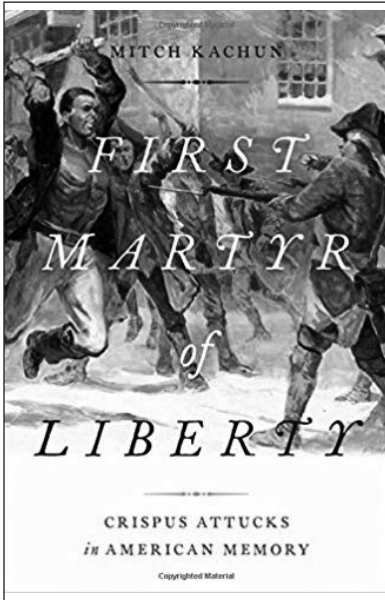


BOOK REVIEWS

***First Martyr of Liberty: Crispus Attucks in American Memory.* By Mitch Kachun. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 328 pages. \$29.95 (hardcover).**



Many people know that Crispus Attucks was an African American man killed on March 5, 1770 by British soldiers during the Boston Massacre. Attucks' fate, as well as that of four other men, did not immediately produce a revolution. However, their violent deaths provided an invaluable propaganda opportunity for colonists and damaged the relationship between the Thirteen Colonies and Great Britain. Although Attucks has fascinated generations of people, he will likely never have a definitive biography because scholars "have probed the sources with only limited success in uncovering information about the man's actual life" (2).

Rather than writing a biography of Attucks, Mitch Kachun analyzes how Attucks has been remembered, misremembered, and forgotten, in the two and a half centuries since his death, and how these memories informed debates about African American citizenship, patriotism, and inclusion. Attucks was neither more nor less important than thousands of other men who participated in the events preceding the American Revolution. Therefore, his "incorporation into the story of the American Revolution was not a foregone conclusion. It was the result of a conscious campaign to construct an American hero" (3). The author of *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808-1915* and the editor of *The Curse of Caste; or the Slave Bride: A Rediscovered African American Novel*, Kachun is an astute student of African American history. He skillfully analyzes divergent memories of Attucks and what these memories reveal about the U.S. at various points throughout its history.

In the immediate aftermath of the Boston Massacre, people had different ways of making sense of the dead. John Adams, one of the British

soldiers' defense attorneys, painted a derogatory picture of "an Attucks from Framingham" who led "a rabble of negroes" (16). However, this view was not monolithic. Indeed, many accounts "ignored the racial and class identities of the victims, referring to all the fallen men with the title 'mister,' which would have suggested to readers that all of them—including Attucks—were respectable and white" (17). Proponents of this reinterpretation of the massacre made Attucks and other members of the mob respectable to stir up outrage against the British. Consequently, when angry colonists invoked Attucks' death, many believed him a respectable white gentleman cut down by the myrmidons of a British tyrant. Despite infrequent references, Attucks disappeared from U.S. memory for roughly fifty years after the 1770s. Kachun explains his disappearance by noting that people of the era tended to ignore the exploits of ordinary people. Furthermore, people tended to ignore the Boston Massacre because it was harder to sanitize than the Boston Tea Party. In addition, African American activists perhaps shunned Attucks to avoid association with disorder.

A profound transformation occurred in the late 1830s: Attucks moved from virtual invisibility to the center of African Americans' arguments for citizenship rights. People such as William Cooper Nell understood the power of the story of the black men who died during the Boston Massacre and began "reinscribing him into the history of the American Revolution and the pantheon of American patriot heroes" (45). Through the efforts of Nell and others, Attucks started to become a household name among abolitionists. During the U.S. Civil War, African Americans linked the memory of Attucks with questions about black patriotism and military service. However, during the nadir of U.S. race relations, "white Americans and mainstream popular culture virtually erased Attucks from the story of the American Revolution" (69). That said, people did not forget Attucks. Boston erected a monument commemorating the massacre, and African Americans continued to remember Attucks. In the first decades of the twentieth century, "Attucks' example helped provide an impetus for a newly empowered sense of race pride and race history" (95). Carter G. Woodson founded Negro History Week and Attucks frequently appeared at the center of activities. Furthermore, his name "was attached to organizations and institutions of an amazing variety" (110). African Americans referenced Attucks in discussions about black participation during World War I to remind white people about their long history of military service.

During the 1940s, African Americans again invoked Attucks during World War II. In addition, the federal government utilized him in war propaganda. White authors also began to include Attucks in historical works.

Thus, “African Americans, growing numbers of sympathetic whites, and U.S. government propagandists all used the era’s expanding mass media—books, periodicals, plays, pageants, radio broadcasts, film, visual arts, school programs, and more—in order to make Crispus Attucks and other black heroes visible in American public culture as never before” (149). However, public schools often resisted including black heroes, such as Attucks, and black perspectives. As the 1940s gave way to the 1950s, and throughout the Modern Civil Rights Movement, African Americans and white allies placed more attention on teaching black history. Attucks appeared in mainstream U.S. history texts, albeit often as a token.

By 1976, the nation’s bicentennial, “Attucks had become more a part of the American mainstream” (181). Crass commercialism often overwhelmed commemorative acts. Consumers could buy a commemorative Crispus Attucks decanter or “Black Bicentennial T-shirts,” among other products. By the end of the twentieth century, “Attucks had, to a large degree, become what black activists had promoted since the 1850s: he was a black American hero of the Revolution” (202). People of all political persuasions, from Kareem Abdul-Jabbar to Rush Limbaugh, embraced him. In his conclusion, Kachun expresses uncertainty as to whether Attucks deserves to be treated as an “American hero.” Nevertheless, he argues, convincingly, that Attucks absolutely must be included in the nation’s story because “the lived realities of Crispus Attucks and the many other men and women like him must be a part of Americans’ understanding of the nation’s founding generations” (234).

First Martyr of Liberty: Crispus Attucks in American Memory is well written, thoroughly researched, and filled with cogent analysis about the memory of Crispus Attucks. Kachun deserves commendation for his judicious discussions of the relationship between history and memory, of what the narratives woven concerning Attucks demonstrate about society’s collective memory, and of why the story of a man killed over two and a half centuries ago still resonates today. This is a book that will work well in upper-division undergraduate classes as well as graduate seminars, and that will also appeal to non-academic readers.

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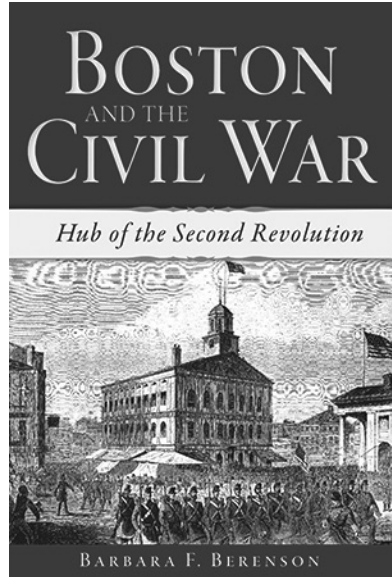
Boston and the Civil War: Hub of the Second American Revolution. By Barbara F. Berenson. Charleston: History Press, 2014. 190 pages. \$14.99 (paperback).

In *Boston and the Civil War: Hub of the Second American Revolution*, Barbara F. Berenson, a lawyer by trade and historian of Boston by avocation, has written a fine book for the general reader. As its subtitle suggests, *Boston and the Civil War* is not a comprehensive history of Boston during the conflict, but instead isolates one of the few indisputable “arcs” in American and Massachusetts’ history: African Americans’ torturous but seemingly inexorable road from slavery to freedom. Massachusetts, and particularly Boston, had an outsize role in paving that road, which is the story Berenson tells.

