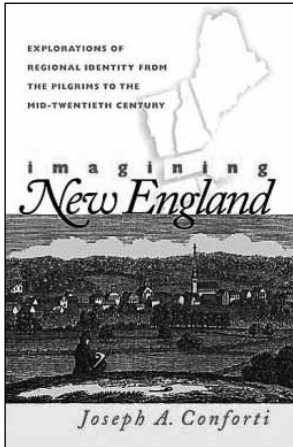


BOOK REVIEWS

Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century. By Joseph A. Conforti. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 400 pages. \$49.95 (hardcover).



Using a wide variety of cultural artifacts—promotional literature, Puritan spiritual histories, works of geography, fiction, visual artifacts, and magazines—Joseph A. Conforti traces New England’s evolution from the first generation of Puritans down through the first half of the twentieth century. *Imagining New England* is a cultural history that contends “both on the ground and in the country of the imagination New England has been an ever-changing region” (315). The crux of his argument, however, relies on the works of a few carefully selected and elaborately explained cultural interpreters whose works illustrate the

shifting conceptions of the region.

Central to New England regional identity were the Puritans and their sense of mission to the New World. The first generation of New Englanders did not conceive of themselves as “New Englanders;” rather, they viewed their settlement as a middling sort of “second England,” religiously reformed and modified to conform more closely to the idealized days of the English past. Succeeding generations mythologized the first as a “Great Migration” of heroic, inspirational figures whose errand into the wilderness brought forth a new English “Israel” worthy of honor and emulation. This sense of regional pride and exceptionalism was wedded to a re-Anglicized identification with the glory of the British Empire transformed by the political legacy of the Glorious Revolution and the material prosperity of the consumer revolution. The New England region, in their eyes, was a place apart from England and the rest of the colonies, but not too far apart.

With the political and social upheaval of the American Revolution and independence, New Englanders’ sense of place began to drift from its religious moorings. Concern with the difficulties of fashioning a republic of virtue led them to fashion a “republicanized” version of the Puritan past, one that set New Englanders up as a political city on a hill for the new nation to follow.

Led by the Rev. Jebidiah Morse's highly political work in cultural geography and echoed by Timothy Dwight's musings in his *Travels*, New Englanders came to see themselves as a model of the kind of republican virtue needed to sustain the new nation. The New England heritage of community life centered on town meetings, churches, schools, and militias provided a model that could serve as an example for the other regions to follow.

In the mid-to-late 1800s, New England's self-image shifted again, this time as a result of three key cultural inventions. First, there was the invention of the ideal orderly community—the white village with its churches, picket fences, and ample commons. Inhabiting these communities were the Yankees, men and women known for their republican virtues of self-denial, restraint, order, frugality, simplicity, self-discipline, and economy. This second re-imagining of New England was drawn not by clerics fearful of a declining spiritual and political order, but by artists and novelists. John Barber's engravings, for instance, created the image of the New England village as an idyll of pastoralism while Harriet Beecher Stowe's fictitious figures in her writings populated that image.

The third invention was the "Pilgrimization of Puritans." Prior to this period, the Pilgrims had scarcely drawn any attention. As the country evolved from a state-based ecclesiastical and religious intolerance to an era of religious freedom, the burden of Puritan religious history was shifted onto the shoulders of the Pilgrims and their more tolerant practices of civil and religious liberty. It was at this point that New Englanders began to look back with fondness on Plymouth Rock and the *Mayflower Compact*, making them the focal point of a growing number of historical commemorations and using them as symbols of order and liberty.

In addition, at the turn of the century, the New England region was transformed by the disruptive forces of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. Nostalgically harkening back to a purer past of "Old New England," New Englanders employed the past as a bulwark against change, finding hope and a sense of wellbeing in the "good old days" when white Anglo-Saxon Puritans reigned supreme. Many New Englanders, hoping to preserve and celebrate the glories of the past and educate newcomers in the New England way of life, began to place much value and emphasis on histories of the region as well as historic buildings such as Old York in Maine and the House of Seven Gables in Salem, Massachusetts.

Unable to thwart the advance of modernization and industrialization, however, New Englanders resorted to "moving" the "real" New England farther north into New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, where both the

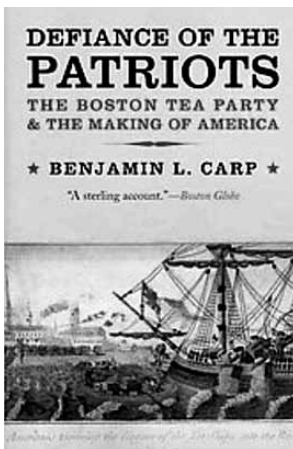
people and communities retained a great deal of the traditional ways and values of New England. Instrumental in promoting the ideal of the “real” New England was Robert Frost, who celebrated the character and values of rural Yankees and the rugged beauty of the New England landscape in his poetry. Another promoter of the “real” New England was *Yankee* magazine with its short stories, poetry, and booster essays that popularized the traits of self-reliance and rugged independence.

Missing from Conforti’s treatment of this final period, and the only substantial complaint against the work, is an explanation for the absence of religion in New Englanders’ sense of self and place. Despite this omission, *Imagining New England* is a well-written, thoroughly documented, engaging, and thought-provoking study that merits the attention of historians of New England.

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***Defiance of the Patriots: The Boston Tea Party & the Making of America.* By Benjamin L. Carp. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010. 311 pages. \$30.00 (hardcover).**

***Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution.* By Benjamin L. Carp. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. 334 pages. \$40.00 (hardcover).**



These two books of Professor Carp’s stand as exemplary pieces of social, political, and economic history. Using strong, compelling writing, Carp has crafted highly readable books about the origins and consequences of the Boston Tea Party. The books offer readers a different angle on this crucial Revolutionary era event, specifically focusing on a concise history of the British East India Company (EIC), finances of the British Empire, and origins of the term “boycott.” Carp gives readers a deeply considered portrait of who protested the tea, why, and some immediate and long-term effects of the incident. In the earlier *Rebels Rising*, Carp

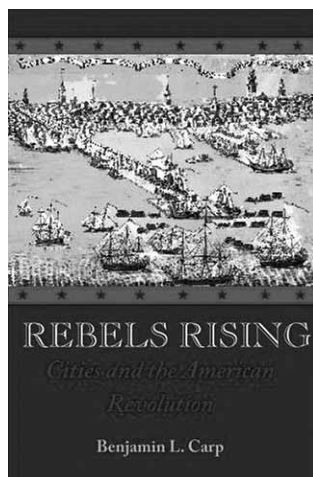
writes vividly about how port cities connected the American colonies economically, culturally, and politically to the British Empire. Carp argues that the physical environments of cities served as catalysts for political change.

