by the particularities of its urban legacy, the third section, titled “Renewing Hartford: Global and Regional Dynamics,” seeks to map out the contemporary situation and offer solutions in a global context. Chapter titles suggest the spirit of “pragmatic hope and inspiration for remaking the city” (4) that infuses the book. These titles include: “Shifting Fortunes: Hartford’s Global and Regional Economic Dimensions”; “A Tragic Dialectic: Politics and the Transformation of Hartford”; “Metropolitan Hartford: Regional Challenges and Responses”; “A Sobering Era with New Possibilities”; and “Inheritance, Inertia, and Inspirations: The Potential Remaking of Hartford.” As noted above, three chapters offer in-depth analyses of other small cities. Historian Llana Barber’s outstanding chapter on Latino migration and its

impact on Lawrence (MA), titled “If We Would . . . Leave the City, This Would Be a Ghost Town?: Urban Crisis and Latino Migration in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1945-2000,” is reproduced in the Winter 2018 issue of *HJM*. She has recently expanded her research into a book, *Latino City: Immigration and Urban Crisis in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1945-2000* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

In her chapter and subsequent book, Barber explores the transformation of Lawrence into New England’s first Latino-majority city. Like most industrial cities, Lawrence’s economy went into free-fall after World War II due to deindustrialization and suburbanization:

The arrival of tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans brought new life to the struggling city, but settling in Lawrence was fraught with challenges. Latinos confronted hostility from their neighbors, exclusion from local governance, inadequate city services, and limited job prospects. For many Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, there was no “American Dream” awaiting them in Lawrence. . . . Instead, Latinos struggled to build lives for themselves in the ruins of industrial America [book jacket]

Their tenacity and successes against these odds helped cities such as Lawrence to survive.

In “Re-Imagining Portland, Maine: Urban Renaissance and a Refugee Community,” urban planner Eric Moser notes that in 2000 Portland had the seventh highest ratio in the nation of refugees as a percentage of its foreign-born population (173). Since 1990 approximately 10,000 refugees have arrived. In one public school 53 languages are spoken and 25% of students are enrolled in classes for English language learners. The foreign-born population doubled from 5.1% to an estimated 10.5% between 1990 and 2009 (174). The author concludes that despite the fact that Portland had been “quick to embrace this newfound diversity,” its much-heralded “urban renaissance” “appears to have produced a more polarized than equitable socio-spatial and economic landscape, the effects of which acutely and disproportionately afflict a population as vulnerable as the refugee community.” The author then seeks to explore “precisely how dissonant Portland’s re-imagined self is from its lived experience” as well as to offer better solutions and approaches to dealing with the needs of refugee populations (177). Similar to Llana Barber’s analysis of Lawrence, Moser notes that refugees “bring valuable youth and dynamism to an otherwise aging and economically stagnant state . . . In an increasingly globalized world this population provides the global

connections necessary to make Portland a truly multifaceted, cosmopolitan, and livable city” (186). In a chapter titled “The Puerto Rican Effect on Hispanic Residential Segregation: Hartford and Springfield Metropolitan Areas in National Perspective,” Michael Sacks, a professor of sociology at Trinity College (emeritus), offers a thought-provoking comparative study of Puerto Ricans in Hartford (CT) and Springfield (MA). These two cities have both large Hispanic populations and, of these populations, an extremely high proportion of Puerto Ricans, making these metro areas ideal for studying the distinctive impact of Puerto Rican presence. Indeed, the two metro areas are adjacent, divided only by a state line.

Sacks argues that residential segregation from whites is “a measure of both a group’s socioeconomic achievement as well as obstacles for future upward mobility” (127). Recent literature suggests significant differences and heterogeneity in the Hispanic experience, based on ethnic origins. For example, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Cubans all have had radically different relationships to, and experiences within, U.S. society, economic life, and politics. As U.S. citizens, Puerto Ricans have significantly different migration and citizenship status.