To her great credit, Berenson avoids what might be called Civil War “tunnel vision,” i.e., a context-limiting focus on the years between 1860 and 1865. Because the Civil War was really the culmination of longstanding and clashing visions of slavery, freedom, union, and nationalisms, Berenson begins her story in the eighteenth century with a brief sketch of slavery in America, Massachusetts, and the United States Constitution. Over one-third of *Boston and the Civil War*’s 191 pages are devoted to the years between the Revolution and Abraham Lincoln’s 1860 election. This arc of history took time to unfold.

By the early 1790s, Massachusetts’ courts had removed the last legal props for slavery; but the United States Constitution moved in the opposite direction, enshrining the “peculiar institution” in several provisions, especially the Fugitive Slave Clause. Slave owners’ efforts to enforce this right ensured that slavery would continue to be a Northern, and very much a Massachusetts, problem, as Berenson explains.

Berenson tells her story through a narrative structure that perhaps reflects her earlier work, *Walking Tours of Civil War Boston: Hub of Abolitionism* (2011). The “tour” given in *Boston and the Civil War* resembles a stop-by-stop narration through biographies of a host of period actors ranging from the famous to the now obscure.



At 190 pages the book is brief, but in her sketches of people and events, Berenson identifies the critical milestones that slowly solidified anti-slavery opinion in Massachusetts and the North en route to civil war. She selects events and movements that include the conventionally recognized milestones such as the Compromises of 1820 and 1850, the Second Great Awakening, the 1856 caning of Charles Sumner, *Dred Scott*, and the Harper's Ferry Raid. Antebellum Massachusetts was a center of national gravity for newspapers, book publishers, and reform—and a home to thinkers, politicians, judges, and agitators of national stature whose speeches and writings were avidly read from the Town of Newton to San Francisco. Garrison's abolitionist *Liberator*, John Quincy Adams' speeches on the House floor, Sumner's fiery speeches in the Senate, Webster's elevation of Union over abolition, Harriet Beecher Stowe's novels, and Boston's Secret Six support for John Brown provoked controversy on State Street but also in Richmond, Charleston, Montgomery, and Washington.

Berenson balances her account by noting that Boston abolition faced strong and occasionally violent opposition. Anti-abolitionists included Cotton Whigs, Irish immigrants, and others willing to tolerate the alliance between Lords of the Loom and Lords of the Lash, for the sake of Union.

But what lends great interest and no little charm to this account is Berenson's skillful placement of biographical sketches of the *dramatis personae* in Boston's antislavery and women's rights movements, which were often entwined. In period prints or *carte de vistes*, some forty characters are pictured and their biographies given, while other actors are not pictured although their lives are described. Some names are well known, such as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Daniel Webster, and Charles Sumner. But many names are not as well-known, although each was critically engaged in antislavery activity. It is indicative of Boston's importance that each of these figures, well known or subsequently obscure, represented some important intersection between local action and the growing national preoccupation with slavery.

Berenson restores balance to this history. The struggle for emancipation and equal rights was at times a male-female and a joint black-white enterprise; however, at other times, it rested mostly with Massachusetts' small black population, male and female. Close students of the antebellum decades will recognize many of the names Berenson features: Mum Bett, David Walker, Mary Weston Chapman, the Grimke sisters, Robert Morris, Shadrach Minkins, and William Cooper Nell, among others; but all readers will learn something about their roles in moving the national discourse. It is through these biographical sketches that some readers will have their

first introductions to Boston's Civil War-era African American community and some unjustly forgotten men and women, black and white, who played indispensable roles in the struggle for freedom and equal rights.

Berenson takes an unusual approach to Civil War Boston's military contributions by focusing on social history rather than battles or casualties. The Civil War provoked a populist rising on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line, and no less so than in Massachusetts. Using the device of event narrative punctuated by biographies and personal letters, she identifies four groups who responded to the call: Boston Brahmins, middle class whites, Irish immigrants, and African Americans. Berenson correctly notes that each group had ambivalent feelings about war aims and different reasons for bearing arms. Although African Americans were far less ambivalent as to reasons to fight, whites were often divided on the questions of war aims: reunion only or both reunion and emancipation. Berenson also describes the 1863 Boston draft riots, which demonstrated just how deeply the city was divided, not only over war aims but also over social class, conscription, and ethnicity.

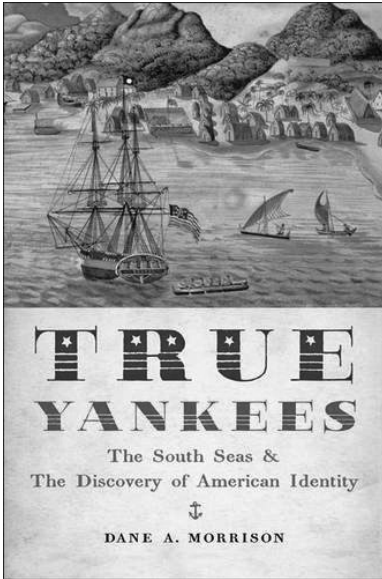
Writing good general history is more difficult than a monograph, as challenges of selecting facts, events, and interpretation present on each page. Unlike some recent historians, Berenson manages to reintroduce secondary figures without overstating their roles or diminishing the significance of more recognizable names.

The only criticism important enough to note here is that *Boston and the Civil War* would have benefited from a draft review by someone more intimate with military history. Contra Berenson, Farragut did not issue his iconic order after Sherman's occupation of Atlanta; it was a month earlier. Farragut also did not occupy the port of Mobile, he successfully neutralized its defenses and implemented a close blockade; the port's physical occupation would not occur until May, 1865. Also, Sherman's famous dispatch ("Atlanta is ours and fairly won") was sent on September 3rd not the 7th. None of these errors affect this book's overall value; however, they are worth noting lest their discovery prejudice more general readers into questioning the valuable research that Berenson put into this effort.

Boston and the Civil War: Hub of the Second American Revolution is recommended for Boston residents and visitors, state and local historians, and anyone seeking broad connections between Boston and the nation in the period from the Revolution through the Civil War.

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***True Yankees: The South Seas & the Discovery of American Identity.* By Dane A. Morrison. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. 280 pages. 26 halftones. \$27.95 (paperback).**



This book traces the story of the development of a new American identity to replace that of a colonial subject of Great Britain. The formation of this new identity took place over the first half century of the United States, approximately 1783 to the 1840s. It is not, however, a history of the expansion from a collection of coast-hugging, newly-independent states to a nation on the edge of becoming continental. Instead, Morrison directs attention away from the continent and out to sea. This emphasis allows him to focus not on migrants from the middle and southern states moving westward but on New Englanders doing what they did

best: sailing the seas, taking the American flag and the American people into uncharted (at least by Americans) waters, and making a large part of the world aware of the new nation. Rather than the old interpretation of Frederick Jackson Turner (that the frontier formed American identity from an assortment of European peoples), the Morrison argument is that the South Seas experience helped to form a new American identity strong and proud with a touch of racism and belligerence in the mix.

