

Book Reviews

***River of Hope: Black Politics and the Memphis Freedom Movement, 1865-1954* by Elizabeth Gritter. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2014. 326 pp. \$40.00.**

Taking Memphis, Tennessee as a case study, Elizabeth Gritter's *River of Hope* examines black political activity in the South during the Jim Crow Era. Memphis has a rich history of strictly, and often violently, enforced segregation and white supremacy from the Memphis Race Riot in 1866 to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. Parallel to this history was one of black activism for change. As Memphis historians Michael Honey and Laurie Green have demonstrated, throughout the first half of the twentieth century working class black Memphians pushed back against the city's racial hierarchy through union organizing, community protests, and the everyday struggles against racial discrimination. Gritter's work fleshes out the narrative of black activism in Memphis by focusing exclusively on formal black political mobilization. While not arguing for the primacy of electoral action in the struggle for black rights, Gritter does argue, "the abundance of black electoral action in it [Memphis] offers a window into the range of political activity that occurred in other areas as well."¹ Expanding our understanding of the once deemed "nadir" of black activism, *River of Hope* includes southern black political organizing in the list of complex and parallel struggles for black rights in the Jim Crow South.²

Memphis offers a unique case study of black electoral politics in the South because black Memphians never lose the right to vote. Although Tennessee followed the pattern of other southern states in restricting black voters through strict registration requirements and poll taxes in the wake of Reconstruction, Shelby County, of which Memphis is the county seat, never instituted a white primary. This, combined with the fact that blacks made up at least 35 percent of the population after 1890, meant that "When the Negroes turn out in strength at the polls, it requires only a very few additional votes to

¹ Elizabeth Gritter, *River of Hope: Black Politics and The Memphis Freedom Movement, 1865-1954* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2014), 3.

² Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no.4 (March 2005): 1233-1264.

elect anyone they support," the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* noted in 1898.³ Because of this electoral strength, Gritter argues, black political activity throughout the Jim Crow era allowed local black communities to secure better public services, and ultimately impact national politics, "transforming the Democratic Party into a vehicle for civil rights and African American political participation."⁴

The life and political activity of Robert R. Church, Jr. son of the South's first black millionaire, Robert R. Church, Sr., forms the backbone of this study. Church, Jr. was a wealthy businessman in his own right and a leading black Republican in local and national politics. As early as 1911, Church was organizing voter registration drives and by 1952 while in attendance at the state Republican convention "delegates, including white elected officials, deferred to him."⁵ Because Church's political activity spanned the time period covered in this study, his life "illuminates the political activities of black southerners and the impact of their efforts" in the steady march towards dismantling Jim Crow segregation.⁶

But, as Gritter's study illuminates, black political organizing in Memphis was not limited to the Republican Party. Dr. Joseph E. Walker, founder of the Universal Life Insurance Company, emerged as the city's leading black Democrat during the 1930s after breaking with Church, Jr. and the Republican Party over what Gritter describes as "unpleasant business relations and similar ambitions."⁷ Tracing the political rivalry between Memphis's leading black political leaders and the ways in which the two men navigated their relationships to the city's Democratic political boss, E.H. Crump, emphasizes the complexity of black political organizing during this period. The interplay between Church's commitment to the Republican Party as the party of Lincoln and Walker's belief in cooperation with the Democratic Party inspired political debate and political participation among a large swath of Memphis's black population. As the black newspaper the *Afro-American* noted in the early 1930s, Church had many followers, and many blacks believed in his leadership style, "that does not mean, however, that he has no colored opposition. There are people in Memphis even who criticize the Tennessee leader."⁸ Gritter's analysis of this political rivalry illuminates the

³ Gritter, *River of Hope*, 21.

⁴ Gritter, *River of Hope*, 7.

⁵ Gritter, *River of Hope*, 202.

⁶ Gritter, *River of Hope*, 5.

⁷ Gritter, *River of Hope*, 108.

⁸ Gritter, *River of Hope*, 122.

intra-racial tensions within Memphis's black community over strategies for achieving racial uplift.