Throughout *Defiance*, Carp successfully addresses interesting questions. Why would the British East India Company be considered so important by British government and merchants alike? Why was tea of such interest to colonial consumers? Why use disguises generally when attacking the ship in December 1773 and why dress as Native Americans specifically? Could different choices have resulted in alternative outcomes in what ultimately became the deadly conflict of revolution?

Defiance is amply sourced and illustrated. The citations are clear, and in many cases refer to important works in the field ranging from long ago to recent historiography. Carp, associate professor of history at Tufts University, also recently worked with University of Connecticut Professor Emeritus Richard Brown to edit the newest version of *Major Problems in the Era of the American Revolution, 1760-1791*. Carp's sources reveal deep research into what can be a somewhat challenging aspect of history in that he is describing an event with which many Americans are both familiar and ignorant. We "know" the story of the Tea Party, but while "revolution is coming," Carp would tell us, "we know nothing."

One of the many strengths of *Defiance* is that Carp does not shy away from the myths surrounding the focused event. For example, he discusses the secrecy in the years after the event, the relationship between how well you disguised yourself and your closeness to the 'inner circle' of party organizers, and the ways in which the event has "enshrined the idea of taking matters into one's own hands" (231). Carp's fluid writing and links between the Tea Party and other events in American history are important reasons to examine the text. The book benefits from his stated goal of taking a "localized" Boston story and making it global.

John Murrin has suggested that Carp's achievement with *Rebels Rising* was to craft the most important study of origins of the American Revolution in nearly three decades. Other historians have pointed out that the book is well written, demonstrates strong and far-ranging research, and opens discussion on a range of important subjects in the time period. Carp gets dual praise



within one review, as well as serious recommendations for book selections in any course focused on Revolutionary America and the early republic. *Rebels Rising* is an innovative book based on an impressive number of manuscript collections and newspapers. In describing cities like Boston, Chapter One, “Port in a Storm, The Boston Waterfront as Contested Space, 1747-74,” Carp portrays urban colonists as among the first to get rid of a British identity and unite as Americans (this despite the fact that there were significant numbers of Loyalists in the urban setting).

Rebels Rising, which evolved out of Carp’s graduate research, focuses on political activity in five British colonial cities: Boston, New York, Newport, Charleston, and Philadelphia. Interestingly, and, perhaps somewhat problematically, Carp examines different aspects of each of these cities: waterfront, taverns, congregations, elite patriarchy, and common people at the State House, respectively. His point is that individual everyday interactions in these different cities evolved into life- and community-altering political activities. A reader may wonder though whether focusing on the same types of environments in each city might have revealed other continuities besides the political.

This complaint is minor: *Rebels Rising* is concise, yet the best kind of dense, and truly zesty. From the opening sentences of the book, Carp emphasizes the ways in which American cities represented the possibility of anybody knowing one another. Carp’s point is that it was possible in the compact cities of Revolutionary America for any two people to know each other. These cities were full of activity, animals, smells, celebrations, and opportunity. The opportunity and gathering space sometimes created political mobilization, Carp argues, and these urban people created community, defined it, and created challenges for their environments. Yet, as Carp explains, these same cities became places where that community of revolutionaries could barely hang on to the independence movement they had created. A closing argument that urban environments changed so completely after the revolution as to diminish their importance in fomenting political change is not fully convincing—rise of Democratic party politics? labor movements? draft riots? (and that is only the nineteenth century)—but the duo of *Defiance* and *Rebels Rising* remain important recent writings about the American revolutionary era.

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When America First Met China: An Exotic History of Tea, Drugs, and Money in the Age of Sail. By Eric Jay Dolin. New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2012. 394 pages. \$27.95 (hardcover).

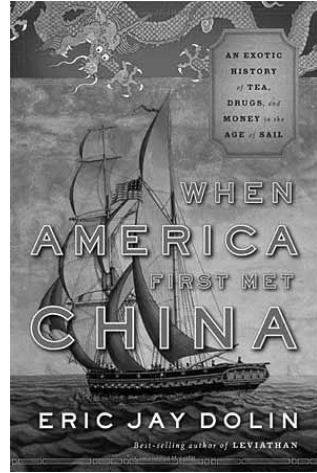
When America First Met China: An Exotic History of Tea, Drugs, and Money in the Age of Sail by Eric Jay Dolin presents a fascinating account of the early American-Chinese trade. Less dramatic than Commodore Matthew Perry's opening of Japan to trade with the West, the formative nature of the United States' initial relations with China are not as well known to most Americans. This book, therefore, brings great insight to the topic, providing a panoramic and entertaining history of the United States' early dealings with the Middle Kingdom.

The scope of this informative narrative begins with America's first private expedition to China soon after the American Revolution. It encompasses the subsequent trade and diplomatic missions until the late 1860's, when steamships and railroads eclipsed the fast and beautiful clipper ships which were built expressly for the China trade.

American contact with China was driven primarily by the huge profits to be won. Vast fortunes were amassed by enterprising visionaries, many of whom were from Massachusetts and New York. The famous three-cornered trade between New England, the Pacific Northwest, and China contributed to the wealth of many Massachusetts seaport communities. This trade also denuded the west coast of fur seals and sea otters, whose fur was one of the few items the Chinese desired from the U.S., other than ginseng.

Eric Jay Dolin gives a panoramic view of this existing historical era. He is a master at presenting little vignettes illustrating disparate chapters of a larger story. In this volume we learn how silk was made, how tea became so important to America, and how we became embroiled in the opium wars. The author shows how Americans viewed the Chinese, and how they, in turn, viewed the "barbarians" that often refused to take "No" for an answer.