Others have chronicled the American forays into the Pacific and Indian oceans and the South China Sea. Some accounts, such as that of the *Essex* in the South Pacific or the classic fiction of Herman Melville, are relatively well known. But these works tend to slight the development of an American identity and do not cover the entire period; instead they deal with a single voyage, a single mariner, or the like. To tell the story of change, Morrison chronicles the lives of five subjects, three from the formative stage and two from the formed American. The five are Samuel Shaw (active role 1784-1794), Amasa Delano (1790-1820), Edmund Fanning (1792-1833), Harriet Low (1829-1834), and Robert Bennett Forbes (1838-1840).

Samuel Shaw (1754-1794) was a Boston merchant who, at age thirty in 1784, sailed the *Empress of China* to Canton, China, then returned with a profit and a cargo of tea and porcelain. He was the first American to venture into a trade already three hundred years old and European-controlled. He ventured forth again, and other American merchants followed. Shaw represents the newly-independent America stepping gingerly onto the world stage and into the trade beyond Europe in the South Seas. Shaw sailed alone into a commerce dominated by companies with long historical ties and agents, and he introduced the world to the new American—dignified, virtuous, and deserving of respect and equality. He sallied forth as a measure of desperation at the economic disarray and as a means of making his competence. He managed to establish a foothold, but he fell short of the competence. And he died early.

Amasa Delano (1763-1823) represents the wave of American traders who sailed in the wake of the *Empress of China*. He had a broader experience, sailing not only to the established trade targets of India and China but throughout the vastness of the ocean from those areas to Australia, Hawaii, the Philippines, Spanish America, and southern Africa. A representative of the full-bore Enlightenment, he epitomizes the American confident in his equal ability to explore and reveal the rest of the world to his homebound compatriots. Beyond the bottom line, he treasured the experience of meeting and trying to understand other settings, other peoples. He too fell short of attaining competence.

Edmund Fanning (1769-1841) was the culmination, the enlightened merchant who reflected the best of the other two in broadening the range of exploration as well as the depth of examination while competing with the French and English merchants in the Indian and Chinese trade.

Those three represent the first stage, the entry into the world by Americans wanting, then demanding, equal treatment and respect. They also illustrate the spirit of curiosity and adventure that accompanied the pursuit of trade and wealth. In contrast, Harriet Low (1809-1877) typified the New Englander who refused to habituate to unfamiliar surroundings. Robert Bennett Forbes (1804-1899) was the American primarily interested in getting that competence and not particularly interested in the world around him. By rejecting the rest of the world and living parochially despite being abroad in a new and different world, Low and Forbes both treated the world as inferior and inconvenient, an impediment to their preferred New England Americanism. Low and Forbes demonstrate the replacement of Jeffersonian Enlightenment principles with a post-Enlightenment Jacksonian sense of superiority, bigotry, and racism. Their worldview allowed Cherokee Removal

and the intolerance of Masons and abolitionists. The culmination of this era abroad is the first Opium War.

But the United States was more than the product of the South Seas trade. Morrison separates his five representative Americans abroad with interlude chapters dealing with developments on the continent as well as on the Pacific waters. He ties the South Sea trade to the more familiar story of governmental changes, economic development, and expansion into the West and against the native peoples as well as the Europeans on the continent. By adding the chapters on the homefront as well as the history of the South Seas beyond the ken of his diarists, he makes his five individuals more clearly representative of Americans of their changing times. He also makes clear the rapidity of the changes from a somewhat tentative but determined new arrival on the world scene to an aggressive and prideful force equal to any other.

There are many diaries and other writings about this period of the South Seas trade. Many are better known, but many are incomplete, either fragmented or focused away from the theme of identity formation. Morrison makes a good selection that covers his emphasis through the full time period and illustrates the changes that occur over time. He notes the presence of outliers, throwbacks, and the like, but he does not allow unfortunate distraction from the unfolding of the mainstream narrative.

Because their stories are nearly complete, the five individuals become more than representative characters. They have hopes and failures, families and friends, personalities and circles of acquaintances, and beliefs—some good, some not—that make them seem human as historical persons often do not.

Dane Morrison is professor of early American history at Salem State University and author of a history of Puritan Massachusetts as well as editor of two other works. *True Yankees: The South Seas & the Discovery of American Identity* reflects his high standard of scholarship, as it broadens our understanding of not only New England and maritime commercial and exploration history during the early national period but of a broader topic: identity studies. The publisher has packaged the work attractively in an affordable paperback with appropriate illustrations.

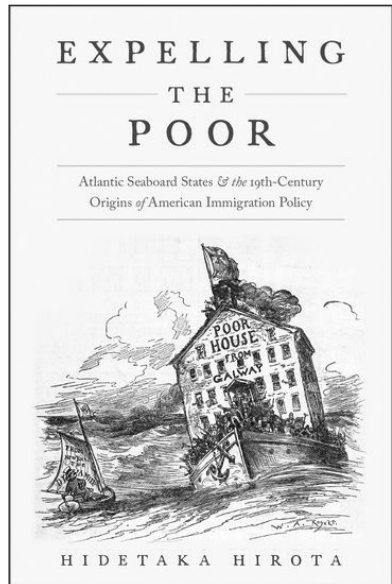
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***Expelling the Poor: Atlantic Seaboard States & the Nineteenth-Century Origins of American Immigration Policy.* By Hidetaka Hirota. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 320 pages. \$35.00 (hardcover).**

The American mythology around immigration suggests that the United States has always welcomed the world's poor "huddled masses," foreigners whose eagerness to pull themselves up by their bootstraps would presumably benefit the national economy (and settler colonial project). Yet, in reality, immigrants whose poverty was believed to reflect inherent racial or ethnic inadequacies have long been the targets of nativist exclusion efforts. Hidetaka Hirota's *Expelling the Poor: Atlantic Seaboard States & the Nineteenth-Century Origins of American Immigration Policy* expertly exposes the links between treatment of the "undeserving" poor and "undesirable" immigrants in nineteenth-century state policies and practices, with a focus on Massachusetts and New York.

Immigration restriction in these states emerged out of colonial-era poor laws designed to exclude transient paupers and expel them to "the country from whence they came" (44), thereby protecting towns from having to pay for their support. These poor laws were expanded in response to the arrival of extremely impoverished Famine-era Irish in the 1840s and transformed into state-level policies to exclude (and often to deport) foreign paupers. Hirota emphasizes that these restrictions were based primarily on class, yet views of the irredeemability of the poor in these states were themselves profoundly shaped by anti-Irish bias. Foreigners who relied on public aid, or were deemed likely to rely on public aid, were not understood by nativists to be temporarily fallen on hard times; rather, their poverty was assumed to be the result of their cultural or biological inferiority. In response, Atlantic seaboard states, particularly Massachusetts and New York, created policies and practices aimed at the Irish to both exclude and deport foreign paupers.

While historians have long located the origin of federal immigration restriction in late nineteenth-century Chinese exclusion legislation, Hirota incontrovertibly proves that state-level immigration restriction both preceded



and influenced federal policy. Tracing the evolution of the mid-nineteenth-century exclusion and deportation of foreign paupers from Massachusetts and New York demonstrates that “American borders were never really open and immigration control functioned actively on the East Coast at the state level with Europeans as the targets, long before federal Chinese exclusion and before Ellis Island” (10). Indeed, he documents the ways in which anti-Chinese state policies in California, and subsequently federal policies, found their inspiration and legal justification in New York and Massachusetts’ treatment of Irish paupers. While anti-Chinese sentiment was premised on the competition Chinese laborers posed to white workers, the anti-Irish nativism Hirota captures was premised on fears of Irish unemployment—a refusal to provide support for immigrants viewed as unfairly siphoning off relief funds. That nativist discourses could be flexibly arrayed against immigrant labor competition or immigrant welfare reliance eerily echoes more contemporary immigration debates, particularly those leading up to the 1996 federal welfare and immigration reform laws—in which Massachusetts again served as a model—which attempted to restructure both systems in order to avoid the United States becoming a “welfare magnet” for the world’s poor.

