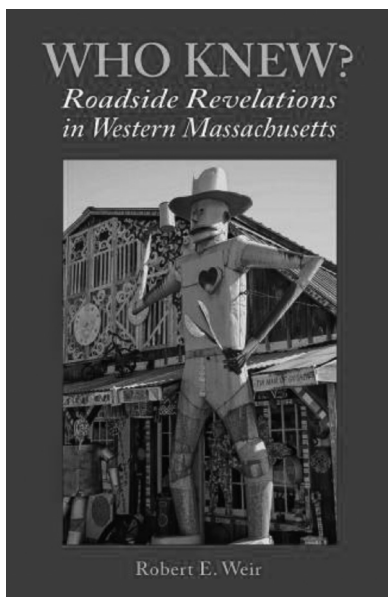


BOOK REVIEWS

***Who Knew? Roadside Revelations in Western Massachusetts.* By Robert E. Weir. Amherst, MA: Levellers Press, 2021. 266 pages. \$18.95 (paperback).**



In this fascinating volume Dr. Robert E. Weir offers a detour from the well-trodden path of history in Western Massachusetts. As a journalist and a recently retired professor at UMass Amherst, Weir has numerous publications under his belt. But here, in his latest, he does not focus on “things you’ll find in any tourist brochure,” such as the Basketball Hall of Fame or any of the other well-established historical sites across Massachusetts (2). Instead, his research and regional exploration carve out troves of colloquial history, such as a perplexing statue in Great Barrington, a grandiose library in the middle of rural Conway, and the little-known sport of candlepin bowling which originated in

Shelburne Falls, to name just a few of the monuments, buildings, people, places, and things that he covers.

Throughout thirty-two distinct chapters, Weir writes a narrative for neglected landmarks and positions them within the larger socio-political and historical context of Western Massachusetts. One such instance takes a look at the artifact of Whately’s “iconic concrete milk bottle,” which “stands 16’2” high, [and] weighs more than 6,800 pounds” (29). Originally, the bottle took its place in 1926 when Fred and Clara Wells of Quonquont Dairy decided to take advantage of the traffic on Route 5, the “well-traveled road that connects Northampton to South Deerfield” (30). The milk bottle stood as an advertisement for their farm until 1943, but was taken down and in disrepair until 1996. It is now restored and is a reminder of “roadside novelty signs” of the 20th century, the “offspring of trade signs that date to the Colonial era” (31).

This is where Weir makes a departure and uses this local landmark as a touchstone for broader historical discovery. The origin of colonial-era signage

is usually associated with the belief that it “guided the illiterate masses to needed local services” (31). But this point is made through the assumption of a past which relies heavily on a contemporary lens. According to Weir, if you think of colonial Massachusetts as illiterate, you’ve been misled. It was one of the most literate regions in the colonies due to Protestant influence, and by 1776, “90 percent of the population had rudimentary literary skills” (32). So what is the actual origin of giant roadside signs? Weir discovers that it has less to do with the past’s relationship with literacy and more to do with “stimulus and response,” or the instantaneous cravings you may feel when driving past a giant food-shaped advertisement affixed to the roadside (32).

The Whately milk bottle is just one of many examples Weir uses to explore forgotten objects of Western Massachusetts and the significance which they carry. He begins the book by tracing local history back to prehistoric times and the dinosaur tracks left in Holyoke. Who knew that millions of years later an eccentric entrepreneur would cash in by opening a shop called Dinosaur Land? Weir tells of a Northampton monument with more than one origin story, a castle in Montague in the vein of the *Summer of Love*, and other topics you may not know exist unless you know where to look.

In the section titled “Hard to Overlook,” Weir discusses Mount Greylock, commonly thought to be the influence behind Herman Melville’s white whale since the view from Melville’s Pittsfield farm home looked towards its peak. However, Weir has his doubts, reminding us that in the 1830s whaling was a big industry and that news stories of whales sinking ships were a common occurrence of the time. He concludes that “much of *Moby Dick* was more rehashed journalism than imagination” (69).

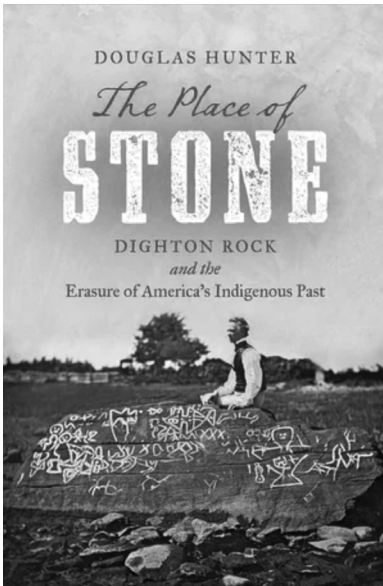
Weir rejuvenates interest in many once-famous events, such as the 1870 labor struggle that took place in a building now owned by Mass MoCA in North Adams. The area was owned by a shoe manufacturer, Calvin T. Sampson, who, in the face of union demands, decided to bring Chinese strikebreakers in from San Francisco. Here, Weir documents what was “the first known case of importing Chinese strikebreakers into a labor conflict east of the Rocky Mountains” (111). None of the Chinese workers stayed long in the North Adams area, but one worker named Lue Gim Gong maintained a personal connection with the Sampson family. After Sampson’s wife passed, “she left her Florida estate to Lue” who became a renowned horticulturist and whose work had an impact on orange farming throughout the state of Florida (113). So the next time you have a Valencia Orange, you can thank Lue and the time he spent working in North Adams, Massachusetts.

Overall, Weir provides an immense amount of insight into the forgotten and overlooked history that makes up the Western Massachusetts area, while

maintaining a narrative style that feels more conversational than academic. He writes, “this is a book for ordinary folks,” and that it took longer to finish than planned “for the selfish reason that I was enjoying myself too much to hurry” (1). This disclaimer is evident throughout the book, and the reader can pick up on Weir’s sense of wonder and passion as he serves as a tour guide to the uniqueness of Western Massachusetts. However, the true success of this book lies in its ability to transcend the bounds of historical artifacts and uncover the societal impacts and implications that these everyday objects can, and undoubtedly do, hold under their surface.

Stephan Zguta is a graduate student in the English Department at Westfield State University

***The Place of Stone: Dighton Rock and the Erasure of America’s Indigenous Past.* By Douglas Hunter. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017. 324 pages. Illustrations, maps, endnotes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.**



Douglas Hunter’s *The Place of Stone* traces the history of American archaeology, colonization, and the nature of indigeneity through a detailed examination of a specific rock located on the Taunton River in southeastern Massachusetts. Although Hunter is ostensibly focused on the Dighton Rock, a forty-ton boulder adorned with petroglyphs, this history does much more, uncovering attitudes towards Native people and the willful ignorance of Europeans and Americans alike as they sought to erase Native history.

Hunter lays out his purpose with great clarity in the introduction, while simultaneously demonstrating how complicated a story the saga of the rock

becomes. Hunter’s main focus is to chronicle “the thread of disdain toward and lack of interest in Indigenous people and culture that runs through them” (4). Most important, Hunter successfully argues that Dighton Rock represents a glaring example of the consequences of colonization. Hunter

explains that most investigations of the rock's glyphs were used to justify colonization, while also creating and supporting the concept of a "hierarchy" among human beings (4-5).