The author is adept at showcasing a disparate selection of actors in this drama, ranging from sea captains and diplomats to the most revered of all Hong Kong merchants, Howqua. At times the book presents an unvarnished look at the greed, prejudice, and cruelty of the times, but the narrative is not

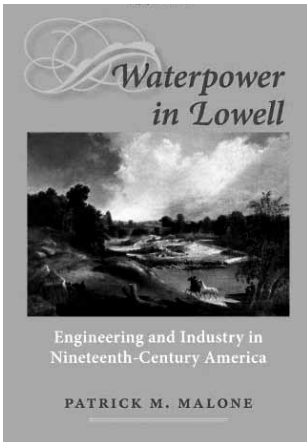


a one-sided jeremiad against imperialism. It strives to present a balanced look at both the positive and negative implications of this relationship. For instance, everyone knows that Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves, but few realize that he also ended the shameful importation and exploitation of the “Coolie Trade” in 1862.

This volume also illustrates that some things never change. Our relationship with China has evolved over time, but the trade deficit started with the first American trade mission to China has been one constant throughout. Another constant is that reading a volume written by Eric Jay Dolin will be an informative and rewarding experience.

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Waterpower in Lowell: Engineering and Industry in Nineteenth-Century America. By Patrick M. Malone. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 272 pages. \$25.00 (paperback).



In *Waterpower in Lowell*, Patrick M. Malone offers an excellent discussion of the impact of waterpower in Lowell. The choice to make Lowell an industrial center was based on the fact that its water power could be readily harnessed for industry. Malone contends that “waterpower spurred the industrialization of the United States and was the dominant form of power for its manufacturing until well after the American Civil War” (1). Malone asserts that Lowell quickly surpassed the planned industrial community at Paterson, New Jersey, an ambitious attempt to harness the power of water, and became “a model for many future efforts to harness large-scale waterpower sites in America” (5). Therefore, because of its success, Lowell was later seen by many industrialists and promoters of industry, such as Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster, to be a model for the use of waterpower. Many Americans attempted to apply its lessons elsewhere, a fact that further attests to the importance of the city. Despite the subtitle, *Waterpower in Lowell* is less a study on engineering and industry in America than a case

study of waterpower in Lowell and the engineer responsible for the success of that project, James B. Francis.

Over the course of six chapters, Malone charts the development of waterpower in Lowell—the construction of new canals, technological innovations, flood prevention, the advent of turbines, and the eventual impact of steam power. Notably, Malone provides adequate background about the canals, the town of East Chelmsford that eventually became the city of Lowell, and the rivers that powered the Lowell mills. Additionally, the book is filled with useful illustrations including maps of Lowell and the surrounding areas as well as images of the canals, paintings, and technical diagrams that are quite helpful for readers and historians unfamiliar with the workings of canals and mills. As a whole, Malone's book should prove particularly useful for historians of the antebellum era because it is clear and concise as well as informative. While historians know that canals were vitally important in so many facets of life, few historians seem to understand exactly how canals worked (canal locks in particular seem baffling to many people), and this work can help clarify these points.

While focusing primarily on waterpower and technology, Malone is also attentive to other aspects of nineteenth-century industry. He discusses, in great detail, the treatment of laborers who were usually women or Irish men—workers whose religious devotion and committed work ethic was often manipulated. Though the mill owners sought to cultivate a benevolent and paternalistic image, care for the workers did not outweigh their business concerns. Contemporaries often mocked the mill owners for fostering an aura of protective paternalism toward the women employed in the mills, while placing financial gain over the spiritual needs of the Irish canal laborers who were made to clean out the canals on Sundays and, therefore, missed a day of leisure and church attendance.

Malone also offers an excellent discussion of corporate landscaping, or the beautification of the city, promoted by men like James B. Francis, who laid out rows of trees and greenery, promoted the preservation of green spaces as parks, and, rather than hiding the canals, embraced them as tourist attractions. Malone observes that “the very active ‘greenway movement’ of today may really have its origins in Lowell” (165), an interesting point and one that most historians seem to have overlooked.

In addition, Malone is attentive to technological developments in the nineteenth century and spends much time discussing how Francis and his assistants, over the course of many decades, developed turbines and became adept at working with the available technology. Francis and his assistants were responsible for keeping everything running smoothly, protecting

against floods (which the flood gates did successfully) and regulating the use of water. Thus, Francis not only had to make sure that each individual company did not manipulate the canals but also had to ensure that each company received the amount of water they bought while always remaining attentive to seasonal fluctuations in the water supply. Malone successfully places Francis in a transatlantic community of engineers and inventors and demonstrates how Francis became one of the preeminent authorities in America on waterpower.

Lastly, Malone is also cognizant of the environmental costs of waterpower in the nineteenth century. The construction of canals and dams often prevented fish from swimming up or downstream and had an adverse impact of the fish population and the local economy, since many fisherman felt that they were being denied their livelihood. Malone explores the contrasts between the benevolent and paternalistic image of the manufacturers and the dedication to corporate landscaping with the adverse impact of the mills on the environment.

Malone appends a useful essay that offers suggestions for further readings and his footnotes, while rather skeletal, were written that way deliberately. Malone placed the full version of the notes online, in an easily accessible webpage, in an effort to reduce both the length and cost of the book. Malone does an admirable job of focusing on the corporations and corporate men, but every now and then it would have been refreshing to think about the workers. We only see flashes of the people who worked in the mills and helped to fuel the economy. Was there, in Lowell, a factory girl identity among female workers similar to the one Christine Stansell described in *City of Women*? Perhaps not, but Malone might have considered questions of this nature.

In addition, one has to wonder if the subtitle of the book was too ambitious. Malone certainly succeeds in offering an excellent overview of waterpower in Lowell and presents a carefully-considered discussion of engineering and industry in Lowell. Still this is not, in this reviewer's opinion, a story of engineering and industry in America. It is a story primarily concerned with Lowell, its aura, and its effect. There is nothing wrong with focusing solely on Lowell, but Malone probably could have probed different areas and different types of engineering and industry. While many people invoked the aura of Lowell, others did not seek to emulate Lowell's patterns. One might say that waterpower in Lowell was one path out of many and Malone could have explored industry and engineering in other towns and areas. Still, criticisms aside, this is a useful book and should appeal to a wide audience.

