

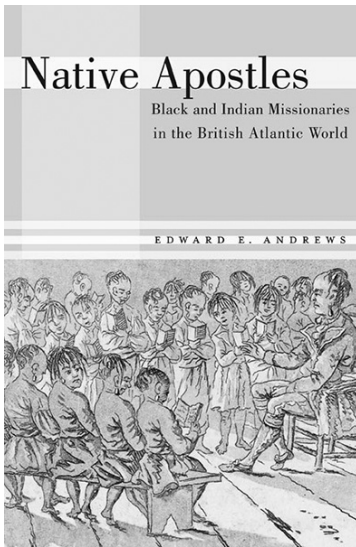
BOOK REVIEWS

***Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World.* By Edward E. Andrews. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. 326 pages. \$39.95 (hardcover).**

This book needed to be written. *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World* pulls together insights from scholarship published in recent decades about the spread of Protestant Christianity around the British Atlantic. Collectively, these works have transformed our understanding of the history of religion in the western hemisphere during the colonial period—particularly the role both Indians and Africans played in shaping Christianity’s meaning and character in the Americas. Continuing this trend, Edward E. Andrews persuasively argues in *Native Apostles* that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, throughout the British Atlantic, African, African-American, and Native American missionaries “sought to evangelize [other] blacks and Indians” (2).

The vast majority of people working in British missions, Andrews declares, “were not actually British” but rather what he calls “native” missionaries who “generally came from the same population as their potential converts” (2). He then marshals overwhelming evidence demonstrating that they were indeed ubiquitous. This story sheds light on how colonized peoples responded to, rejected, shaped, and appropriated Christianity and demonstrates that Native missionaries were at the heart of the cultural exchange we most associate with colonialism. Anglo-American missionary groups invested a great deal of time, money, and effort to train and support hundreds of Indians and Africans in the hopes that they would convert the denizens of the Atlantic borderlands to Christianity. While historically they have been overlooked, some historians in recent years have begun to reexamine a few of the better-known members of this cadre, such as Mohegan minister Samson Occum. Yet before *Native Apostles* no attempt has been made to look at them as a group, assess their role in the expansion of Christianity, or try to place them in a larger Atlantic framework.¹

1. Recent studies discussing Occum include Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 192-198; Drew Lopenzina, *Red Ink: Native Americans Picking Up the Pen in the Colonial Period* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2012), 253-314; Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 51-105; and, of course, *The Collected Writings of Samson Occum, Mohegan:*



Covering well-worn ground for scholars of Protestant missions in the New World, chapter one looks at Puritan missionary activity among New England's Algonquian groups and the role indigenous religious leaders played in the formation of the Massachusetts 'Praying Towns' in the seventeenth century. In the more ambitious chapter two, Andrews details the role of Native missionaries in the less-frequently studied period from 1700 through the 1740s in the colonial Northeast. Settings examined include southern New England after King Philip's War, as well as Anglican efforts among the Iroquois and Yamassee during the early eighteenth century. Particularly insightful was the role race and slavery played in failed efforts by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), a leading British missionary organization, to create a plantation-supported college in Barbados to train indigenous missionaries.

Covering the role of African and Native missionaries during the Great Awakening revivals, chapter three examines the explosion of Black and Indian evangelists during the era from 1735 to 1770. Signifying a "major shift in transatlantic protestant missionary activity," (23) this chapter includes analysis of Moravian activity in the Danish Caribbean starting in the 1740s as well as their activities among the Lenape (Delaware) and Mahican in northeastern North America. Also chronicled is the creation of an Anglican school for slave children in Charleston, South Carolina, and the success separatist denominations had among southern New England's indigenous Protestants. Andrews works hard in this very effective section to show the connections between these diverse efforts to create a corps of Indian and black evangelists. He succeeds admirably in linking the Caribbean, American South, and New England, as well as juggling multiple denominations—Moravian, Anglican, Congregationalist, separatist (particularly Baptist), as well as New Light revivalists.