Ultimately, parts of *The Place of Stone* read like a mystery in which many generations of detectives reveal themselves to be intentionally obtuse to the facts in front of them. As Hunter notes in the introduction, the provenance of Dighton Rock was apparent from the beginning; the glyphs, whose precise meaning may be obscured, are certainly the work of Native people.

The "mystery" component of the text is in the style of a book that reveals the "answer" and then lays out the crime. Hunter's facility with language is a great strength of the work. It allows the author to present deeply descriptive cases of the different processes undertaken by the many subsequent generations of arguments over the stone since the seventeenth century. These cases confirm for the reader how often the role of place in shaping the past became of primary importance. Each successive generation, even those who acknowledged that Native people must have created the petroglyphs, worked hard at denying Native access to space and a place in the history, even at the risk of supporting truly ridiculous theories.

The Place of Stone is deeply researched and fascinating to explore. The bibliography and endnotes are clear and allow the reader to follow the arguments as well as review the supporting material with ease. The rich array of books and archival sources provide a jumping off place for further investigation into efforts made at erasing Native place and speak volumes about the importance of acknowledging Native presence in relation to the rock as well as, more generally, the space of what we call New England.

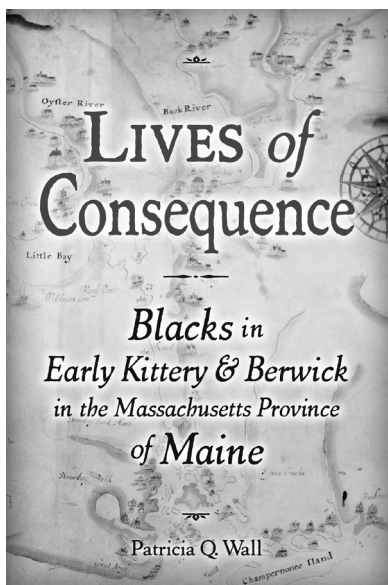
Nick Aieta is a Professor of History and Chair of the History Department at Westfield State University.

***Lives of Consequence: Blacks in Early Kittery & Berwick in the Massachusetts Province of Maine.* By Patricia Q. Wall. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Portsmouth Marine Society, 2017. 229 pages. \$20.00 (paperback).**

In *Lives of Consequence*, Patricia Q. Wall traces the history of African Americans in the Kittery-Berwick region of the Province of Maine (a part of Massachusetts until 1820) from the 1600s through the early 1800s when slavery was abolished. Relying on a variety of data on Blacks and slaveholders painstakingly drawn from newspaper ads, census and tax data, church records of marriage and baptisms and military service records, Wall seeks

a better understanding of slavery and the lives of enslaved people in the Province of Maine. Often thought to be a Southern problem, slavery existed in New England in numbers that far exceeded common perceptions, at least in these two communities.

Lives of Consequence is a noble attempt to paint a picture of enslavement in Maine based upon a limited amount of surviving evidence that does not lend itself to substantial generalizations. Some aspects of her study are well-documented, such as military service, while others are less so. Often Wall must resort to speculation based on general information about slavery and the lives of enslaved people outside of these two communities.



Wall estimates that between 1645 and 1820, roughly 500 African Americans lived in the Kittery-Berwick area. She notes that while these numbers may seem small, in 1712 there were approximately 800 residents and 43-64 enslaved people. Wall argues that enslavement was a significant factor in determining the status and wealth of some citizens: 30% of households likely had one or more enslaved person. Little is known of the lives of most of these slave owners and even less of the lives of the enslaved people. Despite the fact that the vast majority of African Americans identified in her study are reduced to single line references in the sources, Wall was able to provide satisfactory accounts

of the lives of a handful of Black Americans who were able to gain freedom, buy land, establish a family, or join a church. The accounts of Caesar Sankey, Molly Miles, “Black Will,” Sarah, and the couple Cicaro and Phyllis offer a glimpse into the lives of the most independent and persistent of the African American community. However, they are likely unrepresentative of the condition of most enslaved people.

One objective of this work is to unmask the “climate of denial” that Wall attributes to white society of the time. Her examples expose the mythology of benevolent Northern whites by drawing attention to instances of brutality and even murder. However, the enslavement and race relations that she describes cannot be lumped in with that of the South. For example, “Black Will” and his son were both accused of “bastardy” with a white woman. All

parties involved were given their day in court. Will was acquitted. His son repaired the damage by marrying the white woman, although he did spend time in jail because he could not post bond. Wall wonders how the case would have been settled had the two men been white. No doubt, the matters would have had a different outcome, but one could also surmise that the outcomes would have been drastically different had they been tried for the same crime in the South.

Another intriguing matter involves religion. Kittery and Berwick were safe havens for Quakers, a persecuted religious minority at the time. Even though the Quakers had not yet come to the position of opposing slavery (as they later would), they were open to accepting African Americans into membership in their churches in some circumstances. Some even married and had their children baptized in church, although this, too, is rather murky. As the Quaker sect moved toward abolitionism, Quakers in these communities freed their enslaved people as well.

What to make of heaps of fragmentary scraps of evidence (which make up nearly half of the book) is a difficulty indeed, but Patricia Q. Wall has assembled an account of a handful of Black “lives of consequence” that adds to our understanding of slavery in Maine and Massachusetts, even if it is limited in terms of specificity.

David B. Raymond is Chair of the Arts & Sciences Department at Northern Maine Community College.

***The Cabinet: George Washington and the Creation of an American Institution.* By Lindsay M. Cherinsky. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020. 416 pages. \$29.95 (hardcover).**

The Cabinet is an established institution most Americans are familiar with—so much so that we naturally assume it was always a part of the U.S. government. Those people not conversant with the Constitution might even believe that the Cabinet was created and defined within that esteemed document. Lindsay Cherinsky shows us this was not the case. Like so many other presidential traditions, the Cabinet was invented, shaped, and formed by George Washington in order to meet specific contingencies not easily resolved by other means.

The original English Cabinet developed as a subset of the kings’ favorite advisors. The Founding Fathers purposely omitted any reference to a “cabinet” within the Constitution as it was too closely associated with the monarchical government of England. Instead, the first president would

appoint Secretaries of State, War, the Treasury and an Attorney General to run their respective departments and provide him advice within their individual areas of expertise. If the president needed foreign policy council, it was felt that he could rely on the U.S. Senate to promptly provide it.

With the benefit of hindsight, we are not surprised to find that advice from the Senate was anything but prompt. Washington discovered this in the first and only advisory meeting he held with the Senate. The Senate has subsequently been referred to as the “world’s greatest deliberative body.” Whether true or hyperbole, the key word in the description is “deliberative.” Washington required timely advice—what he received instead was contradictory, unhurried, and unhelpful. This early experience eventually consigned the “advice and consent” of the Senate to oversight, appointments, and treaties. It never again included formal input into executive policy decisions.

The idea of an advisory group within the executive branch developed slowly and in direct response to the needs of the president. The original model of department heads acting exclusively within the confines of their own domain worked well for over two years. But the heightened tensions with Britain and France affected every area of government and therefore required a coordinated approach from the executive branch. This led to informal conferences with Washington and his department secretaries, which eventually morphed into more formal and regularized “Cabinet” meetings. But no Cabinet was ever officially formed, and Washington scrupulously avoided using the term because of the monarchical implications of the word.