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Becoming MIT: Moments of Decision. Edited by David Kaiser. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2010. 224 pages. \$24.95 (hardcover).

Becoming MIT: Moments of Decision is a sesquicentennial celebration and retrospective of one of America's elite universities. Published in 2010 to coincide with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's 150th anniversary in 2011, this compilation of essays edited by David Kaiser is not a "history in encyclopedic detail," but rather a collection of articles that "interrogate those moments of decision" that define the MIT "we know today"(4). The reader is reminded that MIT was among the first institutions of higher learning that benefited from the Land Grant Act signed by Abraham Lincoln in 1862 and would—throughout its storied history—benefit from state and federal support, its elite reputation notwithstanding. Furthermore, Merritt Roe Smith posits in his essay that MIT founder William Barton Rogers proselytized a pedagogy that combined scientific theory with practical engineering and scientific applications. This provided a decidedly utilitarian training for its students in contradistinction to the "traditional classical education" offered by that other university located in Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard.

Until the Second World War, the often uneasy relationship between the two universities is presented as a threat to MIT's existence. Bruce Sinclair's contribution describes two examples: Harvard president (and former MIT professor) Charles Elliot's campaign to absorb MIT at the turn of the twentieth Century, and later, when both universities offered joint degrees to their engineering students from 1914-1917. Meanwhile, Christopher Lecuyer's essay, "Patrons and a Plan," extrapolates the existential challenges faced by MIT in the early decades of the twentieth century, such as deciding whether the university should focus on becoming a major research institute or a technical college with strong ties to major industry. Initially, the university sought the latter, but the Great Depression and later both World War II and the Cold War saw MIT developing an increasingly dependent relationship with the federal government as it became the largest wartime research and development contractor in the United States. As a result, critics swiftly dubbed MIT the "Pentagon on the Charles"(104).



Though not presenting a work of social history, Deborah Douglas makes an attempt to analyze the MIT variant of anti-Semitism at the cusp of World War II by documenting the initial challenges of a promising graduate student in “MIT and War.” Instead of making the topic the focus of her article, the author disappointingly segues into an analysis of the “birth of the military-industrial-university complex” (89). Meanwhile, David Kaiser asserts that defense spending at MIT increased exponentially in the 1950s and 1960s to such an extent that sponsored research accounted for 80% of the university’s operating budget. The emphasis on scholarship at MIT cannot be denied: in 1930, 17% of its student body was graduate students. By the 1960s, this cohort accounted for half of all MIT students. In spite of the Cold War ethos, or perhaps because of it, asserts Kaiser, there were demands by the university community to attract and retain top scholars in the humanities and social sciences in order to give MIT students a greater breadth of study as the atomic age developed and evolved.

“Times of Troubles” sheds light on the 1970s debate over the controversy surrounding the Lincoln Laboratory and the Instrumentation Laboratory on the MIT campus. Student protests—though minor by the standards of Berkeley, Columbia, or Harvard—resulted in both research centers becoming independent, nonprofit organizations. Stuart Leslie provides evidence, however, that this disassociation of the laboratories from MIT further increased the laboratories’ dependence on government military spending while negating greater intellectual debate and discourse by the university community. Ultimately, according to Leslie, this “conversion had indeed been a chimera” (139).

The town-gown relationship between Cambridge and MIT is uniquely synthesized in a chapter that examines the challenges surrounding the birth of biotechnology in the 1970s. The fiercely debated ethical and social implications of biotechnology research taking place at MIT spilled beyond the campus as Cambridge’s mayor demanded and attained public hearings questioning the efficacy and moral objective of such scientific inquiry. In the end, claims writer John Durant, MIT and Cambridge created a regulatory framework that benefited and enlightened both communities.

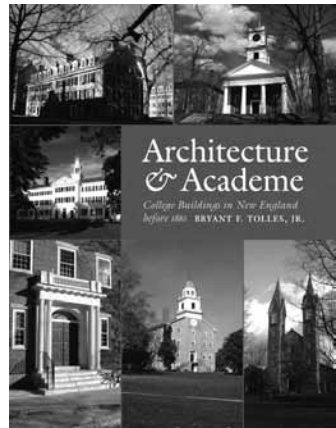
Finally, Lotte Bailyn’s “Putting Gender on the Table” is a look at MIT’s belated acknowledgement of gender bias at the university. It seems that while countless reports of gender prejudice sat “on the shelves of [university] presidents [and] provosts” only media reports moved MIT to action in the 1990s (167). Rather than proactively addressing gender inequality on its campus, Bailyn writes, “publicity had in effect given MIT the responsibility to move on this issue” (170).

A celebration of and by an elite university that borders on the hagiographical in certain sections, *Becoming MIT* may well be used by other institutions as a template for academic excellence. This slim volume is also an analysis of the actions of individuals ranging from university presidents to captains of industry and political leaders guiding an institution with an emphasis on engineering, the sciences, and cognate fields such as mathematics amidst a North American university ethos that emphasizes the liberal arts, and doing so extraordinarily well. Unfortunately, the compilation neglects or only briefly addresses its world class departments of architecture, computer science, and the Sloan Business School. Those interested in the history of higher education and those interested in MIT's history, as well, hope not to wait for its bicentennial before a comprehensive history is written of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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Architecture and Academe: College Buildings in New England before 1860.
By Bryant F. Tolles Jr. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2011. 217 pages. \$50.00 (hardcover).

New England's many historical attractions include venerable colleges, some of which boast surviving examples of antebellum architecture. Soberly decorated facades, porticos, cupolas, and belfries grace older buildings composed of weathered bricks, stones, and wood that have withstood the ravages of time and climate. Architectural historian Bryant Tolles' *Architecture and Academe: College Buildings in New England before 1860* focuses on the architecture and related history of individual pre-Civil War buildings on sixteen New England college campuses and their relationship to their surroundings.



The project, rooted in the author's 1970 dissertation at Boston University, grew out of forty years of site visits and archival research, including architectural plans, correspondence, historical photographs and drawings, financial and administrative records, and published articles and reports. The text is complemented by 209 black-and-white illustrations and 28 color plates of individual buildings and

architectural groupings. Five of the sixteen schools considered in the study are located in Massachusetts; two were founded in Maine before 1820, when it was still part of the Bay State.