Essentially a microhistory, chapter four shows how colonial racial discourse and England's involvement in the slave trade undercut eighteenth

century missionary efforts in West Africa. The chapter follows SPG-sponsored Anglican missionary Philip Quaque, a Fante educated in Britain who returned to West Africa to proselytize. Manifestly unsuccessful as a missionary, Quaque was continually undermined by the slave trading company at whose fortress he was based. Locals also found the Anglicanism he peddled unappealing. Increasingly ignored by his sponsors, the detailed correspondence he kept up with dozens of other missionaries around the Atlantic provides an unparalleled window into early British colonizing efforts. Perhaps a digression from the book's central narrative, this chapter is nonetheless a great read and important in its own right. Quaque's letters represent the only significant cache of documents generated by an African missionary in Africa during this period.

After a strong start in the first four chapters, *Native Apostles* stumbles in the fifth before faltering in the sixth. Chapter five focuses on Native evangelists operating in the Iroquoian borderlands and mainly chronicles the efforts of indigenous missionaries trained in Eleazar Wheelock's infamous Moore's Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut (forerunner of Dartmouth College). This chapter is somewhat disappointing. Much of this history is usually glossed over as mere precursor to the now well-studied Brothertown Movement, which surprisingly Andrews chooses not to explore. Rather than segue into the history of this Christian revitalization movement led by Native missionaries trained at Moore's (including the well-known Occum), Andrews instead focuses on lesser-studied indigenous Protestant missionaries and their missions in Iroquoia. This omission is surprising given the agency of Wheelock's native graduates in spearheading a creative Christian Indian response to colonialism, as it tracks so closely with his thesis. This seems the proverbial road not taken in this otherwise outstanding study. Focusing on both Afro-Christian evangelism and Indian Missions during the era of the American Revolution, chapter six analyzes how native-led missionary endeavors petered out amid the tumult of Atlantic Revolutions. Although the chapter had an interesting premise, it was ultimately inconclusive.

The obvious advantages of using an Atlantic perspective in studying missionary activity become clear right away in *Native Apostles*. For example, Andrews' interpretation of the SPG makes much more sense in an Atlantic context than it often does in more narrowly-focused regional histories—specifically those on Christianization in colonial New England. Viewing the society's efforts on a hemispheric scale makes its methods, rationale, and structure, not to mention the role indigenous missionaries played in their activities, much more transparent. The book's lengthy appendix, containing the names, denominations, and vital information on approximately 275

Native American and African missionaries from locations around the Atlantic will surely prove handy for future scholars. A minor complaint about an otherwise effective book is that it clearly needed more maps, especially given its geographic scope. It was surprising to find no map of the Atlantic World. Despite this and the fact that the last two chapters proved somewhat anticlimactic, the first four were sufficiently strong and innovative enough to make *Native Apostles* well worth reading.²

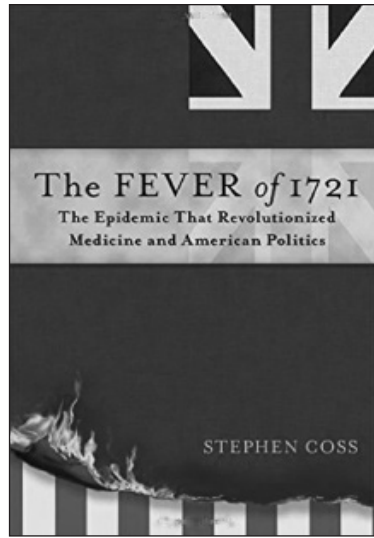
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***The Fever of 1721: The Epidemic That Revolutionized Medicine and American Politics.* By Stephen Coss. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster; Uncorrected Proof edition, 2016. 368 pages. \$28 (hardcover).**

Stephen Coss has written a thoughtful and provocative book detailing the intersection of colonial medical practices, the growing publishing industry, and the burgeoning political unrest growing in Boston in the 1720s. Relying