Washington applied his wartime organizational skills to the formation and structure of the Cabinet. His officer councils with his staff during the American Revolution served in many ways as a model for his peacetime cabinet. Each meeting had its own agenda in the form of questions that Washington wished to discuss. When a Cabinet meeting ended, Washington often requested written summaries of the views of the participants in order to help him reach his final decision. This written input also served Washington’s interest by putting each member’s input on the permanent record. No one could easily flip-flop on a position or lie about their input to the president when they knew their private position could be unearthed at any time the president felt it was at odds with their public pronouncements.

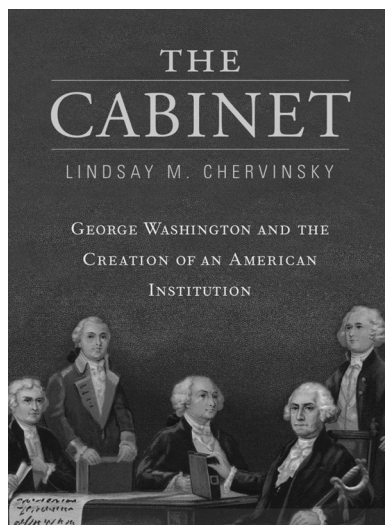
The Cabinet was instrumental in helping to resolve and meet a number of important issues during Washington’s tenure, including the recall of French Ambassador Genet and the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion. It became less effective into the second presidential term due to personnel changes and a resignation scandal. But the unofficial institution did not end

with Washington's presidency. Adams, Jefferson, and all later presidents used and shaped the Cabinet in order to meet their needs at the time. Adams' decision to retain Washington's Cabinet intact proved to be a major disaster for him as the secretaries were secretly loyal to Hamilton and not to Adams. This situation led to major upheavals in the Adams' presidency, but it did not stop the evolution of the Cabinet as an enduring feature of the government.

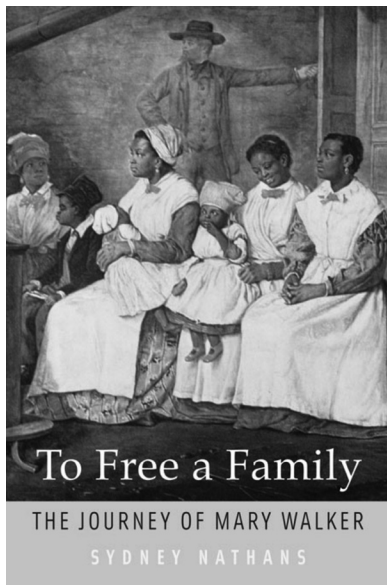
The Cabinet endures to this day as a testimonial to the governing genius of George Washington. It was formed incrementally, changing and growing as needs and circumstances demanded. Never mentioned in the Constitution, it was envisioned as a means of providing the president with the coordinated, comprehensive information needed to make decisions. Each president is free to put his or her own stamp on the institution, as it was created entirely by and for the exclusive use of the executive branch.

The Cabinet provides the reader with the first modern treatment of the Cabinet in decades. Cherinsky shows how the Cabinet came to be, and how it changed in the early days of the republic. Cabinet meetings often involved titanic personalities and egos battling it out until a consensus was reached, or until George Washington decided the issue. This seems at odds with the public views we see of today's Cabinet, which outwardly appear to be a collegial gathering of presidential sycophants. Perhaps a similar study of today's Cabinet will provide future historians with an outlook equally as interesting and revealing as *The Cabinet* does for the original.

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



***To Free a Family: The Journey of Mary Walker.* By Sydney Nathans. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012. 330 pages + ill. \$21.50 (paperback).**



Sydney Nathans' *To Free a Family* offers a poignant, personal portrait that shows the perils of emancipation and freedom in the nineteenth century. Winner of the 2013 Frederick Douglass Book Prize and Darlene Clark Hine Awards—two of the leading prizes in African American history—Nathans' portrait of Mary Walker, a fugitive slave, is a masterful work by an accomplished historian. *To Free a Family* is a wonderful read that deftly navigates the demands of rigorous historical insight while also providing a compelling narrative.

To Free a Family tells the story of Mary Walker, a fugitive slave who spent much of her free life in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Born in 1828, Walker

spent her first thirty years enslaved by the Cameron family of North Carolina. By the 1840s she served as the primary caretaker for Mildred Cameron, the youngest daughter, who had begun to suffer from spasms that left her an invalid. Unable to find a remedy or explanation in North Carolina, the family traveled north to Philadelphia to seek treatment. Here, Walker encountered a vibrant free Black community and, perhaps, agents of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee working on the Underground Railroad. She returned with the Cameron family to North Carolina until 1848, when she had a falling out with her master, Duncan Cameron. Walker reluctantly fled with the help of the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee and sought sanctuary in Philadelphia. The decision was difficult; Walker left behind her mother and three children in bondage in North Carolina.

The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act made Walker's position in Philadelphia tenuous and she had to relocate farther north, to the home of Peter and Susan Lesley in Milton, Massachusetts. Walker remained in Massachusetts, with few absences, the rest of her life. Peter and Susan Lesley, as well as their extended family, became central figures in her life. The Lesleys employed Walker themselves and helped her find employment using the skills honed

during her enslavement, including dressmaking and caregiving. They treated Walker as a valued member of the family, including her in their correspondence and plans.

Walker reciprocated these feelings, eventually revealing to Susan Lesley the intimate details of her enslavement and escape. Unfortunately for historians, Susan Lesley deemed these details too private and confidential to share in her correspondence or, indeed, with anyone except her husband. When Peter Lesley received an academic appointment to teach geology at the University of Pennsylvania, a primary concern remained Walker's placement so that she could remain in Massachusetts. They eventually placed her in Cambridge, where Walker spent most of her remaining years.

The Lesleys also provided Walker with connections to Boston's abolitionist network. Ellis Gray Loring, Boston's premier abolitionist lawyer, Lewis Hayden, the Black leader of the Boston Vigilance Committee, Lydia Maria Child, editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and Harriet Jacobs, a fellow fugitive from North Carolina, all developed friendships with Walker and provided aid. They found her employment and lodging, often as a caregiver, in their homes. They also worked to secure legal affidavits testifying to the circumstances of Walker's escape, and sought out information from their contacts in Philadelphia and the South that gave Walker news about her family still held in bondage.

The most daring abolitionist efforts to aid Mary Walker were, undoubtedly, Peter and Susan Lesley's three separate attempts to secure the freedom of her family in North Carolina during the 1850s. In the first attempt, Peter Lesley hired an intermediary to inquire, through allies in North Carolina, about the possibility of purchasing members of Walker's family from the Camerons. In the second attempt, he wrote the family directly in an effort to purchase family members, particularly her daughter Agnes.