Tolles, a native New Englander, is professor emeritus and retired director of the Museum Studies Program at the University of Delaware. *Architecture and Academe* explores the philosophical underpinnings of campus planning and the relationship of educational philosophy to collegiate architecture, examining the influences that inspired and shaped New England's early colleges. Although the book's main emphasis is on architecture itself, related economic, intellectual, social, and cultural perspectives are also considered. The evolution of each campus is detailed with frequent reference to the motives, conflicts, and problems that confronted administrators and architects, such as insufficient dormitory space, changing classroom requirements, availability of funds, varying priorities, and sometimes contentious disagreements among trustees, teachers, and college presidents.

The impact of buildings and overall campus planning on students, including such factors as how and where they would study, worship, and socialize was deliberately and carefully considered by college administrations. The concept of "moral guardianship" (2) was central to early American educational philosophy. Colleges were obligated "to provide for the complete educational, spiritual, and social life of their students in a suitable architectural setting," and great importance was attached to the "family unit as an educating force . . . and principal agency of cultural transfer in colonial American life" (2). Close personal relationships and intellectual productivity among students were thought to be encouraged by "flexible, multi-purpose, single-unit building designs and coherent campus plans" (2).

The visions of planners and architects often competed with and had to accommodate local circumstances, including locally available building materials and financial strictures. Colleges far from coastal communities were likely to construct vernacular architecture, based on localized needs and conditions. Builders in these contexts made use of indigenous wood, local stone, and locally produced bricks while also aiming for simplicity of design. Their inspiration derived from the published pattern books that circulated among architects, but the patterns were interpreted and implemented economically under local conditions, often resulting in structures that were simple, attractive, and long-lasting.

Tolles compares and contrasts Harvard and Yale, which were shaped by different visions of what a campus should look like. Harvard Yard copied in many respects the open quadrangle campuses characteristic of older English colleges. Yale, on the other hand, departed from these models to construct

its buildings in a row. These contrasting schemes established planning and design precedents for other institutions in the region, including Dartmouth and Brown. Tolles compares Williams College to Bowdoin, showing the responses that their respective planners employed when situating college buildings in rural landscapes. Structures at Williams are scattered across a wide area, but those at Bowdoin are compressed in a compact, cozy arrangement. Other universities considered include nineteenth-century Bay State campuses like Amherst, Holy Cross, and Tufts; Colby and Bates in Maine; Connecticut's Trinity and Wesleyan; along with the University of Vermont, Middlebury, and Norwich in Vermont.

Furthermore, individual buildings themselves are analyzed and their unique anecdotes/stories brought to light. Architect Charles Bulfinch originally wanted Harvard's University Hall (1813-1815) to be enclosed by an elliptical growth of trees known as the "racetrack" plan, setting it apart as the most important structure in the Yard, but isolating it from other buildings and related functions (18-19). It is perhaps not surprising that Bowdoin's attempt to attract more affluent students by erecting Winthrop Hall (1822-1823) as an "aristocratic" dormitory backfired (86). Winthrop residents indulged themselves in riotous behavior, and not until 1853 was the college's Visiting Committee able to report that the locality's bad reputation "had in great measure passed away [so] that students of irreproachable moral character were willing to live in it" (86). Harvard's Gore Hall (1838-1841), which occupied the present-day site of Widener Library, was admired in its day, although more recent architectural historians have expressed reservations about its ability "to function effectively" as a library (21). A spacious columned nave within the building, which served as the reading room, was flanked by narrow aisles where books were shelved by collection instead of subject. Steam heat clouded windowpanes and damaged books.

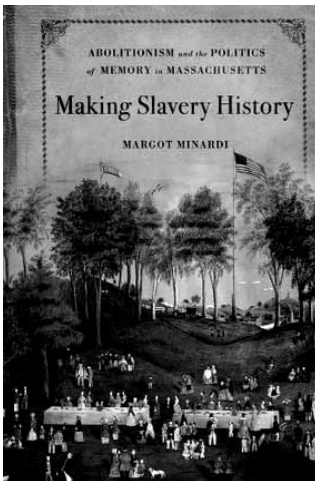
Architecture and Academe is tour de forces scholarship, thoroughly researched and authoritatively documented by exhaustive notes and a comprehensive, up-to-date bibliography. It is destined to become an indispensable resource for architectural historians, as well as practicing architects and university administrators responsible for the preservation or renovation of older buildings. The cascades of architectural terminology can be daunting—the absence of a glossary is the book's only serious shortcoming—and architectural professionals are more likely than the general public to appreciate the vast wealth of detail. Graduates of the colleges represented may be inclined to read about their alma maters to the exclusion of other sections.

About sixty pre-Civil War buildings survive on New England's college campuses, but an equal number have vanished. The remarkable longevity of

the survivors can be attributed to “excellent initial design and construction, the use of durable and attractive building materials, periodic renovation and upgrading, . . . and a strong ongoing commitment to historic preservation by the majority of institutional trustees and chief administrators” (x). The most successful pre-1860 buildings “were forceful, symbolic representations of their respective institutions—honest, uncomplicated, and versatile architectural statements reflecting an unpretentious yet productive and resourceful early American society” (96). Fortunately, those buildings that have been lost to posterity are to some degree restored to life through this fine book’s vivid illustrations and precise, colorful descriptions.

Jeffrey Mifflin, archivist and curator of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, is the author of many articles on historical and archival topics.

***Making Slavery History: Abolitionism and the Politics of Memory in Massachusetts.* By Margot Minardi. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 228 pages. \$24.95 (paperback).**



Margot Minardi’s *Making Slavery History: Abolitionism and the Politics of Memory in Massachusetts* traces the rhetoric and reality surrounding emancipation in Massachusetts between the American Revolution and the Civil War. Minardi illustrates how people participated in the historical process as both actors and as narrators and how they came to influence the popular perception of events. Minardi argues that the historical action of the abolition of slavery around 1780 coincided with the creation of the historical memory of the Revolutionary era, particularly the notion that Massachusetts was a haven of freedom. Later, this notion would be influential in the political debates surrounding abolition and antislavery. Thus Minardi’s book shows how the American Revolution—and especially the revolutionary ideals of liberty and freedom—were remade through the process of narration. Moreover, throughout her work, Minardi focuses on the changing perceptions of historical agency exercised through the actions of white and

black abolitionists of Massachusetts, and—Minardi would argue—the shifting of those groups' roles within the historical narrative.