2. The recent scholarship on this topic includes works such as David J. Silverman's *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600–1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 2010), Linford Fisher's *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), Rachel Wheeler's *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), Jane T. Merritt's *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood's *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), Travis Glasson's *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) as well as the path-breaking *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), both by Jon F. Sensbach. This is not to mention other important works by Gregory Evans Down, Mark A. Nicholas, Tracy Neal Leavelle, Aaron S. Foglemen, John K. Thornton, Ty M. Reese, and others.

on archival materials found across New England, Coss meticulously researched primary sources which included newspapers, pamphlets, maps, government records and diaries, and consulted many volumes of secondary sources to provide his readers with the context and detail needed to construct his argument. A resident of Madison, Wisconsin, his first book emerged from a screenplay about the widespread use of inoculation to combat a smallpox epidemic in colonial America. Encouraged to expand his idea into a non-fictional account, Coss has successfully produced an authoritative account of the ways that the controversy surrounding



this innovative medical technique impacted the social and political world of Boston, starting with the epidemic which began in 1721.

The confluence of political intrigue, governmental power struggles and the rise of political newspapers is interwoven within the story of a devastating epidemic and the controversial medical innovation utilized to halt it. The introduction of inoculation as an innovative method to prevent the deadly and disfiguring smallpox infection resulted in religious and medical controversy. In 1721 it was “considered primitive, barbaric and tantamount to attempted murder” (ix). The use of inoculation, whereby the disease was introduced to healthy individuals in order to provide future immunity against smallpox, generated considerable opposition in colonial America. Although providing protection against this dreaded disease to those who underwent inoculation, uncontrolled use of the procedure could result in epidemic outbreaks and the spread of the contagion, and its efficacy was as yet unproven, hence the controversy.

Coss traces the arrival of smallpox in Boston in 1721 and the subsequent medical and political uproar over inoculation through the lives of several prominent Boston residents, including publishers James and Benjamin Franklin, colonial representative Elisha Cook, Reverend Cotton Mather, doctor Zabdiel Boylston, and doctor William Douglass, as well as their interactions with British governors and town leaders. His detailed and fascinating account of the intersection of politics and medicine and exploration of how various controversies played out in the Boston newspapers, particularly James Franklin’s *New-England Courant*, offers the reader an engaging and

thought provoking view of history. The progression of the Courant from an independent paper nominally founded to oppose inoculation to one which acted completely in defiance of governmental authority is well documented and provides the connecting thread between the inoculation controversy and the simmering political unrest in Boston. Franklin, although jailed for publishing stories about political corruption, persevered and ultimately created America's first independent newspaper. Benjamin Franklin also appears in the book, first as his brother's apprentice, but eventually as a writer and publisher in his own right.

Several themes emerge throughout the study. Coss manages to give the reader a solid understanding of the ways in which the smallpox epidemic and inoculation controversy impacted the political and medical hierarchy in Boston. Political unrest was building as elected officials in Massachusetts dealt with disrespect and disdain, which was often mutual, from the royal officials sent to govern the colony. Local newspapers were engaged in a very competitive business and often sought lucrative government work. Threats of libel suits held them in check as censorship was commonplace. Franklin's New-England Courant began publication in August of 1721, at the height of the smallpox epidemic. It had much initial success with its anti-inoculation viewpoint, though arousing the ire of Cotton Mather, who advocated both inoculation as well as increased cooperation with the royal authorities.

Boston had endured smallpox epidemics regularly since 1619. These regularly resulted in high mortality rates as well as incidents of blindness and severe disfigurement among survivors. By 1721 the next outbreak was overdue. According to Coss, "the entire generation that had come of age in the nearly two decades since the last epidemic was fuel for the inevitable conflagration" (57). Controversy over the use of inoculation soon erupted, with Mather favoring its use on one side along with Dr. Zabdiel Boylston while Dr. William Douglass vociferously opposed the procedure as "a Wicked and Criminal Practice' that would not keep someone from suffering from smallpox in the future" (103) despite Boylston's demonstrated successes.