The final attempt involved the most courage. In the summer of 1854, Peter Lesley hired an anti-slavery "agent," a carpenter named James Price, recommended by the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee, to undertake a clandestine mission to free Walker's family. Price ultimately proved unable to free the family, although he spent two months in Raleigh trying. The rest of the 1850s passed relatively uneventfully for the Lesleys and Walker herself, particularly due to a debilitating case of tuberculosis that rendered Walker susceptible to respiratory ailments the rest of her life.

The end of the Civil War finally created an opportunity for the Walker family to reunite. The arrival of federal troops under William Sherman to the Raleigh area in 1865 meant that Walker's family finally had the opportunity to escape. Walker managed to get word through abolitionist intermediaries

in the Union army that she wanted her family to join her in Massachusetts. General Oliver Otis Howard, a high-ranking military officer and later head of the Freedman's Bureau, found Walker's remaining children and told them of her wish. Her youngest son, Bryant, and daughter Agnes, along with her husband James Burgwyn, joined her in Cambridge. Walker, utilizing her connections in town and with the larger antislavery community, found work for her children. In 1870, the Howe family purchased a house for Walker and her children at 54 Brattle Street which they legally deeded to Mary and her children through the end of their lives. The house remained in Walker's family, providing a means of economic uplift for her children and grandchildren, until her heirs sold it in 1912. Tragically, Mary Walker only managed to live two years in the house with her reunited family. She died on November 10, 1872 at the age of forty-four from complications caused by pneumonia.

Nathans' meticulous account of Mary Walker's life in slavery and freedom provides a personal connection to what is often the abstract world of the Underground Railroad. Fugitives from slavery faced an indefinite separation from their family, unstable financial prospects in the free North, and the possibility of social isolation. Walker's life with the Lesleys, however, embedded her within the greater Boston abolitionist network. Her story reveals the courage, pain, and luck that defined the life of a fugitive.

To Free a Family is a model of historical scholarship that combines scholastic rigor with a readable narrative. Since Walker left very few written records, Nathans pieced together her story through a careful reading of documents from the Cameron and Lesley families. His reconstruction of Mary Walker's life and her connections within the larger abolitionist network make a vital contribution to historian's work on the Underground Railroad and antebellum free Black life. The personal story of a fugitive enslaved woman grounds readers in an emotional and compelling story. This mixture of the scholarly and popular make *To Free a Family* worthy of emulation by history students, teachers, and writers.

Kevin Vrevich is a visiting assistant professor of History at Wesleyan University.

***The Insurgent Delegate: Selected Letters and Other Writings of George Thatcher.* By William C. diGiacomantonio, ed. Boston, MA: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2019. 692 pages. \$66.95 (hardcover).**

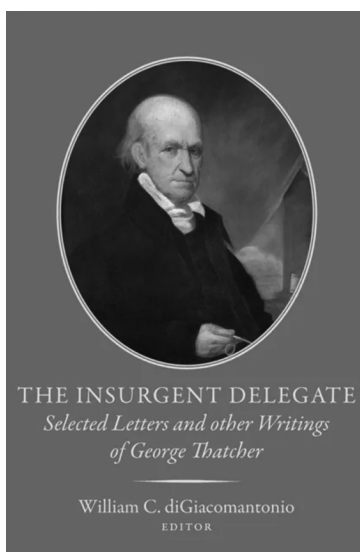
George Thatcher (1754-1824)—lawyer, judge, Unitarian, book collector extraordinaire and long-serving member of the U.S. House of Representatives

for the Maine district of Massachusetts—is hardly a household name. Even among early Americanists, this Founding Father is not widely known. William C. diGiacomantonio’s expertly edited and lavishly produced volume should help to bring Thatcher to a wider body of scholars. At the heart of the volume’s primary documents are 228 letters Thatcher wrote. They are arranged chronologically, under ten subdivisions, reflecting the phases of his professional life, from “Delegate” to “Judge.” Readers cannot but marvel at Thatcher’s wide-ranging interests that touched on politics, education, slavery, and religion. Here, we have a window on the inner life of the man whose famous collection of pamphlets survive as *Thatcher’s Tracts*.

The introductory essay, “George Thatcher: A Federalist Journey in Letters,” establishes contexts for Thatcher’s correspondence and the volume’s other primary documents. diGiacomantonio argues that “to follow along on Thatcher’s journey as a New England Federalist, abolitionist, religious dissenter, and pedagogical innovator is to add depth and complexity to our understanding of the early American Republic” (xviii). Thatcher was the first of his family to attend college, entering Harvard in 1772, at age eighteen—quite old for the times. Graduating in 1776, he seriously considered life as a preacher, was a schoolteacher for a spell, but eventually settled on law. In 1781 he moved from Cape Cod to Maine and soon established a legal practice in Biddeford. In 1784 he married Sarah Savage; they had ten children in all.

It was about this time that Thatcher began to publish newspaper essays. Among those reprinted in this volume, Thatcher used the pennames “A Rational Christian” (1785), “Scribble-Scrabble” (1786), “Crazy Jonathan” (1789-91), and “One of the People” (1812). The first of these brought him into contact with Thomas B. Wait, founding editor the weekly *Falmouth Gazette*, Maine’s first newspaper. The two became friendly, as evidenced by Thatcher’s subsequent letters to his publisher.

Thatcher also increasingly became interested in politics. He was a Massachusetts delegate to the Continental Congress in 1787-8 and then elected to the U.S. House of Representatives for six terms, serving from 1789 to 1800 (as a Federalist from 1794). He may have been an “Adams



Federalist,” but he was always something of “a maverick in his efforts to shape the political culture of the new republic” (lv). As one contemporary put it: “his oddities, his speculative modes of thinking & conversing, & his want of acquaintance with mankind & practical politics, render him at best an uncertain man” (cxvi).

During such a long public life, Thatcher was often away from home and separated from his family and his library. One result was a constant stream of letters to Sarah. These letters were loving and replete with what he took to be helpful advice for parenting their children, including lessons drawn from his books, such as Lord Kames’s *Loose Hints Upon Education*. When he retired from politics in 1800, Thatcher was the only remaining original Congressman. But that was not the end of his public life. In 1792 he had been appointed to the Massachusetts state court, a position he maintained until he was appointed to the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court in 1800. In 1819 he served at the convention that wrote Maine’s state constitution. Relocating for a time to Newburyport, Massachusetts, he resigned from the court in 1824 shortly before his death.

Through the editor’s introduction and Thatcher’s correspondence, we learn much about Thatcher’s views on religious matters. Thatcher’s letters “bear witness to a scripture-based spirituality that was robust and fruitful, driven by the fundamental belief that whatever good (happiness) religion offered, relied on a personal theology and morality freed from the compulsion of dogma and a state-sponsored religious establishment” (xxiv). Counting Joseph Priestley among his correspondents, Thatcher helped to institutionalize Unitarianism in America, as when he helped to found Bowdoin College.

All along, Thatcher was an avid reader and book collector. His passion for book buying—Thatcher labelled it his “Book cupidity”—may have focused on Unitarian works, but it included much else besides, resulting in a rich assortment of theological, historical, legal, and philosophical works. His letters show him to have been an active reader of what he bought. His collection, which he housed in a building separate to his small house in Saco Falls, was something of a lending library during his lifetime. He donated volumes to the Fryeburg Academy and made more substantial gifts of books to Bowdoin College.