The political activities of men like Church, Jr. and Walker represent the continuity of black political activity and the ability of black voters to impact local circumstances throughout the Jim Crow era. But this opportunity was necessarily limited by the strength of individual cities' black population numbers and the willingness of the white power structure to tolerate black political activity. When Church, Jr. campaigns against the Crump machine in the 1940 election he and several of his black Republican allies were exiled from the city. Thus, although the "benevolent dictator" in Crump opened space for opportunity and political organizing among blacks in Memphis that activity was bound by what Crump deemed as blacks' appropriate place in the city. This leaves the reader to wonder if Memphis's uniqueness limits the impact of the city's history of black political organizing on the larger narrative of black activism in the Jim Crow era.

Gritter ends her story in the aftermath of the Dixiecrat revolt in 1948, which fundamentally altered the southern political landscape as white liberal reforms challenged the political control of men like Crump and opened the door for new kinds of biracial political organizing in the 1950s. But through her in-depth analysis of the relationship between Church, Jr., Walker, and Crump, which dominated interracial political negotiations during the first half of the 20th century, Gritter's work highlights not only the fact of black political activity during the Jim Crow era, but also the negotiating power black leaders were able to wield to create opportunity for the city's black community, albeit limited by the confines of white supremacy and segregation.

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***The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History* by David Geggus.
Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2014. 212 pp. \$15.00.**

In his new book, David Geggus provides a narrative account of the history of the Haitian Revolution beginning with a description of the French colony of Saint Domingue prior to the revolution and ending with the impact and reactions to that revolution abroad. While there are multiple books that tell a narrative history of the Haitian Revolution, what is unique about Geggus' latest book on the subject is the way in which he tells the story. Utilizing his own translations of primary source documents, of which many have been

published for the first time, Geggus allows these documents to tell the story for him. Each chapter begins with the author's own brief description on topics such as "Slave Resistance," "The Rise of Toussaint L'Ouverture," or "The War for Independence," which are then followed by translated documents from the period to provide greater detail. The introduction and topic descriptions at the beginning of each chapter serve to put the wide array of primary sources into context, so that they continue the narration of the history rather than simply provide supplemental or additional information. By doing so, Geggus has set a standard for historians to combine primary sources with the art of storytelling.

Geggus makes it clear throughout the book that the French Revolution and the Haitian Revolution were symbiotically linked, and that the latter cannot be understood without understanding the events and stages of the former, and vice versa. By viewing the two revolutions as parallel events, the role of the question of slavery in the French Revolution gains greater attention than it typically does in studies focused solely on that revolution. When discussing how the French National Assembly wrestled with the question of slavery, Geggus gives particular attention to *Les Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks), and how this organization influenced the issue. Having been formed in February 1788 after being inspired by the abolition movements emerging in the United States and Britain, we are told how *Les Amis des Noirs* gained influence as the French Revolution began and pushed for both the end of French slave trade with Africa and the gradual end of slavery itself.⁹ While this organization gets the most attention from Geggus, and understandably so since it was the only French abolitionist organization, he also gives attention to the *Club Massiac* for its role as a counter to *Les Amis des Noirs*. The *Club Massiac* was formed by reactionary colonists as a lobby in the National Assembly for the interests of white slaveowners, and Geggus explains how the friction between these two groups influenced the Revolution's stance on slavery and race in France's overseas colonies.¹⁰ Understanding how these two groups vied for legislative influence during this time proves valuable in understanding the complexity and shifting allegiances of the leadership of Haitian Revolution.

As one might imagine, no history of the Haitian Revolution is complete without mention of Toussaint Louverture, to which Geggus gives ample attention. Chapters 7 and 8 are devoted to descriptions and primary documentation on the rise and government administration of Louverture,

⁹ David Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2014), 36.

¹⁰ Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution*, 36.

which chart his early life to his death in a French prison. Chapter 7 includes contemporary accounts that form a biography that includes his early life, time as a royalist supporter of Spain, his shift to abolitionism, and parting ways with Sonthonax. Chapter 8 focuses on the government of Louverture, in which Geggus shows how decisions made by Louverture during this time set the course for Saint Domingue's final break with France as well as future complications with domestic instability and international relations.