Puerto Ricans are only a small proportion of Hispanics in the U.S., less than 10% according to the 2000 census. However, since 1980, Puerto Ricans have shifted away from older areas of settlement (such as New York, Philadelphia and Chicago) to smaller cities, particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut (129). Puerto Ricans constitute 73% of Hispanics in Hartford and 83% in Springfield. Indeed, Hartford, with a total population that is 33% Puerto Rican, ranked second for the highest percentage of Puerto Ricans of any city in the U.S., outflanked only by Holyoke (MA) with 36%. During these decades, nearby New Britain (CT) also saw a sharp rise in the Puerto Rican population, to just over 27% (compared to 16% in 1990).

However, between 1990 and 2000, non-Hispanic Whites in Springfield and Hartford were moving away from areas where Puerto Ricans were concentrated and growing. As a result, both metro areas had an “especially high residential segregation of whites from Hispanics” (140). The authors posit that such population separation may in part be attributable to the relatively high poverty level among Puerto Ricans. However, multivariate analysis applied to data for 38 metro areas with varying levels of Puerto Rican predominance among Hispanics shows that ethnic group segregation was influenced by Puerto Rican presence even when controlling for the economic status of Hispanics. They conclude that this “Puerto Rican effect” may stem from the “greater racialization of Puerto Ricans.” Once the Puerto Rican presence increases from moderate (40%) to high levels (60-80%),

discrimination increases and the fact that a higher proportion of Puerto Ricans have African ancestry becomes more salient to whites. Although national data suggests that “white” Puerto Ricans achieve “rates of spatial assimilation that are comparable with those found among other ethnic groups, those of African or racially-mixed origins experience markedly lower ability to convert socioeconomic attainment into contact with whites” (136).

Anyone with an interest in regional history or contemporary issues will find this collection invaluable. The chapters provide an enormous amount of information on urban evolution and dynamics in both the Hartford metro area as well as comparative perspectives on other New England cities that rarely receive focused attention. The context of globalization that informs most essays is refreshing and thought provoking. Because it is an edited collection, there is some overlap and repetition between the Hartford chapters, especially in the first section. Other than this, *Confronting Urban Legacy: Rediscovering Hartford and New England's Forgotten Cities* offers a solid and far-ranging analysis that would be of interest to both scholars and activists in many fields.

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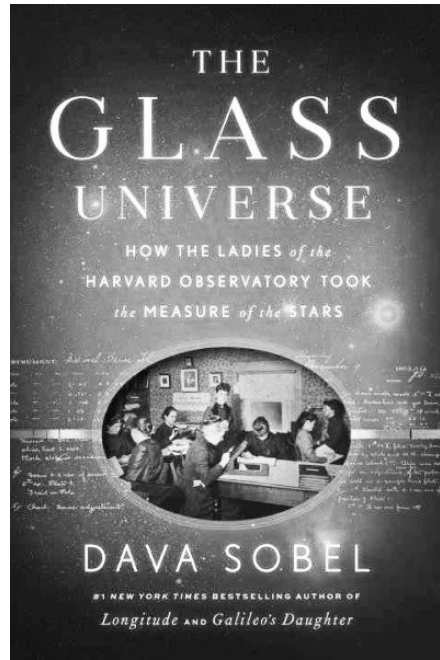
***The Glass Universe: How the Ladies of the Harvard Observatory Took the Measure of the Stars.* By Dava Sobel. New York: Viking, 2016. 336 pages. \$30.00 (hardcover).**

Dava Sobel’s new book, *The Glass Universe: How the Ladies of the Harvard Observatory Took the Measure of the Stars*, sheds light on the often-overlooked history of women in science. In particular, her work examines female astronomers at the Harvard College Observatory in Massachusetts from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century and their efforts to analyze over five-hundred thousand glass photographic plates with images of stars. Sobel argues that beginning in the nineteenth century, the observatory director’s forward thinking, willingness to hire women, and dedication to photographing the night sky helped to open astronomy to both sexes by creating unique opportunities for women’s employment in the field. Sobel’s text provides insight into the challenges faced by a group of early female professionals in a male-dominated occupational realm. She gives voice to the unexplored female astronomers who opened more doors for women in science and shaped our understanding of the solar system. Sobel’s text draws on the letters, diaries, and memoirs of the observatory staff and their families

to recover their place in American history. Although written for a popular audience, her book would interest scholars of higher education, women and gender, and science and labor studies.