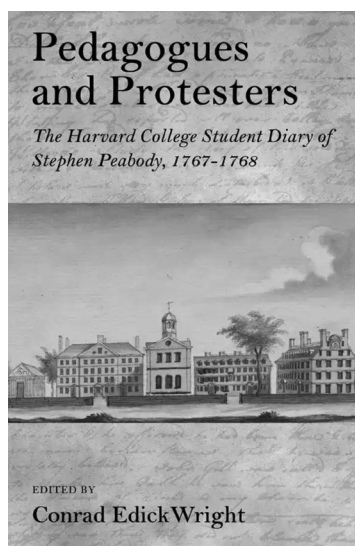
Thatcher’s letters and other writings are now immeasurably more accessible having been transcribed and reprinted in this volume’s attractive type. Among the “Other Writings” reproduced that are of historical importance are several undated manuscript notes (that were bound within the pamphlets comprising a volume in *Thatcher’s Tracts*) and two of Thatcher’s anti-slavery speeches. An extraordinary amount of work has gone into this volume. We

should be thankful to diGiacomantonio for assembling such a wealth of historical material related to early America and for rendering it all in such a useful and handsome form.

Mark G. Spencer is a professor of History at Brock University in Ontario, Canada.

***Pedagogues and Protesters: The Harvard College Student Diary of Stephen Peabody, 1767–1768.* By Conrad Edick Wright. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017. 324 pages. \$27.95 (paperback).**

***The Citizen Poets of Boston: A Collection of Forgotten Poems, 1789–1820.* By Paul Lewis. Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2017. 232 pages. \$22.95 (paperback).**



Although history is often reduced to the story of structures and forces, it is, at its heart, about people. Indeed, as the Brazilian historian Laura de Mello e Souza observed, “beneath the single face of Clio lies a hidden mosaic of individual adventures, which may be recovered.”¹ The two volumes considered in this review – *Pedagogues and Protesters* and *The Citizen Poets of Boston* – help scholars discover some of these individual adventures and, in doing so, offer compelling testimony about life in colonial and early national Massachusetts.

“We know less than we think about the colleges of colonial North America” (xi), Conrad Edick Wright remarks. To be sure, scholars have written about the small

handful of colleges in colonial British North America, but these studies often focus on “founders, presidents, benefactors, professors, and trustees” (xi). Top-down analyses of early colleges can sometimes, perhaps inadvertently, imply that the only people who mattered were the elite and prominent people (usually men) who moved within and through these establishments.

1. Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil*, translated by Diane Grosklaus Whitty (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 219.

In contrast, Stephen Peabody's undergraduate diary of 1767-1768 "offers an alternate entryway into the history of early American college" (xii). The diary illuminates the (sometimes acrimonious) Harvard community and how the members of this community related to New England society.

Peabody was born in Boxford, Massachusetts, on November 11, 1741. He worked his family's farm into his early twenties, at which point he "recognized a late calling to the Congregationalist ministry" (xiii). In order to be admitted to the pulpit he needed a liberal education and was admitted to Harvard as a member of the class of 1769. Wright notes that Peabody "could have spent a hermit's life of reading and prayer if that had been his wont, but in the eighteenth century no less than in the twenty-first, for most students college was at least as much a social as an educational experience" (xxxi). Peabody's constant mentions of visiting, traveling, and interacting with his fellow students, friends, family, and acquaintances testify to the remarkable extent of his social network. Interestingly, despite the fact that he kept this diary during a period of increasing tension between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies, his comments on politics and the imperial crisis were infrequent and cursory.

In many respects, Peabody was an unexceptional student. However, as the oldest member of his class he was supposed to model maturity for his younger classmates. The faculty selected him as student monitor, "an unpopular job that entailed taking attendance at required events such as weekly church services and daily chapel exercises, revealing their belief that he would help to maintain the good order of the college" (xvii). For the most part, he did. Even before his selection as monitor, Peabody sometimes informed on his fellow students. For example, he noted that a faculty member had "sent for me after Prayers to enquire who had made Distourbance & I very freely told him" (7).

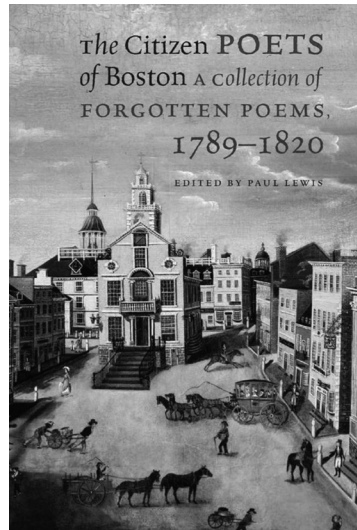
Despite enjoying the confidence of the faculty, Peabody played an important role in the student strike of 1768, "the most sustained and disruptive student action at an American college during the colonial era" (xlvi). Tensions between students and faculty had run high for some time. On September 18, 1767, Peabody noted that someone had hung an effigy of Harvard president Joseph Willard from an elm tree. Several days later he heard that Willard said "he did not Vallue the good or ill Will of 170 Boys, that they ware not worth minding" (72). Peabody himself vocally advocated for Professor Edward Wigglesworth's dismissal due to differences over religion. Student/faculty tensions exploded in March 1768 over a new regulation: students were now required to inform tutors if they were not ready to recite *before* class rather than *during* class. Faculty saw this as a means of

imposing discipline; students considered it as an intolerable outrage. Peabody and other students withdrew in protest and went home. However, once they came to their senses and realized that most outsiders did not sympathize with them, they quickly began to “look for ways to apologize for what they gradually recognized as rashness on their part” (liii). Peabody was eventually readmitted and graduated in 1769. He returned to Harvard to qualify for an A.M. three years later and then received a call from a Congregationalist church in Atkinson, New Hampshire, where he served for forty-seven years. Peabody’s second wife, Elizabeth Shaw, was the sister of Abigail Adams. Peabody died in 1819, after a life spent “ministering to his congregation, farming to make ends meet, and founding a school of his own” (lvi).

Peabody’s diary is particularly useful because it offers considerable information about the minutiae of daily life at Harvard and in Massachusetts during the waning years of the colonial era. Peabody, as noted above, did not provide much information about politics, but his focus on his relationships and the patterns of life in the Harvard community will help readers better understand college communities and how they interacted with broader communities. Wright includes extensive commentary after most entries, which will assist readers in keeping track of the numerous people, places, and events that Peabody mentions. This volume is also enhanced by the inclusion of numerous images and figures. In sum, Wright deserves commendation for skillfully and judiciously editing this important, revelatory volume about college life in colonial Massachusetts.

Paul Lewis turns to a very different subject and a later time period; namely, poetry written in Boston during the early national period. As he observes, “by recovering rarely or never reprinted poems published in Boston magazines during the early national period (1789 – 1820),” *Citizen Poets of Boston* “bridges the gap between twenty-first-century readers and the post-Revolutionary city” (2). Indeed, just as Stephen Peabody’s diary allowed readers to become acquainted with the Harvard and Massachusetts communities of 1767-1768, the poems featured in Lewis’ study provide important insights into life in Boston and the development of the city.