First, Minardi illustrates that the figures active in the history of emancipation were denied historical agency through the idea that slavery was abolished through “public opinion” (13). She also describes how free people of color were erased from the collective memory of Massachusetts by the denigration of people like Crispus Attucks, a black man believed to be the first civilian shot in the Boston Massacre, and the veneration of people like Joseph Warren, a white doctor active in the patriot movement. Historical memory became a contest over agency as white abolitionists sought to downplay the abilities of blacks while they promoted their own heroic qualities. The final chapter focuses on the Massachusetts African-American community's efforts to revitalize the historical agency of prominent African Americans from the revolutionary era.

Minardi uses a wide variety of sources to make her arguments about slavery in Massachusetts and strikes a nice balance between primary and secondary sources. Much of her primary research is culled from the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, consisting primarily of correspondence between and among abolitionists. One of her most impressive uses of source material is her analysis of artwork. Minardi illustrates how contemporaries changed the meanings of the artwork to fit their current views on society and abolition. Two prominent examples of this phenomenon are John Trumbull's *The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill* and various versions of Paul Revere's *Bloody Massacre Perpetrated in King Street*. Minardi skillfully illustrates how, initially, the Trumbull painting was meant to glorify Warren—the hero—while promoting the social status quo by depicting a black servant tending to his master. However, as the abolitionist movement gained steam over time, the servant became a representation of either Peter Salem or Salem Poor, two black soldiers renowned for their service at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Likewise, Paul Revere's portrayal of the Boston Massacre provides an even more noteworthy example of this phenomenon. Attucks was initially portrayed as an unemployed trouble-maker who was undeserving of any attention. However, as abolitionists began to look back at the event, they began to assert that Attucks was a true hero and patriot, and thus subsequent depictions of the Boston Massacre featured Attucks in a prominent and heroic position.

Minardi's analysis of the artwork serves as a compelling example of her overall thesis, that historical meanings can change due to the way a story is narrated. For instance, Minardi asserts that the narrative of the abolition

of slavery was one of agency on the part of the public; this allowed the entire population of Massachusetts to feel like they were the heroic agents of change in promoting freedom. Additionally, Minardi demonstrates that white and black abolitionists had different views about black agency. While black abolitionists sought to portray African Americans as their own agents of change, white abolitionists found it more convenient to portray blacks as powerless victims of cruelty from evil white masters. Similarly, Minardi illustrates that whites re-interpreted black agency to fit their social ideals. This idea of “black respectability” sought to promote the correct behavior of how a black man or woman should act, which was always within the mold of white superiority. Finally, Minardi argues that African-American abolitionists in the 1850s took back their agency as antislavery activists, and in doing so, took back the agency of historically important African Americans who had been relegated to less significant status.

There is very little to criticize in *Making Slavery History*. Throughout the monograph, Minardi successfully illustrates the tie between antislavery rhetoric and revolutionary rhetoric, namely how the former borrowed from the latter. Indeed, one of the most exceptional aspects of Minardi’s monograph—and perhaps the best evidence of her thesis—are the examples of how Bay Staters became more opposed to slavery because of their shared revolutionary heritage. For instance, the belief that Massachusetts was a haven for freedom and liberty prevented discriminatory laws that would have banned African Americans from becoming citizens. Similarly, Bay Staters utilized their history as a place of freedom to promote personal liberty laws and prevent the fugitive slave George Latimer from being returned to slavery.

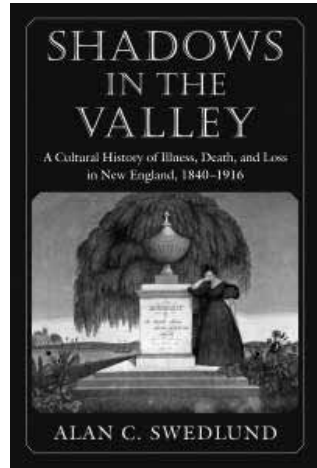
One of the few minor criticisms that could be levied at Minardi’s work is that the writer seems occasionally to get too caught up in her narrative and to forget to include the point of the story until later in the chapter. This is understandable because the stories are interesting and Minardi is an excellent storyteller who more than likely did not want to interrupt her narrative. Minor criticisms aside, Margot Minardi successfully argues that history itself can have agency through narration, which therefore dictates its influence and ultimately its legacy.

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Shadows in the Valley: A Cultural History of Illness, Death, and Loss in New England, 1840-1916. By Alan C. Swedlund. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010. 246 pages. \$28.95 (paperback).

Life in the nineteenth century was precarious. There was not only the inevitability of infectious disease and even epidemics but also the violence of war, accidents, and occupational hazards. *Shadows in the Valley* covers all these events and more. It is quite simply a remarkable work. With swift, sure strokes and an engaging narrative style, Alan Swedlund discusses the history of epidemics and disease, the prevailing notions among practitioners and patients, and the evolution of practices and rituals surrounding illness, death, and mourning. Focusing on western Massachusetts communities in the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Swedlund manages to provide context for the socially-constructed and culturally-embedded meanings, expectations, knowledge, and attitudes that prevail in these chiefly rural towns. In addition, he effectively traces the transition as the authority and influence of old Yankee families gives way to new immigrants, cultural entrepreneurs, and professionals.

The author mines personal letters and memoirs as well as public records such as newspaper accounts, statistics, legal documents, medical society minutes, advice manuals, and etiquette tracts to provide a deeply textured and multi-dimensional portrayal of life, death, and loss in nineteenth-century New England. All of these resources are essential since, as Swedlund notes, “a death certificate might tell one story, an obituary another, and a letter to a grieving widow still another, even though all refer to the same person and event” (7). Although it is a study that “tracks the movement of ideas about disease, causes, treatments, and the management of death,” *Shadows in the Valley* is not merely a clinical treatise (15). The integration of these varied perspectives ensures that the tales told will be tangibly felt by the reader. The diary of Lucy Buffum Lovell, of Bellingham, Massachusetts, for example, is “an extraordinary narrative,” one which demonstrates movingly her concern, anguish, and mourning during the illness and death of her three young children (51).