The Glass Universe opens with the story of the Drapers, a couple who was prominent in the scientific community in the late nineteenth century and who paved the way for work done at the Harvard Observatory over the next one hundred years. New Yorker Anna Palmer Draper's husband, Henry, gained acclaim for his momentous achievements in stellar photography. He invented an early technique for imaging the stars that garnered recognition throughout the United States, including an 1874 gold medal from Congress and a leadership position in the National Academy of Sciences, among many honors. However, in 1882, Henry died tragically of pleurisy, which weakened his heart. His death left Anna widowed with his fortune and the task of preserving his legacy.

In 1883, not long after Henry's death, Edward Pickering, the director of the Harvard College Observatory, contacted Anna to notify her of his goal to continue her husband's research. He asked for her financial support. Anna's own passion for astronomy and her devotion to her husband's memory drove her to fund his project. Pickering planned to review Henry's work and photograph new stars on glass plates, classify them, and derive fresh data about the solar system. Having the inheritance from her husband and income from her father's real estate, Anna was poised to contribute to the project at Harvard, finance the observatory's operations, and purchase several telescopes. Later, elderly Manhattan painter and art patron Catherine Wolfe Bruce also became a major donor, furthering the research that preserved Henry Draper's legacy at the observatory. Because Pickering was in a difficult position when he took over as the director in 1877 and had little financial aid from the college, he relied on gifts from women such as Draper and Bruce to keep his projects afloat. Ironically, despite the male leadership at Harvard,



the primary financial support for the scientific research at the observatory came from women.

Besides funding for equipment, Pickering needed money to pay assistants and recognized that hiring trained men would be expensive. With finances being tight, he viewed women as desirable employees because they could provide inexpensive or even volunteer services. Their services were as good as, or better than, their male counterparts' because of their small hands, attention to detail, and allegedly "delicate" tendencies, but their skills were provided for free or at a fraction of the price. Under Pickering's direction, the number of female employees at the observatory increased from six to twenty, and, eventually, one-third of the staff was female. Early women assistants came from diverse backgrounds and ranged in experience. Many of the first female workers, who were the wives, daughters, sisters, or acquaintances of the male astronomers, had no prior training. Some women assistants were native-born Americans, and others were immigrants. One of the most famous female employees was Williamina Fleming, a Scottish woman who was hired in 1879 and worked first as a maid and then as a copyist for Pickering before gaining a job assisting with astrological studies once he realized that she had experience with photography. Fleming's family had a business in Europe that experimented with daguerreotypes and framing. At Harvard, Fleming's research revealed hundreds of variable stars and novae and facilitated their classification according to differences in temperature. Later, new generations of college-educated women from places such as Vassar College, Wellesley College, and Radcliffe College flooded the ranks of the observatory staff, eager to put their academic training to use.

At Harvard, operations occurred methodically on Pickering's watch. Male astronomers used the large telescopes at night, beginning at around seven p.m., until the early hours of the morning to generate the images on the plates for the women to interpret the next day. The first photometry studies centered on analyzing the changes in approximately two hundred stars, but the number of constellations under study increased as new discoveries were made. At the observatory, the women sometimes worked as much as six days a week for seven hours a day studying chart or spectra plates about the size of a picture frame that included imprints of stars, planets, asteroids, and the night sky. They received little formal instruction and often taught themselves to catalogue the images collected and the changes in the solar system that they observed. Most importantly, from the plates, they could assess a different star's brightness, composition, and position in the sky. Although they were difficult for a layperson to read, the women learned to interpret patterns in lines and shading to draw conclusions, published in the

Annals of the Harvard College Observatory, for which they did not always receive full credit.

Nonetheless, the work that these women conducted was crucial to our understanding of astronomy. Through their efforts, new stars were identified and categorized, and distances across the sky were measured. Annie Jump Cannon, for example, developed a classification system for relationships among stellar categories, and Antonia Maury shed light on stars that orbited each other and created a classification system for constellations of different sizes. Henrietta Swan Leavitt studied Cepheids (a type of star) and made discoveries about a star's brightness and period of variation, which were significant in determining distances across space. The Henry Draper Catalogue and Extension, created and updated with the help of these women, is still in use today, as is Leavitt's method for determining the distance across the sky, which became central to the creation of Hubble's Law. By explaining the women's findings and how early astronomy operated, Sobel's text is as much a history of science at the turn of the twentieth century as it is a story about the individual human "computers," as the female assistants at Harvard were known.