State-level efforts to exclude and deport foreign paupers found their fullest expression in the late 1850s at the height of Know-Nothing nativism. As Hirota writes, “Under the influence of the Know-Nothing movement, immigration control in New York and Massachusetts became extremely coercive,” as officials in both states “disregarded legal constraints on deportation” (101). Massachusetts had particularly strict policies and a reputation for near-ruthless enforcement, removing thousands of foreign paupers in the late 1850s, often foregoing due process, and occasionally sweeping their U.S.-born children out of the country as well. In the postbellum era, those foreign paupers not pushed out of the state could be confined to workhouses as vagrants.

As any complete history of immigration must be transnational, exploring both push and pull factors, a complete history of deportation must be equally attentive to the conditions of return. Hirota traces deportees’ wretched return journeys and their chilly reception upon arrival in Liverpool, situating state-level immigration restriction within broader, transnational efforts to exclude the poor from industrial societies in the nineteenth century.

When a Supreme Court ruling in 1876 undermined states’ abilities to restrict the immigration of foreign paupers, nativists in Massachusetts and New York turned toward advocating for federal legislation. The 1882 and 1891 Immigration Acts that resulted were modeled on state policies in Massachusetts and New York, particularly officials’ broad discretion to

exclude those “likely to become a public charge,” and including a deportation provision for inadmissible immigrants. Thus, state-level actions to exclude and deport impoverished Irish immigrants formed the foundation of federal immigration restriction. While anti-Irish nativism in the antebellum era has been well documented, Hirota notes that it “is usually seen as a form of bigotry that did not fundamentally affect America’s border policy” (207). His book corrects this major misapprehension.

Expelling the Poor: Atlantic Seaboard States & the Nineteenth-Century Origins of American Immigration Policy decisively reconstructs the historiography of American immigration restriction, which has both broader roots and more sinister implications than historians have yet acknowledged. Not only does Hirota uncover the disdain for the poor that compelled the United States to reject any mission to be a refuge for the world’s downtrodden, he ultimately excavates the legal foundations for noncitizen rightlessness. As he writes, “state officials developed—and acted on—the conviction that they could practically do anything with aliens, or people whom the officials deemed aliens, if their action was the exercise of police power to protect Americans from economic, moral, and public health threats” (128). This is essential reading for immigration scholars.

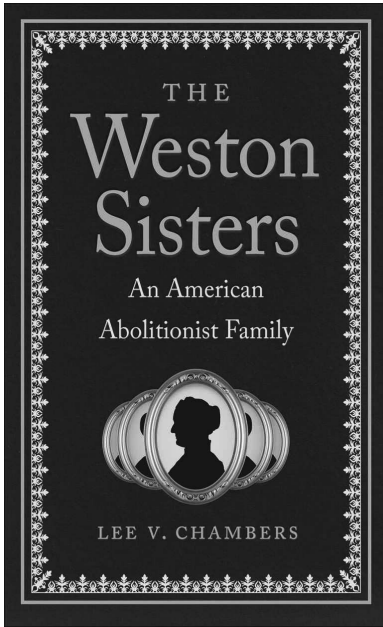
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***The Weston Sisters: An American Abolitionist Family.* By Lee V. Chambers. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 337 pages. \$42.00 (paperback).**

The idea that antebellum women might have been attracted to the burgeoning abolition movement because they saw parallels between issues of women’s rights and the issue of freeing slaves is not new. But Lee Chamber’s *The Weston Sisters: An American Abolitionist Family* provides a fresh look at the ways in which gender politics supported—and collided with—the politics of abolition in the nineteenth century.

The six Weston sisters of Weymouth, Massachusetts, integrated their personal lives and duties with their work as part of the Garrisonian abolitionists. Maria, Caroline, Anne, Debora, Emma, and Lucia each supported their family, one another and the movement in mutually beneficial ways. Maria Weston Chapman is perhaps the best-known of the siblings for her influential work in writing and organizing on behalf of the abolitionist

cause. All six sisters intersected in various ways with a host of important players in the reform movements and intellectual circles of the day, ranging from William Lloyd Garrison to the Grimké sisters, Frederick Douglass to Lydia Maria Child.



Relying on an astounding number of letters that the Weston sisters sent to one another and to others during their lifetimes, Chambers manages to relate the ways in which these women linked their domestic duties with their progressive political organizing. The author argues that there was strength in numbers—that the “siblicity” among the Westons enabled them to take care of their parents, their brothers, their nieces and nephews, and themselves—and in so doing, to have the time and mobility to be able to tend to the care of the growing abolition movement. The book, organized around a series of issues like household economy, marriage/singlehood, and child care, enables

Chambers to amply demonstrate the ways in which the Weston sisters were successfully able to parlay domesticity into political action, supporting one with the other and applying lessons learned from one realm to another.

For example, Chambers discusses an incident in which eldest sister Maria once fell ill from what was called “brain fever” (possibly caused by abruptly weaning a baby due to her intensive travel schedule on behalf of abolition). The sisters rallied around her not only to care for Maria, her husband, and her children, but also, importantly, to ensure that they could control the messaging going out to the rest of the world about her illness. Writes Chambers, “Maria’s family and friends interpreted her illness through a lens of martyrdom, praising her capacity to rise above the ‘persecution abuse’ [from those who opposed the abolition movement] . . . and return to duty” (124-125). For the Weston sisters, the personal was not only linked to the political, the personal *was* political.

Those unfamiliar with various nineteenth-century reform movements would be brought up to speed with Chambers’ succinct, relevant, and extremely well-documented background information; those more familiar would find the additional contextualization further enlightening, as

Chambers goes beyond reviewing well-known sources and utilizes primary sources to a great extent. The discussion of letters, journals, and how they were used by the Westons—as well as by the author—in the appendix is in and of itself a fascinating read.

There are neither maps nor photographs in this book, unfortunate for readers outside of New England who might not be well-versed in greater Boston geography. A quick Google search yielded an iconic photo of Maria Weston Chapman but not her sisters; any images would have been a welcome addition in this book since Chambers does a fine job delineating the different personalities of the Westons and making readers care about these individuals.

Chambers' excellent discussion in the final chapter of *The Weston Sisters: An American Abolitionist Family* connects female critiques of slavery and patriarchy. She quotes a letter in which sister Caroline Weston wrote, "You see for good or ill women invariably carry on their principles better than men do" (165). Contemporary readers will not fail to see the parallels between the content of the Weston sisters' writing, the #metoo movement, and the unprecedented numbers of women running for office today.

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***Artful Lives: The Francis Watts Lee Family and Their Times.* By Patricia J. Fanning. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016. 205 pages. \$25.95 (paperback).**

It's not an easy thing to pull off, telling several subject's intertwined stories. Nor is it easy to integrate the tools of several different disciplines to do so. But in *Artful Lives: The Francis Watts Lee Family and Their Times*, sociologist Patricia Fanning manages to tell the stories of the lives of members of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Lee family and contextualize them utilizing art history, cultural studies and aspects of sociology. Somewhere between biography and social history, this book mostly succeeds in the difficult task the author laid out for herself.