In his 1800 labor decree, Louverture proclaimed that all those who had previously worked the fields were forbidden from quitting their respective fields without lawful permission, and described the duty of these laborers to the functioning of Saint Domingue's economy in the same terms as the military duty of a soldier.¹¹ Geggus describes this militaristic style of governing as markedly different from the language used in the American and French Revolutions, where mention of liberties and rights were absent in favor of a government that would continue to be "unapologetically authoritarian."¹² After demonstrating how the authoritarianism that would characterize successive leaders was entrenched in Haitian political philosophy during this time, Geggus then sets the stage for international reaction to the Haitian Revolution by including the famous, or perhaps infamous, segment of the 1804 Haitian Declaration of Independence in which Jean-Jacques Dessalines orders the execution of the remaining French population.¹³

This book is an important addition to the existing literature and should be considered indispensable to any collection of the history of the Haitian Revolution. Along with his impressive use of primary sources to advance the narrative, Geggus has provided English translations that are not currently present in any other book on the subject, making it a unique source of information. Furthermore, his description of the events leading up to and during the Revolution do not assume prior knowledge of the subject on the part of the reader. The result is a well-researched, well-written work that is just as accessible to experts in Haitian studies as it is to students who are reading about it for the first time.

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¹¹ Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution*, 153.

¹² Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution*, 141.

¹³ Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution*, 180.

Oberlin, Hotbed of Abolitionism: College, Community, and the Fight for Freedom and Equality in Antebellum America by J. Brent Morris. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 352 pp. \$34.95.

J. Brent Morris' *Oberlin, Hotbed of Abolitionism*, takes up the mantle most recently carried by Nat Brandt in *The Town that Started the Civil War*.¹⁴ Both works share similar DNA in that they detail the history of Oberlin and Oberlin College from their humble origins, through the development of their signature social activism and its impact on the antislavery movement. However, rather than building the narrative around the Oberlin-Wellington slave rescue, as Brandt had done, Morris widens the scope and includes the landscape of abolition over the long 19th century. Morris does indeed cover the rescue, but he situates the community in the contemporary debate which lends considerable weight to his argument that Oberlin and the West were "critical ... in the abolition and antislavery movement" on par with, and eventually exceeding, the East.¹⁵ The geographic isolation of Oberlin and Ohio's Western Reserve gives rise to pragmatic, or "practical," antislavery policies that united different reformers, be they Garrisonian, political, or evangelical.¹⁶ This solidarity, Morris argues, was never present in the East where rivalry and infighting sowed only uneasy alliances among factions.

Morris' emphasis on the West and its importance is significant as the region is rarely the center of serious analysis. The vast sea of literature available on the subject gives greater credence to eastern intellectuals such as William Lloyd Garrison and Lewis Tappan, than western migrants on the frontier. Scholarship that has properly given the West its due is generally several decades old or remains unpublished.¹⁷ The absence of a current historiography examining the millennial zeal in frontier social reform, with its egalitarian and interracial components, ignores a "dynamic and vital center" of antislavery operations.¹⁸ Morris fills this gap by assessing the breadth of abolitionist activity in Oberlin and discussing key political and cultural responses, from the formation of the Liberty Party, to the creation of similar communities and colleges, to the denouncement of Oberlin radicalism at the 1840 Ohio Democratic Convention.

¹⁴Nat Brandt is a journalist and popular historian. He is the author of *The Town that Started the Civil War*. (New York: Dell Publishing, 1991).

¹⁵J. Brent Morris, *Oberlin, Hotbed of Abolitionism: College, Community, and the Fight for Freedom and Equality in Antebellum America*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 6.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁷Matthew D. Hintz, "Paradise Found: Religiosity and Reform in Oberlin, Ohio, 1833-1859" (MA thesis, Clemson University, 2012).