Coss describes Boylston's experiments and ultimate success with inoculation in great detail, reporting that during this epidemic there were six thousand stricken with the disease, and eight hundred and forty four fatalities. Yet, inoculation proved effective, with a 2.4% death rate among those inoculated, versus a 14% fatality rate among those who were infected naturally (193-194).

Scholars interested in colonial history, the history of medicine, and the development of a free press will all appreciate the level of detail provided about events in Boston, beginning in 1721 but continuing on through the

eve of the American Revolution. They should find the argument that the New-England Courant's stand against inoculation allowed the paper to continue its development into a truly independent source for Bostonians highly persuasive. Coss provides an insightful analysis of the political and medical landscape in Boston decades prior to the American Revolution. He argues that dealing with these controversies allowed the development of a truly free press, and thus helped sow the seeds of rebellion.

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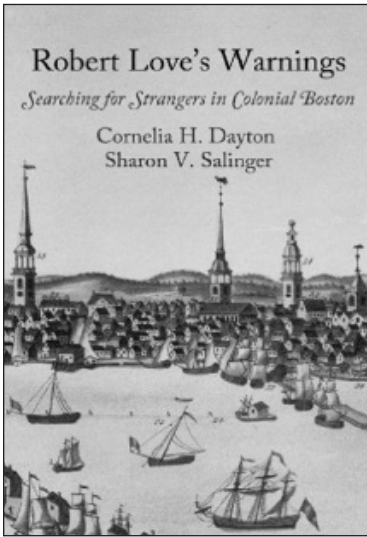
***Robert Love's Warnings: Searching for Strangers in Colonial Boston.* By Cornelia H. Dayton and Sharon V. Salinger. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. xi + 260 pages. \$34.95 (hardcover).**

Cornelia Dayton and Sharon Salinger have written an investigation of social history in colonial era Boston that explores little discussed elements of society. Their main historical character, Robert Love, is one of the more intriguing colonial figures about whom most readers will have no prior familiarity.

In his sixties at the book's outset, Love, an immigrant from Ireland with a checkered past, has been employed at a task that had no official name – “warning.” Love’s job was to provide legal notice to strangers in Boston. The notice was to remind strangers that they had fourteen days to depart the city. Their departure was intended to save the community from providing alms or other financial support to these largely out of work or under-employed individuals. Love’s documents of those warned were kept in town and court records. His materials include warnings for some 688 individuals and his work from the years 1766 to 1774 has been recreated. Dayton and Salinger are able to cover his full nine years of service to the city of Boston.

Love’s unique memory for faces and appearances helped him create an extensive record from which we can gain a deeper understanding of Boston’s landlords, newcomers, and indigent of all social classes. “Warning,” the historians’ term for Love’s job, was common throughout the New England colonies, but Love’s career is the most complete on record.

The compellingly-written prologue, imaginatively describing Robert Love’s encounter with partially lame and nearly blind Patrick Bonner sets the tone for the book. The disabled Bonner had arrived in Boston from Londonderry, NH the previous day and was but one of several individuals “warned” by Love that day. In this short, three-page section, the reader gains



an appreciation for all this text promises. Informed by no less than thirteen separate sources, these first pages highlight the stellar research conducted by Dayton and Salinger.

In many respects, what Robert Love's work reveals is the ways in which some colonial communities dealt with laboring people who wandered from place to place with no apparent permanent home. New England's approach to warning was focused on clarifying who among these itinerant residents could lay claim to urban relief funds. Dayton and Salinger effectively contextualize this approach by comparing various approaches to warning

in communities in the colonies as well as Europe.

In addition, pieces of the lives of British soldiers, exiled Acadians, women, servants, Native Americans, and the enslaved come to life. Because Love recorded appearance, occupation, and even the attitudes of those he warned on his walks, the authors are able to paint a rich portrait of the community. Dayton and Salinger capably bring all of this information into conversation with numerous additional sources and ask important questions such as who the warned were and why they came, where they resided, and how women, men, whites and other ethnicities, experienced such movement. When the records are laid over, for example, William Price's detailed 1769 map of Boston (used as art on the end sheets of the book), readers get a detailed sense of the type and range of buildings and streets that made up the community.