The male and female astronomers in Sobel's study functioned at a complex historical moment both for science and for gender relations. The observatory's female assistants sought entrance into a male-dominated profession during a period when women were encouraged to remain in the home and men clung to patriarchal control of the public sphere to assert their masculinity amid a changing world. At Harvard, the women assistants faced layered discrimination from the administration under which the observatory operated and from the larger scientific field. Their positions were always subordinate to men's, and they worked within a university that was not keen on equality between the sexes. They confronted constant jokes from people who did not understand their efforts and labeled them as part of "Pickering's harem," after the name of the director. These women also came up against personal struggles, such as financial strain, while they fought to stay in the profession. Sobel notes, for example, stories of women selling valued items to keep afloat, searching tirelessly for outside funding, and taking teaching positions to supplement their low incomes. The women earned less than their male colleagues did (around \$1,500 per year at best, compared to \$2,500 for men) and often had schedules that made juggling a marriage and family difficult. Sometimes, they put their health at risk as they confronted physical trials, such as eyestrain, nervousness, and sleeplessness, as well as shaken self-confidence. They constantly faced the stress of working to complete various

research projects, realizing that consistent publication was necessary to keep funding flowing into the observatory and their positions secure.

Sobel's book suggests that while today we might look critically at the circumstances in which these women operated at Pickering's observatory and pity their plight due to the blatant injustices they faced, during the period, many women felt lucky to have these positions. They obtained work in science at a historical moment when jobs for women in this arena were rare. In addition, considering the culture of the era, the two men who employed them—first, Edward Pickering and, later, his successor, Harlow Shapley, both of whom were directors of the observatory at different periods—were relatively broad-minded. They facilitated not only early jobs for women in astronomy but also educational programs, grants, fellowships, and other awards that benefited female scientists. The experience that many women who worked at the observatory gained often opened up new opportunities in related career paths, such as teaching at schools and colleges. For instance, Cecilia Helena Payne-Gaposchkin, an employee at the observatory, later became the first full female professor at Harvard and the first female department chair. Pickering himself argued that through their labors, the observatory's women would provide greater justification for female advancement in the academy by challenging the argument that women contributed nothing meaningful or original to society so higher learning for the female sex was useless.

My major critique of Sobel's text is that she misses many opportunities to contextualize her work and the happenings at Harvard within the larger fields of women's history and modern American history more broadly. The reader finds a few mentions of changes in women's education, cultural shifts in gender norms, and events developing within the larger society—including world wars, struggles with foreign relations, and the fear of disasters such as fires—that shaped the observatory's practices, especially in later years. However, these details are largely limited to the second half of the text. For example, the reader learns that during World War II and the Cold War, the observatory legitimized itself by becoming involved in national defense projects and strategizing about potential atomic attacks. The observatory was transformed amidst the technology revolution, shifted to using IBM computing equipment, and partnered with the Smithsonian, which phased out the jobs of the early female assistants. In the first half of the text, Sobel does not give the same attention to the larger historical context. In particular, she misses the opportunity to root the developments at the observatory in the Gilded Age and its industrial boom and later in the rise and fall of progressivism at the turn of the twentieth century, with its support for fact, efficiency, quantitative data, science, math, and education as key to society's

advancement. The progressive impulse was, no doubt, an important factor in the rising interest in the observatory and the early methods that these women employed.