¹⁸Morris, 7

African American participation on a massive scale defines the antislavery movement in the West, with Oberlin as the leading example of this biracial alliance. Morris rightfully places black activists and working people front and center and illustrates the remarkable level of cooperation between them and their white counterparts. It is the black population that fostered Oberlin's special antislavery zeal.¹⁹ Without this rare interracial partnership, the urgency to oppose the Slave Power would have been untenable. Thus, the integrated efforts of whites and blacks set Oberlin apart and gave the community its unusual passion for defiance.

Morris' work is an excellent reorientation of abolitionist scholarship away from the East, but there are critical omissions that must be highlighted. With regards to the role of the black community, Morris acknowledges the existence of a black elite, led by those such as Charles Henry Langston, and a black working class, yet his narrative skews considerably toward the elites. Indeed, while those like Langston and his brother were the face of black activism in Oberlin, it was the artisan and labor class that had more to lose as their lack of celebrity made it easier for them to fall victim to bounty hunters and slave catchers. Although Morris dedicates a portion of his book to black Oberlinians taking part in the Raid on Harper's Ferry, his failure to properly distinguish between the more revolutionary black working class, and intellectually inclined elite, gives the impression that the black population was monolithic, which it was not.

A second criticism: Morris does not fully develop and integrate the Ohio Western Reserve's distinctive regionalism. The Western Reserve was known for its neo-Puritan evangelicalism and zealous social reform positions stemming from whiggish post-millennialism. Although he recognizes the importance of the region, Morris leaves crucial contextual elements out of his examination. One such aspect is the Plan of Union, which preceded, and precipitated, Oberlin's founding. This is a significant omission. The Plan enabled the unusual egalitarian culture as well as erected the financial and educational structures needed to sustain it, thus laying the groundwork for the Western Reserve's activist spirit. Interestingly, the Plan is an important backdrop for Oberlin in 1839, when perfectionist theology, a key feature in Morris' analysis, results in its collapse. This schism reveals the intellectual discontinuities between western evangelicals and their eastern brethren, and, by extension, many within the abolitionist ranks.

Despite these critiques, *Oberlin, Hotbed of Abolitionism* is a well-written and well-crafted work that will reorient the field away from its eastern

¹⁹Ibid., 122

centrism. Morris successfully argues why Oberlin and the Western Reserve deserve further examination in terms of their contributions to the antislavery movement and demonstrates that the cohesive nature of western reformers proved much more dynamic and influential than previous scholars have recognized. A particular strength of the book is Morris' ability to link local and regional history to a wider national framework. Morris uses this combination of community and national history to demonstrate how Oberlin was a product of its time as well as a leading force for change within that time.

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***Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* by Robert Bartlett. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013. xvii + 787 pp. \$39.95.**

Robert Bartlett offers a comprehensive overview of Christian Saints and their cults from the earliest martyrs in the first century to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. Bartlett's seamless incorporation of sources evidences not only his command of the subject, but also the sheer scope of his study (his bibliography of primary sources alone is nearly fifty pages long), which spans Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. In every chapter, Bartlett profoundly speaks to the effect saints had on local populations. Whether the effect be from relics, holy days, pilgrimages to shrines, images in their churches, or any number of influences, it becomes clear to the reader that saints had a visceral impact on the local populations they served. Indeed, the veneration and belief in saints shaped fundamentally the lives of Medieval Christians. Bartlett not only effectively treats the influence saints had on the lives of individuals, he also addresses the role of individual communities in creating sanctity. What he accomplishes in this book is no small feat. By his own humble admission, he acknowledges that he must stop his study at the Protestant Reformation even though "the cult of saints continues in many branches of Christianity to the present day" because "to include that history would push the book from being understandably over-ambitious to being absurdly over-ambitious." Bartlett accomplishes his task in two parts, which he calls "Developments" and "Dynamics."