Additionally, Love's perambulations and the locations of his warnings indicate that the majority of these "strangers" to Boston had living quarters of some type. In other words, while some people might arrive without a lot of money, many had enough to acquire rental space either for themselves alone or for their family. Love therefore exposes more than simply the warning lists – his work also tells the story of the landlords, inn-keepers, and more.

Of final importance is that Love's warning career continued into a period of imperial unrest in the years leading to the American Revolution. Some of Love's last six years of warnings relate directly to policies established back in England that were having an impact on colonial Boston. This meant that Love often warned demobilized British soldiers along with the women and children they sometimes left behind. Dayton and Salinger tie Love's warnings

to a number of important incidents, including the Boston Massacre. Love's recordings indicate to readers his apparent allegiance with Bostonians, more so than the crown, though perhaps his Irish ancestry impacted his decision-making as well.

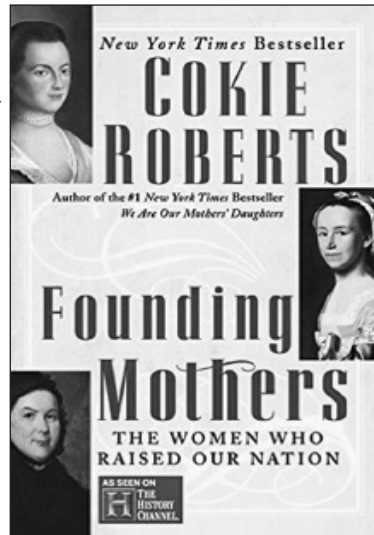
The text's appendices, maps, and endnotes provide the reader with important graphic and source information. *Robert Love's Warnings* is a valuable book for historians while also providing a highly readable narrative, a combination that is sometimes difficult to achieve.

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***Founding Mothers: The Women Who Raised Our Nation.* By Cokie Roberts. New York, NY: William Morrow, 2004. 359 pages. \$27.99 (hardcover).**

Younger readers of this journal do not remember a time when the study of history was devoted to the analysis of the lives of "dead white men." They were the makers of history, and any time devoted to the history of women or African Americans was considered at best periphery, or worse, tokenism. It wasn't until the 1970s that historians, and through them the public, began to learn the real truth about topics such as slavery, reconstruction, or the contributions women made to society despite being treated like second class citizens. The fields of African American and Women's Studies have begun to rectify this situation. History is shaped by the authors of the time, and the largely male white authors of the past emphasized the paradigms that they learned and grew up with. Over the last two generations this situation has been redressed by many new scholars who are adding to the ever growing literature about these subjects.

Journalist Cokie Roberts is one such author, and her book, *Founding Mothers*, is an excellent example of a work of popular history that illuminates the lives and contributions of "The Women Who Raised Our Nation." She



brings us tales about the bigger names we thought we knew, like Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, and Dolly Madison. But she also introduces us to a wide range of characters we never experienced, who made substantial contributions in fields as diverse as agriculture, business, politics, and writing. Here are a few examples of formerly unknown and unacknowledged female achievers highlighted in the book.

Sixteen year-old Eliza Lucas Pickney was left in charge of her father's three estates when he went off to fight in a pre-revolutionary British war with Spain. Through many years of trials and tribulations she experimented with developing indigo as a cash crop. It was in high demand in Europe for dye to make military uniforms, but had never been grown in America. Eliza persisted through crop failures and ridicule from her male peers until successful. An astute male capitalist of the time (or our time as well) would have kept the successful seeds to himself and cornered the market to become rich. Instead, Eliza shared her seeds with her fellow planters so that South Carolina could become a source of important export to Britain—an act of patriotism and selflessness that is rarely seen in business. And this is just the beginning of her remarkable career as told by the author.