Francis Watts Lee was a printer who worked at the Boston Public Library in the late nineteenth century. He dabbled in some of the social reform movements of the day, experimented in photography, and traveled in artistic circles that included some of the best-known people in the Arts and Crafts movement and intellectuals living in Boston. His first marriage to poet



Agnes Rand (daughter of the wealthy Chicago family that formed the Rand/McNally publishing company) yielded two daughters and ended in divorce; his second, to Marion Lewis Chamberlin, one of the first women to receive an architecture degree from MIT, brought both a daughter and a son, and might or might not have had elements of estrangement. Francis, Agnes, and Marion form the core of Fanning's book with chapters on each of them; some of the children from these unions, as well as some of the other people in their worlds, like photographer Gertrude Käsebier, provide the focus of others.

Francis and Agnes' first child, Peggy, is arguably at the center of everyone's stories. A lovely child who died way too young of juvenile diabetes, her beauty and essence were captured on camera by her father and by other photographers of the era, mostly notably Käsebier. Her iconic print titled "Blessed Art Thou among Women," a staple in history of photography courses, served as the initial inspiration for Fanning's book and is its riveting cover illustration. Fanning is at her best when deconstructing the photos that illustrate this volume, explaining their importance not only in terms of her subjects' lives but more broadly in terms of the history of photography, aestheticism, and the Arts and Crafts movement.

Fanning's discussion of women's and children's evolving roles in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century is solid and engaging. It truly helps readers to see the family she highlights in the context of how gender and generational roles were shifting around them. Some of the other social and cultural issues into which the author delves at times seem disproportionate in their emphasis relative to the narrative arc of the book; her discussion of Christian Socialism, for instance, while important, takes readers away from the central themes Fanning has otherwise laid out so compellingly.

What Fanning doesn't deliver as much as readers would hope is a deep dive into the lives of her subjects. The book is filled with phrases such as "likely came from" or "perhaps on this journey" or "probably implied." Of course biographers are interpreters of their subjects' lives and don't always know for certain their subjects' hopes or dreams or motivations, and to

be sure, Fanning did not have at her disposal unlimited primary sources to inform her work. But more examples from Francis, Agnes, and Marion's letters and other written materials would have further enlivened Fanning's narrative, and possibly helped us to understand members of this family and their relationships more fully. While the linguistic speculation Fanning deploys is certainly a social scientist being careful, it's also a little distracting.

The book's epilogue contains some of the most interesting aspects of Fanning's work, because it is here that she lays out her method. It's fascinating to read how the author followed different clues in her subjects' lives, and how her journey ultimately led her to the home of one of Francis and Marion Watts' grandchildren and an unopened chest that turned out to store a bounty of photographs from important turn-of-the-century photographers. This collection has since been donated to the Library of Congress, and students of American pictorialists have Fanning to thank. *Artful Lives: The Francis Watts Lee Family and Their Times* demonstrates both why interdisciplinary work is so important, and why it is so difficult to do.

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***The True Flag: Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire.* By Stephen Kinzer. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2017.**

Stephen Kinzer's *The True Flag: Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire* is an insightful account of the political debates of 1898-1902, surrounding the intervention of the United States in Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. In a chronological narrative, Kinzer demonstrates that the arguments of isolationism and interventionism, so powerful in today's political discourse, were equally present at the beginning of the "American century." He argues that, too often, scholars look to the period after World War II to understand U.S. interventions in other countries, while the roots of these phenomena actually lie in the 1890s.

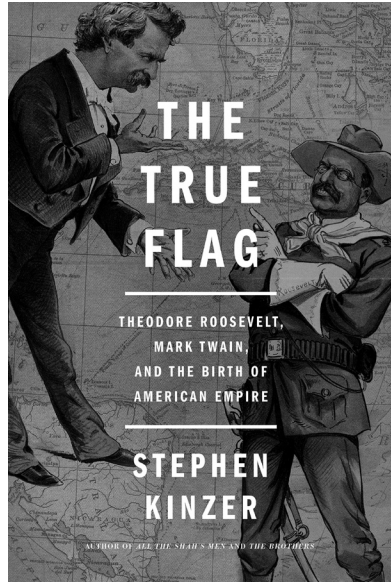
Interestingly, given the subtitle of the book, Kinzer's analysis expands far beyond just Mark Twain and Theodore Roosevelt. Beginning primarily with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, William Randolph Hearst, and Roosevelt as the architects of U.S. intervention in the Cuban independence war, each chapter deftly layers on new characters in the debate about the righteousness

of U.S. foreign interventions. Policymakers that are typically omitted from history classrooms, such as Massachusetts Senator George Frisbie Hoar, Indiana Senator Albert Beveridge, and Boston lawyer Edward Atkinson, among many, many others, are given significant attention as contributors to the national discussion. For instance, while many students of history will have learned the story of Charles Sumner being caned by Preston Brooks in the lead-up to the Civil War, how many have heard of the fistfight that broke out in the House of Representatives in 1902 between Senator Ben Tillman and his fellow senator from South Carolina, John McLaurin? In the course of the debates on the fate of the Philippines, Tillman ended up with a bloody nose and McLaurin with a black eye, before finally being pulled apart by the sergeant-at-arms (220). The level of detail that Kinzer achieves is masterful, while the large cast of characters is still easy to follow even as it expands with each new moment of conflict.

Central to Kinzer's narrative is the idea that the two sides of the debate about American empire were both rooted in the language of freedom, each claiming to be the rightful heir to the Declaration of Independence and the true meaning of America. On the one hand, there were those who saw empire as a way to bring American liberty to oppressed people, and, on the other, those who saw it as "anathema to the values of the nation and a sure way to create enemies throughout the world" (13). Kinzer aptly demonstrates that support for (as well as resistance to) intervention and annexation of new territory was rooted in a variety of rationales and attracted individuals from all sectors of society. There were those, like the business community, who saw Cuba and the Philippines as markets for excess industrial production. The Philippines was envisioned as a base of operations for trade with China. There were those who made moral claims to the necessity of a U.S. presence (or absence) from these regions to "take up the white man's burden," as Rudyard Kipling put it in his oft-printed poem. President McKinley gave a speech in Boston to New England merchants to allow them to rationalize the expansion from which they stood to benefit so dramatically. He argued that Americans were essentially good, anti-tyrannical by nature, and not capable of oppressing others. The Filipinos were simply too savage to recognize this. In his discussion of the Senate vote to ratify the Treaty of Paris, which made the Philippines a possession of the United States (without inclusion of a path to independence), Kinzer engages the intricacies of the speeches of senators, their resolutions, and the causes of the ultimate outcome—57 in favor and 27 against. President McKinley's project of "benevolent assimilation" was rejected by anti-imperialists and Filipino rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo alike, but passed the Senate due, in the end, to the support of William Jennings

Bryan. This complex process is broken down with great clarity, such that any undergraduate student would benefit from reading this chapter in particular to understand how a contested treaty was finally ratified.

Kinzer digs deeply into Bryan's role in shaping the conversation and also its eventual outcome. As the most high-profile political voice for the anti-imperialist cause, Bryan was, at the outset, a crucial ally for those who opposed intervention in Cuba and annexation. However, in 1899, he made the fateful decision to support the Treaty of Paris in the hope that McKinley would soon find a way to put the Philippines on a path to independence. Bryan played a similarly impactful role in the presidential race of 1904. As the Democratic candidate, he represented the anti-imperialist movement opposing Teddy Roosevelt, the very personification of American imperialism, but Bryan's refusal to abandon the "free silver" platform meant that anti-imperialist businessmen, like Andrew Carnegie, would not support him.