Overall, Sobel's text offers a glimpse into the underexplored histories of early women astronomers, celebrates their achievements, and rewrites the male-dominated history of science to include women at moments when their participation was typically blurred. Rather than follow the traditional narrative that portrays the early women astronomers at Harvard as another example of discontented women workers at the turn of the twentieth century, she asserts that despite challenges, the women frequently recognized the privileged positions they held at the observatory, they quite enjoyed their jobs, and some even gained national recognition for their accomplishments. Sobel's work recovers Pickering's image, portraying him as less of an opportunist who was keen on exploiting women's inexpensive labor and more of a farsighted employer who helped to open doors for the female sex. The timely publication of *The Glass Universe* draws further attention to a recent important project to digitize the glass photographic plates in the archival collections of Harvard that was started in 2005. Although the book has many merits, it falls short in regard to historical context, especially early on. I would recommend this book first to a popular audience and, second, to an academic audience that is passionate about issues of women, science, labor, and education, with the caveat that it is light on its interpretive angle. Because of its readability and narrative format, it also would be appropriate to assign Sobel's text to an undergraduate history course.

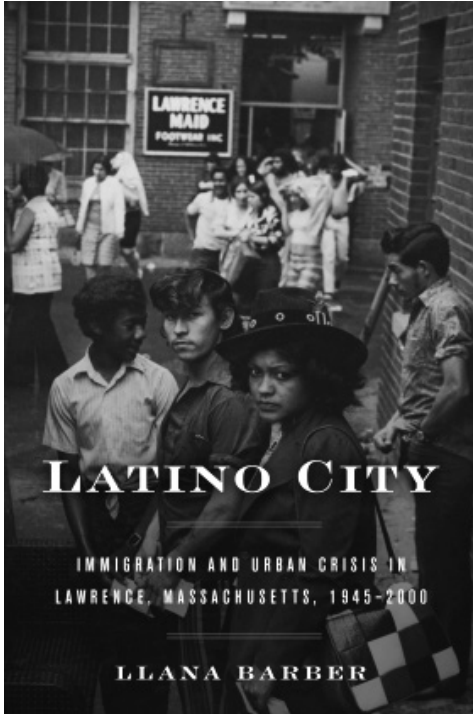
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***Latino City: Immigration and Urban Crisis in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1945-2000.* By Llana Barber. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2017. \$29.95**

For two nights in August of 1984, the city of Lawrence, Massachusetts erupted in racial violence, with white and Latino residents squaring off against each other, hurling insults and Molotov cocktails in a contest to claim the legitimate right to occupy the city. Whites who lived in Lawrence blamed Latino immigrants for poverty and urban blight, arguing that these immigrants were "foreign" and did not have a right to live and work in Lawrence. While they hoped to bring back a mythical era when life seemed better to them, Latino

immigrants were struggling to forge a community for themselves and their children where there might be some opportunity for a better life than they had known elsewhere.

In *Latino City*, Llana Barber examines the roots of this racial tension within the broader transformation of Lawrence from a



manufacturing center to a city abandoned by its white residents for the more affluent surrounding suburbs where industry had relocated. Barber adeptly demonstrates that the fundamental problem of Lawrence was the isolation of the urban space from the suburbs and its resources, a pattern which established itself in the years immediately after World War II as small cities across the Northeast and Midwest experienced deindustrialization, immigration, suburbanization, and overall urban crisis.

While carefully contextualizing the city within these national economic and demographic trends, Barber highlights the unique ways in which these processes manifested themselves in Lawrence. She points out that movement to Andover, North Andover, and Methuen had begun long before the arrival of significant numbers of Latino immigrants. When Lawrence's textile mills closed in the years following World War II, high-tech companies like Raytheon and Western Electric located their new facilities in the suburbs, leaving Lawrence with an eroding tax base but more people in need of municipal services. In the context of the rising conservatism of the 1970s and 1980s, which suggested that the problems of urban areas were not the responsibility of society or government, citizens of the more affluent suburbs around Lawrence felt justified in avoiding moral and financial involvement in the isolated poverty of the "inner city."

In articulating the Latino side of the story, Barber skillfully balances an analysis of the structural factors with the personal experiences of those involved

in the events of 1984. She argues that the riots or “disturbios” were due not just to the economic decline of the city, but also to the inequality which accompanied that decline. Latinos in Lawrence earned lower wages yet were often spending upwards of 70% of their income on rent, saw 50% of their community living under the poverty line, and had much higher levels of unemployment (25% vs. 9% for whites), while their high school students experienced a 50% dropout rate (156-158). Along with these powerful statistics, Barber uses personal interviews as well as oral histories to capture how people were feeling about the challenges they faced in emigrating to Lawrence.