Deborah Franklin, rarely mentioned and often ignored by historians as well as by Benjamin Franklin himself, successfully managed her husband's business ventures while he was away in Europe for many long years. She also ran the entire American postal system while he, the official postmaster of the colonies, was away. And in an incident that establishes her courage in the face of danger, she successfully defended her home against an angry armed mob incensed over Benjamin's supposed support of the Stamp Act. Not bad for someone previously pegged as a meek and quiet supporter of her famous, philandering husband. [Editor's Note: Franklin's sister has recently been recovered from historical obscurity. See Jill Lepore's award-winning *Book of Ages: The Life and Opinions of Jane Franklin*.]

The little known Catherine (Kitty) Greene, wife of General Nathaniel Greene, contributed ideas to Eli Whitney that enabled him to finalize and produce a working cotton gin. All of the subsequent historical honors and recognition are bestowed upon Whitney (an equivocal honor, since the cotton gin is widely acknowledged as unwittingly extending the life of slavery). However, a study by MIT scientists concur that Whitney could not have been successful without the suggestions of Kitty Greene. In addition, she provided the funding (Nathaniel had died) that allowed Whitney to mass produce the invention.

These three women are just a few of the many examples highlighted by the author. Many more women were involved in supporting and funding

the Revolution, writing history and poetry, or supporting their family's agricultural and business endeavors in ways previously hidden or undisclosed.

This author paints a fascinating picture of a world previously hidden from view. The author provides a trove of fresh anecdotes that illuminate the lives of many women previously undiscovered by history. It also adds to the richness of the depiction of famous women who until recently have been pictured as caricatures through the lens of the now "dead white men" who wrote about them in the past. Here's hoping that Cokie Roberts will find time in her busy schedule as a speaker and commentator to add to her body of work in this field.

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***Picturing Class: Lewis W. Hine Photographs Child Labor in New England.* By Robert Macieski. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015. 296 (xi) pages. \$95.00 (hardcover), \$29.95 (paperback).**

Lewis Wickes Hine (1874-1940) was a Progressive Era photographer known for his work documenting the lives of working-class men and women in industrial America. In *Picturing Class: Lewis W. Hine Photographs Child Labor in New England*, historian Robert Macieski does a marvelous job of exploring Hine's work in New England during the 1910s. This thoughtful and profusely illustrated book will be appealing to historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, as well as scholars of labor, working-class life, and visual culture.

A native of Wisconsin, Hine was educated in sociology at progressive bastions including the University of Chicago and Columbia University. By 1903, he was using the innovative technology of flash photography to expose the plight of immigrants, workers, and child laborers. Hine "was a sociologist with a camera" (11). From 1907 to 1908 he famously worked with the Pittsburgh Survey, a six-volume study on working-class life sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation. Then for the next decade Hine shifted his attention to child labor, taking 5,000 photographs for the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC). Although many of Hine's pictures recorded industrial labor in the U.S. South, 1,500 of his NCLC images were taken in New England.

Chapter by chapter, Macieski expertly examines the photographs (and captions) Hine made of New England children at work: newsboys in



Connecticut cities; textile workers in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont; sardine canners in Maine; and tobacco harvesters in the Connecticut River Valley. Hine’s “work in New England not only violated local sensibilities and self-perceptions but did so in a region where Progressive efforts to uplift and eradicate social misery were active and widespread” (15).

The entire book is focused on Hine’s work in New England, but several chapters are especially relevant for historians of Massachusetts. This is appropriate, since about two-thirds of Hine’s New England photographs were taken in the Bay State.

In chapter four, Macieski discusses the Boston-1915 movement. Kicked off in 1909, this movement was a six-year plan—brainchild of department-store magnate Edward A. Filene—to reshape the Boston metropolitan region along more progressive lines. The Boston-1915 movement echoed aspects of the City Beautiful movement seen in Daniel Burnham’s 1909 Plan of Chicago as well as in urban planning exhibitions in Europe. Hine’s photographs of Boston-area children at work were displayed at a 1909 exposition held at the old Museum of Fine Arts in Copley Square.