Lewis had a wide array of potential sources; at least 59 magazines contained



over 4,500 poems. Some were reprinted from British periodicals and books, but many were original compositions by Boston poets. Over the course of three years, Boston College students reviewed all of these poems with an eye to selecting the best examples for this volume.

Citizen Poets of Boston will have multiple uses for different research topics. For one, many of these poems illuminate particular elements of Boston's local history. They speak to a city that was in the early stages of tremendous population growth and expansion. Because many of these poems started dialogues (for example, other poets responded to poems that tackled provocative subject matter), they provide information about the city's cultural and intellectual atmosphere. Many poems are particularly vivid because their authors lacked "a sense of professional detachment or distance from unknown or known readers, poets frequently addressed themselves to the public in general or to specific people" (15). Poets spoke not only to the specific concerns of early national Bostonians, but also to universal themes in human life.

The volume is divided into eight sections, entitled, respectively, "Coming to Boston," "Men and Women," "Politics," "The Family," "Jobs, Shops, and the Professions," "Pleasure and the Good Life," "Rebuses, Riddles, Anagrams, Acrostics, and Enigmas," and "Death." Readers will no doubt find some of the pieces more to their liking than others, but the volume contains many fascinating poems. While some demonstrate engagement with international themes and ideas, other poems take readers into the heart of Boston. The rebuses, riddles, anagrams, acrostics, and enigmas, for example, serve as "doorways to knowledge about what Bostonians thought about everything from politics and current events to the food they ate and the people they loved" (182). Poets spoke about relationships between men and women, navigating life in Boston, and dealing with death. In their attention to the quotidian, like Peabody's diary, they help us discover more information about the past.

Both *Pedagogues and Protesters* and *Citizen Poets of Boston* offer fascinating transcribed, edited, and annotated primary sources. These two excellent volumes will help scholars recover more of the individual voices that should be the foundation of all historical studies. Wright and Lewis deserve praise for their meticulous work in bringing these sources to the attention of wider audiences.

Evan C. Rothera is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Arkansas – Fort Smith.

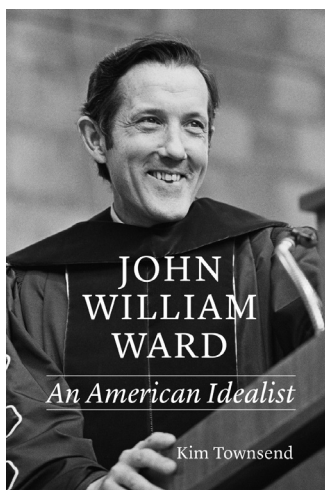
***John William Ward: An American Idealist.* By Kim Townsend. Amherst, MA: Amherst College, 2014. 234 pages. \$25.56 (hardcover).**

Kim Townsend, Emeritus Professor of English at Amherst College, attempts the nearly impossible in his biography of John William Ward (1922-85). Ward was a professor of History and American Studies at Amherst College in the 1960s and served as president in the 1970s. For much of that time, Townsend himself was on the faculty. How does a biographer, whose life and career are intertwined with his subject, maintain distance and objectivity, especially when his long-time peer—and perhaps friend—committed suicide?

Born in 1923, Ward grew up in Boston. The son of Irish Catholic parents, he occasionally struggled with the WASP world of academia.

Townsend provides little information about Ward's early years. He claims that, "at least as far back as his senior year at the Boston Latin School, Ward knew about his anger and about feelings that would weigh increasingly heavily upon him—doubts about his worth, doubts a successful man, a hero, is assumed not to have" (23). However, much of Ward's early adulthood is skimmed over in twelve pages: Ward's service in the Marine Corps during WWII, his time at Harvard University and at the University of Minnesota where he did his doctoral studies, his twelve years teaching at Princeton where he quickly rose to chair of the American Civilization program, as well as his marriage. Because so much of the rest of the volume is devoted to elucidating the origins, development, and effects of Ward's idealism, a much more in-depth discussion of these seminal events would have been warranted.

Ward became a respected writer and scholar in American Studies, as well as a charismatic and popular professor. His dissertation became his first book, *Andrew Jackson Symbol for an Age* (1955), which became a standard text in many college classrooms. In it Ward posited that Jackson was chosen by Americans as a symbol for themselves. According to Townsend, the study was about an America "populated by citizens who were self-reliant and at the same time humane in their consideration of others" (40). In the biography, and in many subsequent essays and speeches, Ward elucidated how Jackson, and the age he lived in, epitomized the life that Ward wanted for himself



and ideally for others: the freedom of the individual to do what was good for society. This sense of individualism for the benefit of society was of central importance in Ward's life and, according to Townsend, influenced everything he did (45). Townsend is at his best delineating Ward's career as a teacher and college administrator. Half of the book is devoted to his eight years as president of Amherst College in the 1970s.

The writing is clear, detailed, engaging, and persuasive. Ward's years as the head of Amherst College (1971-79) were marked by three major controversial issues: the Vietnam War, co-education, and race relations. He led the college boldly with regard to the first. He spoke out forcefully against the war. Ward even took the highly unusual step of allowing himself to be arrested for an act of civil disobedience at Westover Air Force Base. He was one of the few university presidents during the Vietnam era to publicly oppose the war and the only one to be arrested, an act which generated intense controversy.

Ward was less visible and more circumspect when dealing with the issue of admitting women. Although almost all colleges by this time were co-ed, Amherst was among the few remaining holdouts. Soon after becoming president in 1971, Ward wrote that he was "deeply ambivalent" (123) about Amherst admitting women. Over the next three years he moved slowly toward favoring co-education, ultimately advocating for it. Ward felt that his greatest achievement at the college was "handling the process" (124) of the question of admitting women. He "took great pride in the fact that he had the stamina to hang in there for four years and just keep defining what was at issue" (124). Amherst became coeducational in 1975 with the admission of transfer students. In the fall of 1976, women were admitted as first year students.

Townsend makes the case that it is in the area of race relations that Ward most clearly brought his ideals to bear. Ward acted "out of his humane concern for others and at the same time for the good of 'the place' over which he presided" (147). But as Townsend also notes, even at his best, given the racism endemic in American society, it was not enough. Here, idealism met reality, and it was the idealism that suffered. And Ward, as an idealist, suffered.

Ward resigned as president of Amherst College in no small part because he felt the faculty turned on him over the question of faculty compensation. When the faculty argued for higher compensation, Ward sided with the trustees to hold costs down. He was deeply hurt when the faculty, many of whom were, or had been, his friends and colleagues, opposed him. He took it personally because he cared for the people he taught and worked with. Over

the years, his best relationships had been with students and faculty. When he believed they no longer were with him, it was time to go.

His life after Amherst was highlighted by his chairmanship of the Commission Concerning State and County Buildings in Massachusetts. The Ward Commission, as it came to be known, was appointed by Governor Michael Dukakis in 1978. It worked for two and a half years investigating corruption in the awarding of state contracts. It was also tasked with formulating proactive procedures for the awarding of future contracts that would help eliminate such corruption. This was, Ward said, “the single most intense and interesting experience of my life” (183). Townsend is correct when he says Ward was in his element: an idealist doing all he could, pro bono, to make government work, inspiring people to be responsible citizens, doing all he could to “make the promise of American democracy a reality” (185). The commission uncovered extensive and pervasive fraud. A few laws were passed as a result. But, once again, idealism rushed headlong into reality. Very little changed, and Ward knew it.