The author shows that the struggle for Lawrence was not just a rhetorical one, but a fight for the actual city and its geographical terrain. Precipitating the conflict of August 1984, she points out, was an “urban renewal” effort in the 1980s in the North Common area of Lawrence which resulted in the razing of nine city blocks of low-income rental housing and 45 stores that were replaced with middle-income housing. The North Common redevelopment plan encapsulated the competing visions for Lawrence of the business community, which wanted to push low-income residents out, and Latino community members (especially clergy), who advocated including affordable housing in the renewal plan. The Latino population of Lawrence found itself literally fighting for space in the city.

The first three chapters of the book dig deeply into the context of the racial violence of August 1984. Barber urges that we must “think globally about the urban crisis in U.S. cities in the late twentieth century” if we hope to understand those involved in the riots of that summer, the causes of which had national and international roots (2). In Chapter 1, she situates the transformation of Lawrence within the broader context of national processes, most notably the shift of the textile industry to the southern states and overseas and deindustrialization in the “Rust Belt.” The growth of industry and movement to the suburbs was not an accident, she argues, but the result of deliberate state and federal policies that intervened on behalf of suburbs like Andover at the expense of Lawrence.

Barber both demonstrates the ways in which broad trends of deindustrialization and suburbanization were developing on the national level and explains how Lawrence diverged from the typical paradigms. She observes, for instance, that while many U.S. cities experienced “white flight” to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s owing to urban racial tensions, in the case of Lawrence, whose population was 99% white, it was attraction to the benefits of suburban life that motivated the exodus of some 40% of its

white citizenry. The author argues that Lawrence's decline was already well underway before Latino immigrants arrived in large numbers in the 1970s and 1980s but that they were nonetheless scapegoated for its economic crisis and for the demographic shifts to the suburbs.

In Chapter 2, Barber places needed emphasis on too-often overlooked emigration "push factors" in the Caribbean that were rooted in U.S. economic and political dominance of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. The "imperial migration" that arrived in Lawrence, she points out, resulted from the damage done by U.S. colonial rule in the Caribbean throughout the twentieth century. While the Dominican Republic was not a direct colony of the United States, U.S. control over the island nation was virtually that of a colonizer, including supervision of customs collection (the primary source of government revenue), training of the Dominican military, and occupation of the country for years by U.S. Marines. The U.S. government supported two brutal dictatorships in the Dominican Republic and helped to crush independence movements in Puerto Rico. U.S. sugar companies came to dominate the countryside of Puerto Rico, offering crushingly low wages and horrific living conditions.

What was the "better life" these immigrants were seeking? As Barber explains, the expectations of Latinos in Lawrence and their definition of "better" was shaped by the imperial intervention of the U.S. in the Caribbean and the deep structural inequalities that resulted. How did those recently arrived from the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico feel about the underfunded public schools, exclusion from political participation, unsafe working conditions in factories, and urban blight? Their views were, to a high degree, influenced by the environment they left behind. Many were willing to tolerate low wages and brutal working conditions if it meant a better life, not just a job. However, Lawrence was mostly unable to provide quality municipal services because of the decimation of the tax base, begging the question which Barber answers: why come to Lawrence?

In her telling, economic collapse and the "lost decade" of the 1980s in Dominican Republic explains why many came to Lawrence in spite of a second wave of deindustrialization. The statistic of 25% Latino unemployment in the city seems high until it is compared with 57% unemployment in rural Dominican Republic in 1993. Some, Barber notes, might assume that immigrants have come to the U.S. to escape poverty and live in a prosperous, modern country, but this glosses over the fact that many end up in poverty-stricken neighborhoods, a fate they are driven to only because U.S. imperial policies made life in their own countries virtually impossible. Immigration

law, the author points out, also encouraged Dominicans to come to the U.S., as more became citizens and could sponsor family members.