Using these examples from Bryan and many others, Kinzer emphasizes the moments when anti-imperialists came close to triumph. But the assassination of McKinley brought an end to any real expectation of political dominance as Roosevelt ascended the presidency. It seems that outside events did much to determine the fate of U.S. imperialism: the economic crisis of 1893 which lent urgency to the need for overseas markets; Bryan's unwavering commitment to "free silver" which meant the business community would not vote for him in 1904; the unexpected capture of rebel leader Aguinaldo and his acceptance of U.S. sovereignty, which deflated the American Anti-Imperialist League; or reports of torture committed by U.S. soldiers in the Philippines which incensed the public throughout 1902.

According to Kinzer, the public debate over the fate of Hawaii was the first major test of the political potential of these two divergent views. On June 15, 1898, the same day Congress voted to annex Hawaii, the American Anti-Imperialist League was founded at Faneuil Hall in Boston, quickly gaining the support of such illustrious names as Grover Cleveland, writer Carl Schurz, and Andrew Carnegie. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge emerged in

this debate as the most powerful agent of expansion, as he relentlessly worked to maneuver his kindred spirit, Theodore Roosevelt, into the Vice Presidency. The two men shared the belief that overseas colonies were essential for the United States to become a world power. Their expansionism, particularly that of Roosevelt, was always “hyper-masculine nationalism” interwoven with ideas of white superiority. As they saw it, Hawaiians, Cubans, and Filipinos were unfit to govern themselves; only the United States could do the “man’s work” of building a civilized society and functioning government (147). Lodge compared the anti-imperialists with his image of Thomas Jefferson, “who was ‘supple, feminine, and illogical to the last degree’” (144).

With a powerful variety of sources, Kinzer demonstrates that the issue of the Philippines was widely covered in the U.S. press. He includes significant excerpts from Senate speeches that were reproduced in newspapers across the country. Kinzer uses poems, political satire, cartoons, essays, and articles to recreate the broader political conversation of the era. Given the increasing literacy rate of the American public, Kinzer argues that the average American had access to the various positions being advocated on each side of the debate. The evidence that the imperialists’ argument resonated with the American public is to be found, according to Kinzer, in the electoral success of Congressional Republicans in 1902 and Theodore Roosevelt in 1904. A deeper exploration of U.S. public opinion in this period is warranted. While Kinzer achieves incredible depth and detail with regard to the public debates amongst politicians, intellectuals, and the press, there is less development of the reception of that conversation by the U.S. population.

As with any historical narrative, there is the challenge of where and when to begin. Kinzer argues that intervention in 1898 was a significant turning point in United States foreign policy, a new era of imperialism. However, he cites lawmakers who debated Hawaiian annexation that held exactly the opposite view—as a continuation of U.S. policy to expand westward. (8) Senator Orville Platt of Connecticut argued in 1899 that the addition of the Philippines as a colony of the United States was the continuation of the voyage of the *Mayflower* and the westward movement of “the English-speaking people, the agents of this civilization, the agency through which humanity is to be uplifted” (105). The U.S. occupation of Cuba and Puerto Rico must be contextualized as one part of a longer timeline that predates even the assertion of John Quincy Adams in 1823 that Cuba was ripe fruit that would inevitably fall into the hands of the United States. The War of 1812 was most assuredly a war driven by expansionists, as was the Mexican War. While California is now viewed as an integral part of this country, it most assuredly was a foreign land in 1846 when the U.S. Navy invaded. The

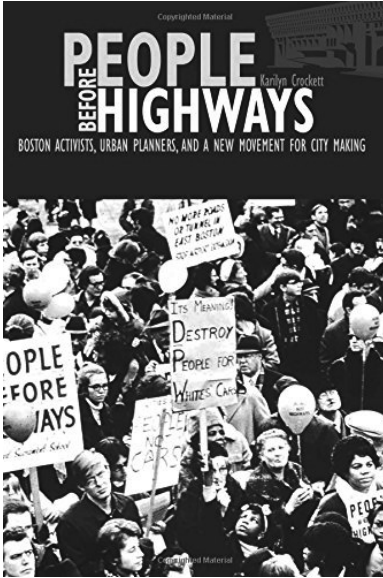
period of 1898 to 1902 offers a starker example, given the fact that water divided these lands from the U.S., but should nonetheless be seen as a part of the continuation of the expansion of U.S. hegemony in the hemisphere. And while there were those that criticized the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, ultimately the expansionist voices won out—as they did in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

One of the great strengths of this narrative is the way in which Kinzer digs into the personalities of each of the individuals. Readers get a vivid picture of how these men interacted, not just their formally articulated opinions on overseas colonies. Kinzer ascribes U.S. failure to annex more territory post-1902 to Roosevelt's mercurial personality, always looking for new challenges to conquer, bored by the idea of repeating what he had already accomplished (228). While the U.S. "had the power to absorb territory around the world," the financial commitment and potential loss of U.S. soldiers was steep, as Coolidge learned in Nicaragua in the 1920s (228). Kinzer characterizes the post-World War I period as one of ascendancy for anti-imperialism in the White House and similarly attributes later foreign policy decisions in large part to the personal beliefs and particularities of individual presidents. He ascribes Hoover's withdrawal of troops from Haiti and Nicaragua to Hoover's "strong Quaker beliefs, extended stays in a dozen countries on engineering projects, and work directing food relief programs in Europe during and after World War I" (234). These decisions also had much to do with nationalist backlash within each Latin American nation, as well as the economic impacts of the Great Depression.

With its approachable, vivid writing style and the fascinating cast of characters, this book should appeal to a wide audience, including undergraduates and non-academics. There are powerful lessons for today to be taken from this moment of wrenching political debate at the turn of the nineteenth century. Kinzer rightly concludes that short-term successes in foreign intervention have produced terrible long-term consequences. U.S. foreign policy has long been built on assumptions of U.S. superiority and goodness. "Humility and arrogance co-exist uncomfortably in the American psyche" (246). Kinzer has shown how this has been and continues to be the case for American society.

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People Before Highways: Boston Activists, Urban Planners, and a New Movement for City Making. By Karilyn Crockett. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2018. 239 pages. \$29.95 (paperback).



It has been almost fifty years since thousands of Boston area residents gathered at the Massachusetts State House to protest highway building in 1969. Bearing the slogan “People Before Highways,” the demonstration graphically illustrated the growing public opposition to the human costs of highway building. The project that spurred this public uprising was the construction of the Inner Belt, a circumferential highway slated to run from Dorchester to Somerville, and to intersect with the Southwest Expressway, a proposed extension of Interstate 95 from Route 128 to downtown. Together these projects entailed billions of dollars as well as the demolition of thousands of

homes and businesses in poor and working-class neighborhoods, mainly for the benefit of white suburban commuters.

The story is hardly new. A much-heralded moment in the history of urban planning in Boston, the highway battle has been described in numerous studies, most notably in Alan Lupo’s 1971 book, *Rites of Way*. But in her new monograph, *People Before Highways*, Karilyn Crockett offers a more capacious understanding of these events. First, she locates Boston’s struggle both nationally and internationally within the larger European modernist movement of urban planning. In Boston, this took the form of massive urban renewal projects in the city’s “blighted” neighborhoods, but it also involved extensive highway building that was equally devastating to local communities.