In chapter 6, readers see the plight of Cape Cod cranberry harvesters. In the bogs of Plymouth County, many immigrant children (Polish, Finnish, Italian, and Cape Verdean) scooped and packed cranberries alongside their families, often doing so instead of going to school. Chapter 8 focuses on “industrial homework” in Boston and Providence. Hine’s photographs were intended to show how piecework carried out in tenements broke down barriers between the domestic and industrial spheres—a barrier that many middle-class reformers saw as sacrosanct. At the same time, notes Macieski, progressives argued that homework “depressed wages paid in factories and undermined union efforts to improve wages and conditions” (179).

Chapter 9 thoughtfully examines “working-class communities” in the Massachusetts mill towns of Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, and New Bedford. Macieski seeks working-class agency in photographs never meant to portray it. Hine’s work “defined the parameters of class narrowly and passively”; his images were designed to expose an industrial victimization that kept workers from leading middle-class lives or embracing progressive values. Yet it is

telling that Hine did not photograph labor actions such as the 1904 strike in Fall River. Macieski skillfully reads Hine's images against the grain to show that young workers did not always "see themselves as victims" (210). Rather, they were part of a community. Of course, this was a community that frequently exhibited sexism and eagerly consumed popular amusements (that progressives like Hine may have frowned upon), but it was a community nonetheless.

Hine "painted his portrait of American childhood image by image, optimistically believing that his work's cumulative weight would serve as a lever for change, acting as a catalyst for legislative reform of unjust social conditions" (14). Yet by the end of his time in New England—which roughly coincided with the waning of the Progressive Era—Hine grew less critical. Some of the reforms for which he had fought were finally coming to fruition, and many of his later images reflected that orientation. Chapter 10 shows how Hine's photographs of vocational education in Boston "identified what was therapeutic and restorative and, more important, displayed the appropriate course for children making their way into the workforce" (235). After leaving NCLC employment, Hine photographed Red Cross activities during World War I; in the 1920s he took pictures of industrial workers. In more ways than one, his work served "to rationalize and humanize capitalism" (263).

Picturing Class is a very well done and attractively produced book. It includes over 170 black and white Hine photographs, all of which are analyzed within the text. Macieski does a fine job of incorporating race, gender, and class into his analyses. Occasionally the author's discussions of photographs venture into the speculative realm, but overall this is a perceptive historical study that is solidly grounded in the primary textual and photographic record.

Macieski accurately argues that Lewis Hine created iconic images of child labor at the same time that he made New England's working-class history publicly visible. Macieski, in turn, is to be commended for his fine efforts in illuminating the history of labor—and the work of progressive reformers like Lewis Hine—in early-1900s New England.

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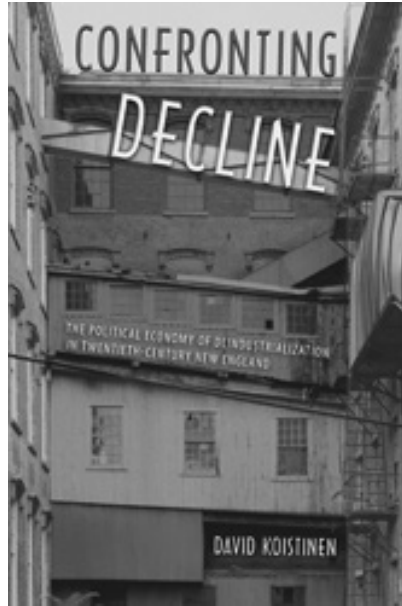
***Confronting Decline: The Political Economy of Deindustrialization in Twentieth-Century New England.* By David Koistinen. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013. 346 pages. \$74.95 (paperback).**

Deindustrialization is the process whereby an industry becomes non-competitive with the same industry from another region and thus declines, leading to a dramatic loss of jobs and income for all affected. Deindustrialization became noticeable in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century as mines and factories closed because they were uncompetitive with newer and more modern factories and mines in the rest of the world. The region most affected, from the Northeast to the upper Midwest, became known as the rust belt.