Barber is especially successful in capturing the perspectives of Lawrence's Latino community. Chapter 3 examines the formal and informal responses of Latinos and Latino organizations to white racism and resistance. Confrontations in day-to-day life as expressed through the media and individual exchanges reproduced ugly stereotypes of Latinos as welfare-dependent in contrast to the white immigrants of past generations, who were glorified for their work ethic. Barber's interviews with activist Isabel Melendez offer useful insights into the grassroots organizing that Latinos created in order to advocate for bilingual education, medical professionals who spoke Spanish, and cultural celebrations to help empower Latinos politically.

Chapters 4 through 7 analyze the August 1984 riot and its aftermath, concluding with the creation of a "Latino City." Chapter 4 details the events of the riot as well as how different groups interpreted these events: white residents saw it as proof of a decayed city ruined by destructive Latino immigrants, Latinos as a protest against the injustices and exclusion they experienced. Barber also describes how city politicians tried to recast the riot as an aberrant instance of violence committed by hooligans rather than a manifestation of profound racial tension and urban crisis. According to the author, these efforts to minimize the conflict in order to improve the image of Lawrence, presumably for the sake of attracting business and jobs, were viewed as "shocking and outrageous to many residents" (138).

Chapter 5 recounts how Latino activists were able to organize successfully following the riots, harnessing assistance from the U.S. Department of Justice and the Massachusetts Commission against Discrimination to expand Latino access to political power and bring federal and state funding to Lawrence for infrastructure and social services. Unfortunately, this aid, the author observes, came to be seen as a form of charity that could be given or taken away and ultimately did little to alter the fundamental economic underdevelopment and inequalities hampering the city. Barber explains how over time, the riots were reconstituted in the media as Latino actions, with white participation erased, thus rendering invisible not just the racist response of whites, but also white grievances about the decay of their city. In the end, she writes, Latinos were "doomed to incorporate into a failing city" (183).

In Chapter 6, Barber argues that the fundamental problem of urban/suburban inequality actually worsened in the aftermath of the riots. As gentrification took hold in larger metropolitan areas in the 1980s and 1990s,

Lawrence experienced even more chronic disinvestment and concentrated poverty. The city was plagued by arson, leaving even less cheap housing available. Politicians and white Lawrencians blamed the welfare system for Latino poverty rather than deindustrialization or suburban competition, condemned the recipients of state aid as abusers of the system and undeserving, and chose to pursue welfare reforms that absolved suburbs of “responsibility for ‘urban problems’” (p. 199). Barber here demonstrates impressive agility in shifting between the national context and local specificity of Lawrence.

Chapter 7 covers Lawrence post-2000 and its transformation into a “Latino City” with vibrant Latin-American businesses, official city transactions conducted in both English and Spanish, and evidence of Latino culture everywhere except in South Lawrence, where the white population was concentrated. Barber demonstrates that, while Latin migration was obviously beneficial to Lawrence, the city offered few benefits in return, as it was completely dependent upon state aid and had lost all industry to the suburbs. In spite of these structural disadvantages, by the 1990s, the substantial Latino population, which offered community, the chance to live amongst friends and family, shop in Spanish-speaking stores, etc., was a draw to new immigrants. Lawrence offered the possibility of home ownership, as property values were much lower there than in other parts of Massachusetts. It also offered an appealing alternative to the drug dealing and gentrification found in New York City, though Lawrence actually offered less opportunity for upward mobility than New York (p. 227).

Latino City was constructed from a wide variety of sources, including census data, oral histories and interviews with residents, newspapers, and other contemporary media. Barber’s use of oral histories and interviews in particular sheds valuable light on the different ways in which Latinos have viewed the urban crisis and potential opportunities of Lawrence. Following her example, future researchers will be encouraged to explore the various activist organizations within the Latino community, such as the ones headed by Isabel Melendez that formed a prominent part of Barber’s research. The author rightly points out that research in these areas will deepen as more archival material becomes available at the municipal level.

In spite of her challenges in securing primary source material, Barber has done an admirable job of excavating the motives and perspectives of the people of Lawrence in regard to the riot of 1984. Barber’s account is a worthwhile and significant step towards correcting the relative absence of Latinos in the historiography of urban uprisings and is extremely relevant to

an understanding race relations and urban underdevelopment in New England.

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