Crockett traces the development of grassroots opposition to the highways, arguing that activists fought for and won “an alternative type of twentieth-century modern urbanism” (193). In her first three chapters, she shows how groups like Urban Planning Aid, the Black United Front, and the Greater Boston Committee on the Transportation Crisis coalesced to stop the highways and forged a new vision of urban planning based on community

control and public input. Analyzing these groups as social movements, she traces the political background of the activists in the civil rights, anti-war, and Black Power movements and shows how the cross-fertilization of those movements helped shape the organizing around highway building. She details the neighborhood meetings, slideshows, door-knocking campaigns, and the rise of “advocacy planning” to counteract the elite-driven planning process.

Their victory in stopping the highways in 1971 was followed by a successful legislative effort to pass a provision allowing federal highway funds to be rechanneled into mass transit. This measure would enable the building of the Orange Line train by the Metropolitan Boston Transit Authority in the 1980s as well as mass transit lines in several other U.S. cities.

While these chapters offer an in-depth treatment of the anti-highway coalition, it is the second half of the book that truly breaks new ground. Here, Crockett follows the story into the 1980s as local activists helped develop plans and programs for the new Southwest Corridor, challenging the monopoly of professional planning experts. Under the umbrella of the new Southwest Corridor Coalition formed in 1972, residents of the South End, Roxbury, and Jamaica Plain launched new initiatives for urban farming, the development of Roxbury Community College, and the creation of a linear park with playgrounds, athletic facilities, and a bike path alongside the new Orange Line train.

It is Crockett’s deep research in dispersed archives, damp basements, and oral history interviews that have brought these little-known stories to light. Along the way, we meet women activists like Anna Mae Cole, Mildred Hailey, Femke Rosenbaum, and Alice Taylor, who led the campaigns for these amenities, reminding us how important women were to these struggles. Her account shows the power of the diverse community-based movements of the 1970s as drivers of social, economic, and environmental change and as an effective challenge to the elite-led, technocratic system of urban planning.

The author could do more, however, to highlight the distinctiveness of transportation-based movements that by definition cross spatial, class, and racial/ethnic boundaries. These struggles faced difficult challenges in uniting diverse constituencies, but once forged, they benefitted from the collective strength in numbers and the sharing of resources and strategies among multiple communities. By contrast, most redevelopment plans that have targeted a single area or neighborhood have not fostered the same diverse, cross-spatial movements that highway building did. This may be one of the reasons that the activists Crockett interviewed were ambivalent about their victory. Sustaining the momentum of grassroots, community-

oriented planning since the 1980s, especially in face of the disruptive effects of gentrification, has proven far more difficult.

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***Cape Cod: An Environmental History of a Fragile Ecosystem.* By John T. Cumbler. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014. 272 pages. \$24.95 (paperback).**

John T. Cumbler's *Cape Cod* is a fine book that should appeal to a wide audience. The subtitle, *An Environmental History of a Fragile Ecosystem*, might discourage some potential readers by summoning images of a ponderous scholarly work written for specialists, but those cautious folks would be wrong. In fact, this serious and rich academic book has such a fascinating topic and is written so well that anyone with an interest in Cape Cod, resident or not, should read it. Indeed, anyone with an interest in history would find this a worthwhile read. Cumbler has succeeded in combining a flowing narrative with a thoughtful analysis of humans interacting with nature, the workplace, and each other.

He focuses on the Cape but illuminates so much more about society and how it should be studied. Cumbler succinctly states in an endnote to his introduction that the book "focuses directly on the interconnections between environmental history and economic history, while putting that within the larger framework of social history" (218). He doesn't require the reader to have a background in history to appreciate the book, but those who are students or practitioners of the study of history will have even greater pleasure when they contemplate his artful work.

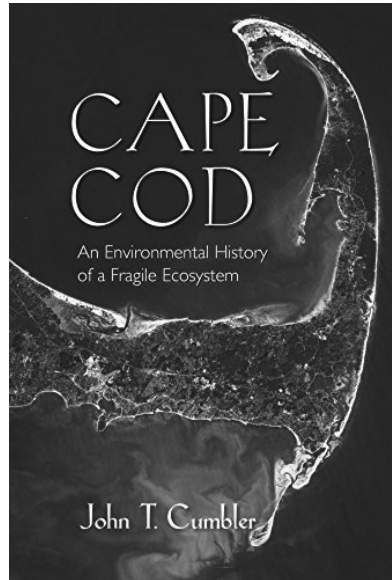
Cape Cod starts with a section that traces the shaping of the region known as Cape Cod in the thousands of years before European colonization. In a few short chapters Cumbler provides the geological background and explains the native peoples' use of the land before the coming of Europeans. The author then explores at much greater length how European settlers and their descendants, from the early 1600s down to the early 1900s, extracted resources to make a living on and from the Cape. These were largely a people whose livelihood was based on fishing or farming. Lastly, Cumbler examines the decline of these industries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and analyzes the transformation of the Cape into the tourist-dominated economy of the twentieth century, carrying the story to the present.

Cumbler names the periods as three distinct “regimes of resource utilization.” The first, a Native American regime, was typified by use of fire, fishing, shellfish harvesting, and horticulture. The second regime, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, was characterized by farming, fishing, boatbuilding and salt making. In the third and current regime, resources are brought in and the local economy is based on recreation and tourism (5-6).

Cumbler convincingly demonstrates that the environmental history of Cape Cod is one of both relentless change and continuity in resource utilization. “Also, central to this book is the understanding that in each regime there are those who have greater control over resources and the ability to decide how they will be used, and there are many who have less control. During periods of regime transformation there are winners and losers. Large environmental and economic forces drive the history of Cape Cod, but local human agency directs the outcomes” (7).

Henry David Thoreau, of course, figures in this book as one who travelled the Cape, anticipated its development as a resort area, and wrote a classic account of the region. But Cumbler points out the famous author and his work actually had little impact on the development of the Cape. Rather, Cumbler describes others who had a greater effect on the course of the Cape’s development as America’s classic vacation destination. One particular pair of Cape Codders at the beginning of the twentieth century envisioned the Cape as a vacationland and implemented their similar but differing schemes.

One of them, Lorenzo Dow Baker, was a prosperous ship captain and the other, Ezra George Perry, had a brief career as a sailor before making the transition to real estate developer. Inspired by his early experience of Methodist camp meetings in Eastham and Yarmouth, Baker envisioned a Cape of small summer cottages rented out to middle-class Americans seeking escape from the city. On the other hand, Perry bought land to cater to the wealthy who sought “summer estates, grand hotels, lavish golf courses, yacht clubs, lawn parties and croquets” (97). The visions of both Baker and Perry



came into being in the early twentieth century “because the two-hundred-year regime of resource extraction had driven the Cape, especially since 1860, into an environmental crisis that brought on an economic collapse” (98).

The rest of *Cape Cod: An Environmental History of a Fragile Ecosystem* is a fascinating account of just how the Cape was built, and over-built, in the twentieth century and how yet another environmental crisis threatens the economic collapse of this third regime of recreation and tourism. Cumbler captures conflicts over land use, zoning, sewers, and fresh water throughout the century and into the present. We read about highways, bridges, parking lots and shops, cottages, and motels, all built to cater to a growing population. “Mini-golf courses, along with strip malls, souvenir shops, and restaurants with sea themes and faux seashore props—from nets, buoys, pier pillars, and pirate flags to plastic fish—became the new visual of Cape Cod.” While many deplore this new visual, Cumbler perceptively and sensitively observes, “for many visitors this image was the very reason they made the trek to the Cape” (157).