In this work, economic historian David Koistinen documents a far earlier but still continuing deindustrialization, that of the New England textile industry, with an emphasis on Massachusetts. He argues that responses to textile decline mirrored those in other, later industries, both in New England and in the rest of the United States. Consistently, the first response was an attempt to cut costs. When retrenchment failed, industry looked to government for bail out assistance. When all else failed, economic leaders in and out of government began seeking alternative means of economic development.

The first chapter deals with the historical development. It begins in the late eighteenth century with Samuel Slater and the early nineteenth century Lowell experiment that made New England a leading textile manufacturing region. Koistinen shows that textiles drove development of other industries in the region, from textile machines to unrelated industries such as firearms, woolen goods, and footwear.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the New England standard of living was highest in the country. Textile mills began the first American industrial revolution, and they enabled New England to weather declines in agriculture and fishing. New England was the nation's economic leader for a century. And New England laborers had the highest standard of living in the United



States thanks in part to their robust unionism. But inevitably competition arose, first in the American South and later in other areas of the world. Weak or non-existent unions and surplus unskilled workers resulted in a low-wage work force; textile work did not require particularly high skills. Old factories with obsolete or decaying equipment were more expensive to operate than new ones with modern equipment and lower maintenance costs.

Chapter 2 deals with the first response, retrenchment. The post World War I economic crisis provided New England mill owners with an opportunity to achieve anti-labor changes they had failed to get during more prosperous times. When Southern textile owners began competing, some New England owners resisted, seeking to cut costs by reducing the workforce, expanding the work week, cutting workers compensation, and fighting the unions and legal safeguards of workers. Mill owners had some success in getting tax reductions at the local level. When anti-union efforts failed due to government opposition, some owners relocated their mills to take advantage of the non-union low cost Southern economic climate.

Mills in New England struggled, and owners were reluctant to seek government aid, but by the 1930s necessity forced some sort of government relief - local, state, or national. That bought time, but the textile industry was doomed in New England. The third chapter deals with the Depression and New Deal response.

With no possibility of reviving textiles, New England began looking for alternative sources of jobs. In chapter four Koistinen examines the role of banks, regional cooperatives, and other economic development advocates. Economic development agencies, private or public or mixed, began soliciting new industries. Chapter five deals with funding, particularly the financing of new small businesses and startups. This chapter covers the decades from the 1920s through the 1950s.

Chapter 6 continues the development story into the sixties and seventies with the successes of the electronics corridor on Route 128. Massachusetts had a strong advantage because of its educated work force and numerous, high quality colleges and universities, so it was able to attract information technology startups as an alternative to textiles and other heavy industry.

As is the case in all post-industrial economies, however, the new jobs and the old workers did not match. And the electronics industry took decades to take off. Meanwhile, decline continued in textiles and other traditional industries. Koistinen reiterates in the final chapter that the process was one of ebb and flow, with each period of decline incorporating the three elements first defined in the initial deindustrialization of the 1920s.

Koistinen ties the regional deindustrialization dilemma to a broader area, not only the entire rust belt or the entire country but also the industrialized world in competition with the developing world. Koistinen's conclusion is that there does not seem to be a viable solution to the problems associated with loss of one industrial type, not even a solution that consists of finding another type of economic driver. Clearly retrenchment and government aid are temporary solutions only. Private economic development is the best option of the three for sustained success, but economic development through enticing plant and corporations from other areas does not provide any solution. The best option is the small startup, the firm that finds a new niche with few or no competitors, the firm that has time to grow and to educate the regional workforce. Unfortunately, there's not enough of these new niches. Koistinen, like other scholars of deindustrialization, does not offer any easy answers.

This study is a well-crafted economic history, with a sufficient number of charts to make the point about decline. It is not a social or cultural history, so there are few anecdotes about suffering workers and the like, but that aspect is available elsewhere. The level of coverage is the institution rather than the individual, the union rather than the union worker, the factory rather than the operative. It is a tightly and clearly developed history of deindustrialization in twentieth century Massachusetts. And it is readable.

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