As in the use of Lovell's personal account, one of the strengths of this work is the author's ability to recreate the feel of a community and to give voice to individual experiences of suffering and grief. One chapter brings to life the communities of the Connecticut River Valley and skillfully examines the deaths of young women there—both the admired daughters of Yankee families and those of the working-class, assumed to be “constitutionally defective.” Another chapter heartbreakingly recounts the devastation that scarlet fever, measles, diphtheria, cholera, and smallpox leave behind, while still another captures the horrors of the Civil War and its aftermath. Throughout, each victim is vividly portrayed, each loss sensitively depicted.

Wisely leaving the statistical tables on infant mortality, epidemic outbreaks, and old age to appendices lest they interrupt the mood and pace of the narrative chapters, Swedlund uses illustrations throughout the book to great effect, adding not just interest but depth to the study as a whole. Documentary photos of buildings, homes, grave markers, and landscapes secure the reader in the time and place; magazine illustrations and works of art, analyzed for their cultural relevance, confirm the shifting views of disease and death. Most effective, perhaps, are the many photographs taken by the now better-known pictorial photographers the Allen Sisters (Frances and Mary) who lived and worked in Deerfield, Massachusetts at the turn of the century. Their photographic vignettes and portraits capture the emotional and almost spiritual heart of the community. For example, the beautiful photo of a barefoot little girl sweeping off stones in a rural landscape is almost too much to bear as the caption reveals that “soon after this photo was taken, Roana Andrews died of cholera infantum, age two and a half years” (53).

In this meticulously researched, gracefully written, and poignantly illustrated work, Swedlund weaves the strands of life and death of small communities into the larger fabric of cultural and medical history. *Shadows in the Valley* should be read by social and cultural historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and any reader who seeks to comprehend not only the mortality statistics but also the emotional impact of illness and loss on individuals and communities.

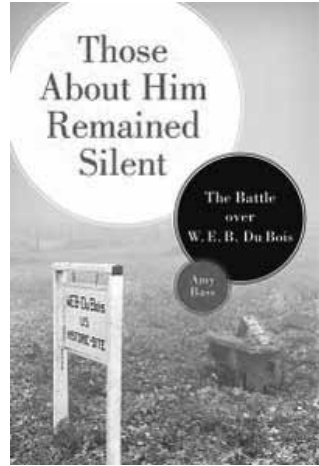
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Those About Him Remained Silent: The Battle over W.E.B. Du Bois. By Amy Bass. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. 198 pages. \$20 (paperback).

Author Amy Bass admits in *Those About Him Remained Silent* that only in her second year of graduate school did she come to know that W.E.B. Du Bois had been born 16 miles from her residence in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. It seems paradoxical that some New Englanders know nothing about the man whereas others rank him the most notable denizen of Great Barrington. Bass sets herself the task of exploring this incongruity. Out of her narrative emerges both local and global connections. This book is therefore a fusion of local and global history, a mix that Bass handles very well. The Cold War, the struggle for civil rights for African Americans, and the Vietnam War all played a part in how New Englanders treated the memory of Du Bois. Reading *Those About Him Remained Silent*, one wonders why New Englanders Norman Rockwell and Herman Melville remain so well-known, whereas Du Bois is comparatively neglected.

The Du Bois who emerges from the book is a divisive figure, famed in some circles for his fecundity as a writer, intellectual, and civil rights leader. Others, particularly conservative whites, feared his advocacy of communism, his Pan-Africanism, and his elitism. His decision to join the Communist Party and his departure from the United States for Ghana led some government officials to regard him as un-American. Upon his death in 1963, he was memorialized in Ghana and nearly forgotten or intentionally ignored in the United States. However, the American Communist Party, African leaders, North Korea, China, and the Soviet Union all paid tribute to him.

In the late 1960s and into the 1970s, in the midst of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War, residents of Great Barrington grappled with the issue of whether to establish a memorial park to Du Bois. Norman Rockwell received a museum in his honor while Du Bois got a small plaque in a field overgrown with weeds. Even as an intellectual of the Harlem Renaissance, Du Bois is not as popular as poet and prose writer Langston Hughes. Opponents of Du Bois irrationally compared him to Adolf Hitler. The question of how one should remember Du Bois is also the question of



how one should memorialize the movement toward African-American civil rights. That this debate took place in New England, specifically in Great Barrington, a focus of the nineteenth century's abolition movement, only complicates the task of deciding whether or how to honor Du Bois. Yet the New England of the 1960s seemed to want to forget rather than remember him. The act of remembering has stirred controversy, not just about Du Bois, but about other issues such as the Vietnam War's dead and the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center.

Bass traces Du Bois' genealogy to the eighteenth century and provides an insightful biography of his youth. Contrary to the apathy of some in Great Barrington toward the news of his death, Du Bois was, according to his own account, a popular child in the town. After his father abandoned the family, the townspeople and his mother's kin helped support her and Du Bois. He, again by his own account, did not detect any overt racism in Great Barrington. Great Barrington valued education, a circumstance that accorded with Du Bois' ambitions. He recalled playing with white children with no consciousness that they viewed him anything less than an equal. Yet as he grew, he came to the realization that as a rule, Great Barrington's African Americans were poorer than whites. He decided that education would be his path to equality with whites. Because of his intellect, Du Bois received support from whites, particularly from white churches, upon his mother's death. With their financial aid, he set his sights on Harvard University by way of Fisk University.

Du Bois the scholar was at the center of the Cold War, the struggle between capitalism and communism. He is also depicted as being between North Korea and South Korea and its American ally, between censure of anything even faintly critical of the United States and the freedom of speech, between Joseph McCarthy and his allies and those who protested their innocence. The Cold War collided with the civil rights movement and with Du Bois. Du Bois, a communist and a black man, could hardly avoid being entangled in globalism and Pan-Africanism.