No environmental history of the Cape would be complete without a consideration of the Cape Cod National Seashore, formally established by federal legislation in 1961; however, we also read about the earlier creation of both Shawme-Crowell State Forest in the 1920s and Nickerson State Park in the 1940s (163-166). Indeed, Cumbler skillfully and thoughtfully delineates the crucial role of government in shaping the development of the Cape, from colonial days to the present. It is in the political realm that much of the economic conflict Cumbler traces is played out. As he tells the story of humans exploiting the resources of the Cape from the colonial era through the centuries, he observes, “the search for profits pushed” Cape residents to waste but also shows “an amazing history of resource husbandry. Capitalism has its destructive nature, but until the 1820s and 1830s, Cape Codders were somewhat successful in mitigating that destruction. And in the twentieth century we also see examples of both the destructive force of capitalism and the activity of citizens to mitigate that destruction. This mixed story is central to this book” (217 n. 19).

Cumbler notes, “a growing awareness that the Cape needs to protect some of its historic and environmental past. Doing so may require Cape Codders to accept a slower trajectory into a more contained future.” He asserts, correctly, that the significance of this book is larger than the Cape because many of its “problems ... are shared by peoples across New England and the globe” (209). Other similar locations also face the problems of pollution, erosion of beaches, increased land costs, and conflicts over jobs and the environment. Finally and fittingly, Cumbler cites Thoreau when he urges us to become

more aware of the impact we have on the Cape; in doing so “we can honor Thoreau and future generations of Cape Codders and those who will come to love it” (210).

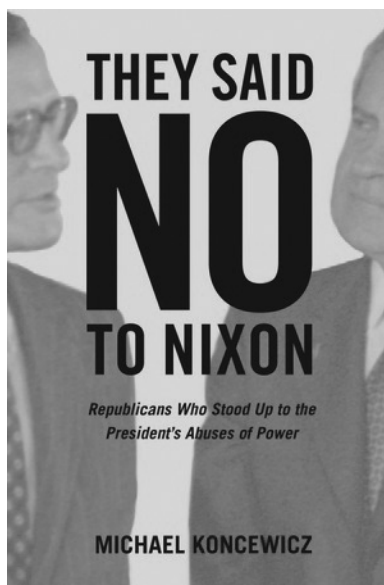
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***They Said No to Nixon: Republicans Who Stood Up to the President's Abuses of Power.* By Michael Koncewicz. 187 pages. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018. \$29.95 (hardcover).**

Whispers of impeachment are again in the air. As Bob Woodward reveals in *Fear: Trump in the White House*, even Donald Trump's past and present aides think the president is unfit for his role. Yet, as of this writing, investigations into the president's alleged abuses quickly stall. The reason is simple: there is no significant opposition to the president within the Republican Party.

It wasn't always this way. In *They Said No to Nixon: Republicans Who Stood Up to the President's Abuses of Power*, Michael Koncewicz, who holds an M.A. from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst and is now the Cold War Collections Specialist for the Tamiment Library at New York University, details how the downfall of President Richard Nixon owed as much to principled Republican Party officials as to Democratic scrutiny. Some of the names are well known—Elliot Richardson, William Ruckelshaus, and George Schultz—while memories of others have faded in the forty-four years since Nixon left office in disgrace. Several of these individuals, as well as the events described, have a strong Massachusetts connection. Indeed, Massachusetts was the only state to vote for Nixon's Democratic challenger, George McGovern, in 1972.

Koncewicz notes in his introduction the many ways Nixon revisionists have sought to rebuild the 37th president's reputation, often for ideological reasons. As an employee at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, California, Koncewicz personally observed how the institution censored or kiboshed



exhibits even remotely critical of Nixon. Key staff have positioned Nixon as pivotal in shaping the contemporary conservative movement. Koncewicz acknowledges achievements during Nixon's time in office, but is certain that Nixon was guilty of impeachable offenses related to Watergate, most notably obstruction of justice. The proof, he says, lies in the White House tapes, which Koncewicz extensively mines.

Nixon attempted to stonewall the Watergate investigation, ultimately foolishly so during the infamous "Saturday Night Massacre" of October 20, 1973, when the president fired Attorney General Richardson, his deputy Ruckelshaus, and special prosecutor Archibald Cox. Koncewicz views that event through a longer lens that connects to Nixon's ever-expanding "enemies" list, one he began compiling in his first term of office. Nixon developed a fortress mentality and surrounded himself with fall-on-the-sword loyalists. He also ordered the FBI to investigate and harass his enemies. The FBI often complied, but Koncewicz reveals a lesser-told story: that some Republicans refused to carry out orders they felt were immoral or illegal.

There was, for instance, Johnnie Walters, the commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service from 1971-73. When he took the job, Walters had scant knowledge of Nixon's plan to overhaul the IRS by expunging it of an imagined "Club" of controlling liberals (38). As Watergate crept closer to the president, Nixon's ire and irrationality increased. He continually badgered Walters to audit individuals and organizations unfriendly to the White House. Walters sought to keep the IRS above the fray and feared the long-term fallout of its politicization. Nixon raged and called Walters "an independent son of a bitch" (71), but Walters, using George Schultz as his willing shield, quietly repulsed Nixon's efforts to bring the IRS under the direct control of the White House.

Nixon's disdain of Ivy League intellectuals is well documented. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) isn't technically an Ivy League school, but it was the focus of a foiled attempt to stifle dissent. Nixon fundamentally misunderstood the fervor of a college antiwar movement that went into hyper-drive after Kent State. He also overestimated the willingness or the ability of university presidents to rein in protesters. Nixon decided to make an example of MIT; he ordered the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the office that drafts the nation's annual budget, to cut future aid to the university. That plan went awry when OMB assistant directors Kenneth Dam, William Morrill, and Paul O'Neill refused to execute the order. Then-OMB Director George Shultz resorted to an oft-used strategy of simply not telling the president that he advised OMB staff to ignore the president.

Koncewicz gives a lot of attention to Elliot Richardson, who served as Under Secretary of State (1969-70), Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (1970-73), and briefly as Secretary of Defense then Attorney General in 1973, until Nixon fired him. He was a thorn in Nixon's side in each role. In retrospect, it's remarkable that Richardson was in the government at all, as he was all that Nixon despised: a privileged son who went to private schools, then to Harvard and Harvard Law, and served as lieutenant governor (1965-67) and Attorney General (1967-69) of Massachusetts, the only state not to vote for Nixon in the 1972 election. Koncewicz presents Richardson as a blend of principle and noblesse oblige. He perhaps underestimates Richardson's ambition, but there is no doubt that Richardson's refusal to fire Cox was the swansong of the Nixon administration. Less than a year later, Nixon resigned.

Koncewicz sees these figures and others as the undersung heroes of the Watergate constitutional crisis. Nixon scholars might debate whether they had the impact Koncewicz infers, though he is careful not to argue that their dissent brought down Nixon. What is clearer is that that principle was alive within the Republican Party, as was a broader vision that placed the good of the nation above partisanship. It was seen again when the House Judiciary Committee drafted three articles of impeachment. Nixon resigned before a formal House of Representatives vote, but six of seventeen Republicans on the Judiciary Committee broke rank to approve Article I, as did seven for Article II.

Koncewicz's book invites one to imagine alternate scenarios involving President Trump. The first is that today's GOP is too ideologically homogeneous to take a principled stance akin to that of the Republicans who opposed Nixon. The second is that there will be, to appropriate Koncewicz's words, "just enough 'nice guys' to stop [the president] from dramatically undermining constitutional democracy" (187).

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