In some ways, Townsend succeeds admirably in not letting his relationship with Ward intrude. He is fair and balanced in what he relates. He frequently allows Ward to tell his own story through quotes, excerpts from his speeches and articles, and an interview Ward gave for an oral history project at Amherst. Townsend’s analysis of the impacts of Ward’s external life on his internal psyche is thoughtful, incisive and never descends into psychobabble.

But there is much that Townsend does not include. There is virtually no mention of Ward’s family. Although he and his wife filed for divorce shortly before his death (he called her to ask for a reconciliation the night of his suicide, and she refused), their relationship is a blank before that night. Ward had three children. One is mentioned once; the other two are not even named. And we know next to nothing about his parents or whether he had siblings.

Ward’s character was defined by the idealism that shaped his life and ultimately, his death. Townsend explicates the conflicts between Ward’s ideals of the innate goodness of individuals and the salutary effect that goodness has on society as a whole, with the reality that it doesn’t always work out that way. Ward seemed to believe that he had somehow failed as a writer, teacher, and public servant, to get those ideals across. Despite his best efforts, and no matter how many accolades and awards he received, Ward did not believe he had succeeded in making the world a better place. But what is not addressed is why this perceived “failure” led him to the extreme act of suicide at the age of sixty-three. Insight into these missing elements of his life may have helped to illuminate that question.

Robert Bloomberg is a genealogist and historian who lives in Watertown, Massachusetts.

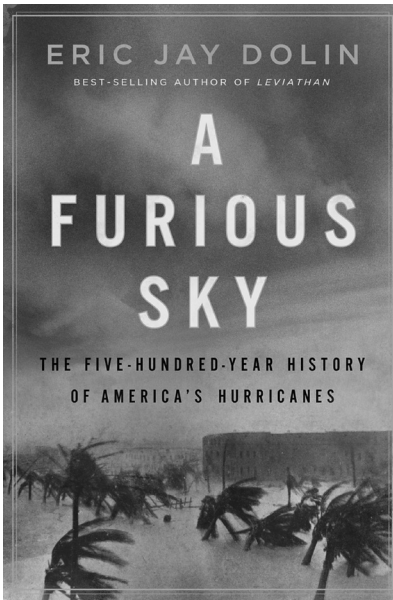
A Furious Sky: The Five-Hundred Year History of America's Hurricanes.
By Eric Jay Dolin. New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2020. 392 pages. \$29.95 (hardcover).

Author Eric Jay Dolin is a consummate storyteller and educator. He skillfully weaves history, science, and disaster literature into an entertaining and informative narrative of the history of America's hurricanes. This book has something for every reader. Laymen will learn the definition and science of hurricanes painlessly and effortlessly, without wading through tomes of scientific jargon. Historians will learn more about the little known historical effects of hurricanes, such as the wreck of a French naval force in 1564 that posed a serious threat to Spanish domination of Florida, the loss of a Spanish treasure fleet in 1715 which contributed to an increase in piracy, and the effect that the mismanagement of Hurricane Katrina had on the 2006 mid-

term U.S. elections. The general reader will marvel at the sheer destructive power of hurricanes and the bravery and determination of those who survive such catastrophic events.

The book is organized into loose chronological order. This allows the reader to see how American society's responses and attitudes towards hurricanes have evolved over time. It also shows how the science of hurricane prediction began and has advanced through the years. Due to the effect of ocean currents on the weather, Europe is rarely afflicted by hurricanes. Early adventurers and colonists were often taken by surprise by the sudden onset of a massive storm, the likes of which they had never seen. Ships caught in the

maelstrom were tossed around like toys in a bathtub. Structures built with the technology of the time were no match for the immense winds and water generated by the storms.



The increasing sophistication of hurricane prediction technologies are interwoven throughout the book. The telegraph was the first major breakthrough in predictive communication. Previously, a community would have had no way of knowing that a hurricane was barreling towards them. The telegraph allowed instant communication from one land-based point to another, allowing real-time warnings to be sent out from an affected community. This would at least allow some areas to prepare for the storm. Wireless communication was the next big breakthrough, allowing ships at sea to warn each other and the people on land that a storm was in the area and which way it was headed. Planes, satellites, radio, TV, radar, computers, and advancements in weather science have all enhanced scientists' abilities to track and predict hurricanes. To this day the methods are still evolving and improving in continued efforts to warn people and minimize damage.

Most American hurricanes make landfall in Florida and the Gulf Coast, but a significant number hit the northeast directly or travel up the coast after a southern landfall. An entire chapter is dedicated to the Great Hurricane of 1938 which made landfall on Long Island and went on to ravage New England, totally destroying Katherine Hepburn's Connecticut house and putting her in serious physical danger. Much of coastal Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island were severely damaged, with much additional destruction well inland. After the storm, an enterprising man walked around Boston Commons with a sign that read: "For twenty-five cents, I'll listen to your story of the hurricane." The author does not record how much money the entrepreneur raked in using this scheme.

Another major hurricane event in New England occurred in 1954 when two hurricanes (Carol and Edna) struck back to back, causing widespread death and destruction. A major casualty of this storm was the steeple of the Old North Church in Boston. This iconic structure housed the lanterns that Paul Revere viewed before his historic ride to warn the countryside that "the British are coming." Photographs in the book show the steeple as it began to fall, as well as the aftermath with the rubble strewn in the streets. The steeple was rebuilt and reinforced and has stood strong to this day.

Along with documenting the recorded major hurricanes that have battered America over the years, Dolin highlights a number of storms that stand out because of their sheer destructiveness. The chapter devoted to the Galveston, Texas hurricane of 1900 is aptly named "Obliterated." It depicts the near total destruction of an American city that was built on a barrier island mere feet above sea level. The residents blindly accepted the assurances of the authorities that Galveston was totally safe. Because of this, they failed to take adequate measures to protect the city and paid a heavy price for that

neglect. Over three thousand homes and businesses were totally destroyed, with over six thousand people killed. In response, the city rebuilt, requiring all buildings to be raised upwards to nine feet aboveground and building a massive seawall to protect the city from future storms. Over time the seawall has been strengthened and lengthened and has withstood direct hits from subsequent hurricanes. With the proper planning and engineering, the effects of hurricanes can be somewhat mitigated by human endeavor.

Eric Jay Dolin is a prolific author, and this book is one of his best. Well organized, insightful, and educational, it presents a fascinating history while at the same time teaching the reader about the science of hurricanes. Combined with inspirational stories of people surviving the most extreme situations imaginable, this book makes a great read and is highly recommended for the general reader.

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

***Faith and the Founders of the American Republic.* Edited by Daniel L. Dreisbach and Mark David Hall. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 366 pp. \$99.00 (cloth); \$39.95 (paper).**

In *Faith and the Founders of the American Republic*, a group of respected scholars examine the intersection of religion and the American founding. The volume has two parts with a total of thirteen engaging essays. The first eight essays deal with the interconnectedness of religion and political culture. The final five essays analyze specific founding fathers and their relationships with religion. Overall, this book adds much needed insight to the field of religious studies during the founding period.