Du Bois emerges from these conflicts with a complicated legacy. Some Americans honor him as the founder of the civil rights movement and cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), as the intellectual of the Harlem Renaissance, and a champion of Pan-Africanism. Others regard him as a communist and a traitor, one who forsook his own homeland for Ghana. The American Legion, the Knights of Columbus, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the John Birch Society, and veterans' groups in Great Barrington, West Stockbridge, Dalton and Pittsfield opposed a memorial to Du Bois. Supporters included

Harry Belafonte, Congressman Silvio Conte, playwright William Gibson, Norman Rockwell, Sidney Poitier, the theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, fellow communist and member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Walter Wilson, and Senator Edward Brooke, who in 1996 had been the first black senator in nearly 90 years.

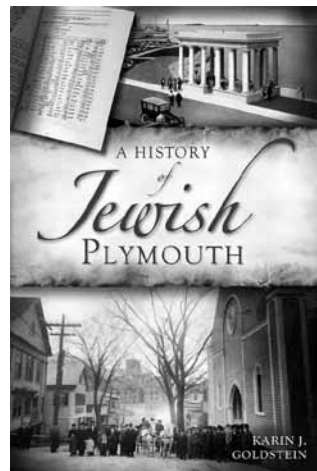
Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination in 1968 turned attention away from the battle over the proposed memorial, yet the supporters emerged from a period of mourning more determined to honor Du Bois. As Bass chronicles it, the debate over a memorial was long and torturous. In 1976 the Interior Department designated Du Bois' boyhood home a National Historic Landmark. Though the dedication ceremony was May 2, 1979, many would argue Du Bois remains underappreciated in his hometown.

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***A History of Jewish Plymouth.* By Karin J. Goldstein. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013. 159 pages. \$19.99 (paperback).**

As Karin J. Goldstein points out at the beginning of her book, the Pilgrims who crossed the North Atlantic on their way to the New World in 1620 often compared themselves to the "Israelites, fleeing Pharaoh...across the Red Sea" (14). *A History of Jewish Plymouth* reminds us as well that the Jews who made that same ocean crossing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries compared *themselves* to the Pilgrims. Having chosen, for a variety of reasons, to take up residence in the very same town where English Separatists had established New England's first permanent settlement, these eastern European Jews lived amidst the monuments, landscapes, and legends—not to mention the actual descendants—of Plymouth Colony's founders.

The heavily industrialized, urban, and pluralistic America to which these Jews had immigrated was certainly a far cry from William Bradford's "howling wilderness," but their imaginations were no less inflamed than those



of the town's original settlers. For one thing, the persecution from which these Jews were fleeing was, if anything, more punishing than anything that had been faced by their English predecessors. To have arrived in such a land of plenty after so many centuries of deprivation and fear must have come as a shock to them. To have been allowed within that land of plenty to act as full participants in its economic life and to continue to live and worship openly as Jews could only have reinforced their sense that the story of the Pilgrims was not an example of mere "streets paved with gold" mythology.

This is not to say that the Jews of Plymouth were welcomed into that storied town with open arms. As Goldstein's book shows, while these immigrants met with relative success and, over time, achieved relative financial stability (at least in the years before the Great Depression and after World War II), the Plymouth they lived in was not the same Plymouth that the *Mayflower* descendants inhabited. During the first half of the twentieth century, Plymouth Jews led somewhat separate lives from their gentile neighbors, and their primary interactions with non-Jews, or at least with non-Jews who carried a Yankee pedigree, occurred either in an entirely commercial context or within the town's public schools. As had been the case throughout small-town America, and certainly elsewhere in New England's non-urban settings, first-generation eastern European Jews usually started out as traveling peddlers, eventually graduated to retail sales, and—more often than not—spoke Yiddish at home and adhered to some form of orthodoxy that precluded their "mixing in" with the American masses. It wasn't until the birth of the second generation—in a time period that coincided, for some of the males, at least, with their serving in the military during World War I—that Plymouth Jews became *American* Jews.

Goldstein's book is a lucid and substantive chronicle of those early years. Her text is accompanied by a wealth of archival photographs of significant people, landmarks, and documents. Her lively writing, combined with her fastidious and resourceful attention to documentation and detail, ensures insight not only into the particular history of the Jews in this particular small town, but into the larger cultural and social events and contexts which caused them to leave Europe in the first place, affected their immigration experience, and influenced their settlement patterns. Readers of this book hear not only about one family or another's journey from the Old Country to America but also about the experience of crossing the Atlantic in steerage, how much it cost, and what the passengers ate along the way. Likewise, when Goldstein describes the lives of Plymouth's turn-of-the-century peddlers, junk dealers, and retailers, she explains in helpful detail what it meant to be a peddler, junk dealer, or store-owner. She eschews sentimentality and

nostalgia, qualities which are often excessively displayed in celebratory local histories. She does not try to convince us, in other words, that Plymouth, Massachusetts, was some sort of paradise. Moreover, her book's thoughtful inclusion of a wider historical context allows us to see that the Jews who lived in Plymouth from the 1880s through the 1940s were, in many ways, similar to Jews who lived in other small- to mid-sized partially industrialized American towns.

On the subject of the Jewish religion, which—owing to the town's Pilgrim legacy—is Goldstein's starting point, this book provides a clear and comprehensive account of the development of a Jewish congregation in Plymouth, the building of a synagogue in 1913, the methods by which young people were inculcated with the Jewish faith, and the gradual evolution away from strict orthodoxy. There are no startling revelations of a mystical Pilgrim/Jewish affinity. That Pilgrims compared themselves to Jews and Jews compared themselves to Pilgrims seems to be a fairly ordinary function of how cultural mythologies work and how people often project and invent historical precedents in order to simplify their complicated lives in the present. All the same, it is hard not to be powerfully moved by the story and image of a twenty-seven-year-old Rabbi Samuel Friedman who, in the immediate aftermath of *Kristallnacht* in 1938, was photographed that day next to Plymouth Rock, wrapped unashamedly in his *tallis*. The Pilgrims could hardly have anticipated—or desired—such an outcome when they first landed on that beach in 1620. But at least a few of their descendants understood the moment's poignancy: Friedman was standing next to the rock because he had been asked by the Plymouth Council of Churches to deliver the town's annual Thanksgiving Day sermon.

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