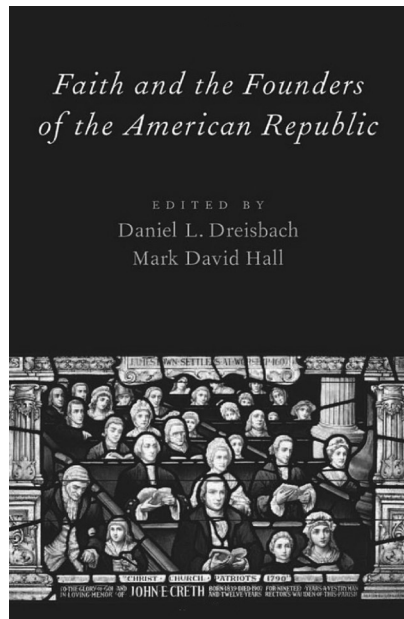
In the first essay, Darren Staloff analyzes whether the American founding was “predicated on shared Christian beliefs and a broad public religiosity, or was it instead a largely secular affair grounded in Enlightenment principles” (15). His conclusion is vital to understanding the mindset of many of the founders. Staloff asserts that America’s founding was based on Protestant Christian beliefs combined with Enlightenment thought and offers two important contributions to the field. First, he explains the two major beliefs of Deists while suggesting that besides the dual principles, “it is very difficult to offer definitive generalizations about early modern Deism” (15). According to Staloff, Deists believed in “the existence of God” but “denied that revelation and scripture could serve as a legitimate source of religious authority and truth” (15). Although Deists had a variety of different beliefs, many dismissed

the supernatural aspects of religion. Second, Staloff questions the long-held notion that many leading founders, such as Thomas Jefferson, were Deists. Staloff claims that “Among the A-list founders, only Benjamin Franklin can be described as a Deist without qualification or cavil” (26).

In the second essay, David Mark Hall suggests that “scholars are still too prone to neglect the significant influence of Christianity, generally, and the Reformed theological and attendant political traditions, more specifically, on the founding generation” (34). Hall argues that the political tradition in America incorporated a variety of ideas about government that coincided with Calvinist thought. These included the support for civil covenants, fear of arbitrary power, resistance to tyranny, limitation of civil power, and the need for “thoroughly Christian social and political institutions” (41). Hall concludes that “there are good reasons to believe many founding era Americans were influenced by Reformed political thought” (55).

While much of the book deals with Christianity and Deism, two chapters examine Judaism and Islam. In chapter three, David G. Dalin argues that, “the relationship of the founders to America’s Jews was one of both admiration and ambivalence” (76). Although some founders admired an idealized version of Jewish people from the Hebrew Scriptures, many held deep prejudices. Dalin closes the chapter by hoping “future scholarship will give more attention to and analysis of the founders’ views on Jews and Judaism” (78). Chapter four is an analysis of what the founders wrote about Islam and Muslims. Thomas J. Kidd concludes that Islam served as “an emblem of political tyranny, a foil for American liberty, and a convenient tool for criticizing one’s opponents” (98). These two chapters are thought provoking and challenge scholars to further research Islam and Judaism in the founding era.

In chapter five, Robert M. Calhoun and Ruma Chopra investigate religion and the Loyalists. They contend that there were three Loyalist groups: “principled Loyalists concerned with law and public policy, moderate



Loyalists searching for compromise and accommodation, and doctrinaire Tories transfixed with the evil of rebellion” (116). The two scholars conclude that “religion played a part” in each of the three Loyalist spheres (116).

Chapter six offers a thought-provoking study of the Antifederalists. Donald L. Drakeman contends, “As to the relationship between church and state, most Antifederalists said nothing about it at all” (136). This is not because they thought that religion should not be involved in politics, but rather that “they believed that the states, not the federal government, were the governments that . . . needed a ‘religious dimension’” (136). Since Antifederalists were wary of the national government’s powers, many may have accepted that it was the state’s obligation to govern the relationship between church and state. In addition, Drakeman asserts that a vast majority of the founders, both Federalists and Antifederalists, agreed that there should be no national religion, no religious test for federal office, and that religious freedom should be amongst one of the individual rights “in a federal declaration of rights” (137).

In chapter seven, Daniel L. Driesbach argues that “the Bible was a prodigious source of ideas and expressions in the political culture of the founding era” (164). Most Americans found the Bible “accessible, familiar, and authoritative” (164). However, even though the Christian text was vital to American political culture, it was by no means the only influence. Driesbach contends, “Biblical influences coexisted with other—even seemingly competing—influences, such as Enlightenment, republican, and English constitutional and common law sources” (164).

Chapter eight incorporates a focus on race. Johnathan D. Sassi demonstrates that from the 1750s and 1810, ideas about race were in flux throughout the United States. Sassi contends that though the conceptualization of race was changing, it was explicitly tied to a religious framework: Americans’ understanding of race was tied to their Protestant belief system.

In chapter nine, Greg Frazier argues that Governor Morris was the epitome of a “theistic rationalist.” Morris embodied traits of both Christian theists and rationalistic deists. Morris’ writings incorporated many religious overtones as well as Enlightenment philosophies. Frazier suggests that scholars tend to separate individuals from the Revolutionary Period into two groups: Orthodox and Deists. These two differentiating paradigms are far too simplistic. Often people incorporated parts of both ideologies into their worldview, as Frazier demonstrates.

In chapter ten, Gary Scott Smith concludes that John Hancock’s Reformed Christian faith played an important role in “his sacrifices for his nation, his political philosophy and service, and his concern for the poor and needy and

generous gifts to individuals in office” (245). In chapter eleven, Jonathan Den Hartog investigates the life of Presbyterian Elias Boudinot. Boudinot was a lawyer, president of the Continental Congress, and a member of the House of Representatives. Despite his central role in America’s founding, he is much less well-known than other more prominent founding fathers. His Presbyterianism played a central role in the development of his political ideology.

In chapter twelve, Jane E. Calvert examines the contributions of John Dickinson. He played a role well worth studying. Dickinson led citizens’ groups, published documents that discussed religion and politics, unified Americans during the Revolution, and wrote the first draft of the Articles of Confederation. Quakerism influenced every aspect of his life.

The book concludes with Joe L. Coker’s analysis of Baptist contributions in America’s founding by focusing on Isaac Backus and John Leland. These two men had very different ideas regarding the relationship between church and state and so did Baptists as a religious group. Leland wanted something very close to “Jefferson’s wall between church and state” (327), while Backus “imagined a barrier between church and state. . . .but which still allowed religion to play a significant role in public life” (327). This suggests that members of the same religious group might have significant differences.

In conclusion, *Faith and the Founders of the American Republic* has two main contributions. First is that both Enlightenment secularism and orthodox Christian ideas played important, and often intertwined, roles during the founding period. The relationship between these two philosophies were complex and often deeply ingrained in the writings and thought of many founders. Second, politics was often directly related to religion. Religion, in part, develops political ideology while amending it throughout time. Thus, understanding the politics of the founding fathers necessitates an understanding of their religious beliefs. Historians should use these well-researched and provocative studies as inspiration for further research and investigation.

Richard J. Stocking is an instructor of history and politics at Mammoth-San Manuel Unified School District.