The first part, "Developments," effortlessly guides the reader through 1,500 years of Christian sanctity in an easily digestible and succinct manner. Bartlett details the main developments in the chronological evolution of saints

and the rise of the cult of saints “to give readers some signposts in this vast landscape.” He begins with the origins of the earliest Christian martyrs and confessor saints and continues to the early Middle Ages, detailing the importance of the cult of saints, especially at the local level, before moving to the high and later Middle Ages and the Papal centralization of sainthood and ultimately reaches the final chapter of the first part, which describes the collapse of the cult of saints with the Protestant Reformation.

The second part, “Dynamics,” comprises the overwhelming majority of this book. In great thematic detail, Bartlett meticulously sifts through a plethora of primary sources and delivers an enormous overview about the cults of saints and various topics concerning sainthood in successive chapters: “The Nature of the Cult,” “Relics and Shrines,” “Miracles,” “Pilgrimage,” “Dedications and Naming,” “Images of the Saints,” and “Literature,” to name a few. As a testament to the sheer magnitude of his efforts, Bartlett uses examples ranging from the northern-most points of Europe in Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia to the great cities of Paris, Rome, and Constantinople, from the deserts of Syria and Egypt to the farthest reaches of Christendom in Ethiopia.

An area where Bartlett excels is his incorporation of women and gender in this book, a topic which has yet to be comprehensively dealt with in the historiography of saints. He devoted one section of the chapter “Types of Saint” to discussion of female saints. Beyond this inclusion, he seamlessly incorporates examples of female saints alongside male saints throughout the book. For example, he dedicated a number of pages to “the most famous and remarkable of the female lay saints of the latter Middle Ages... Elizabeth of Thuringia” and her fascinating story. Bartlett poignantly notes that the holiest saint of all was a woman. Of course the woman he dedicated so many pages to was none other than the Virgin Mary or as he calls her “the Queen of Heaven.”

Bartlett’s discussion of miracles will be particularly interesting to readers, both specialist and general. As Europe progressed through the first millennium after Christ, there were fewer and fewer opportunities for saints to earn sainthood through martyrdom, especially once Christianity became the main religion of Europe. New criteria for saintliness had to be defined, and one of the central criteria became the miracle (posthumous or otherwise), which led to an interesting discussion on the meaning of miracles. Bartlett offers a useful survey of medieval ideas about miracles, including the following words from Henry of Segusio and Johannes Andreae, “miracles should be: from God and not from some skill; contrary to nature; not from the force of words but from the merit of the person; and tending to strengthen the faith.” That is to say, miracles are the work of God, not of the saints themselves. Any miracle, big or small, could create a point of contention for historians studying whether or not

individuals in the Middle Ages truly believed in these miracles. Bartlett eloquently notes that historians should not be interested in the voracity of miracles, but should be interested in the contemporary reaction to the miracles. Instead of asking “what really happened?” to these people, historians should ask what did saints mean to these people so historians can “make sense in the thought-world of the time.”

Despite the somewhat encyclopedic nature of his endeavor, Bartlett is able to produce many instances of the profound. The opening line is St. Augustine of Hippo’s famous quote and namesake of the book, “Why can the dead do such great things?” Through nearly eight-hundred pages, Bartlett pieces together the evidence and slowly answers this question. This book is an excellent addition to the historiographical tradition of saints. Any graduate seminar on Premodern Europe would be remiss to overlook this and although maybe too dense for an undergraduate survey, certain chapters would make excellent studies for any class studying Premodern Europe.

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***The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* by Barbara Weinstein. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2015. 472 pp. \$104.95 (Cloth).**

Among the numerous contributions that cultural historians have been making to our understanding of cultural construction of identities, norms, meanings, and memories, Barbara Weinstein’s *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (2015) stands out as a study that examines an important chapter in São Paulo history – a history replete with exceptionalist discourse and self-identification with ‘modernity.’ With her work, Weinstein, a New York University professor of Latin American and Caribbean history specializing in Brazil, gender, and race, examines how “racialized images of modernity and progress have deeply informed discriminatory policies and practices.” Moreover, Weinstein evidences the great degree to which paulista intellectuals, journalists, and ‘average’ citizens historically employed subliminally racist rhetoric to idealize the state of São Paulo as simultaneously unique and typically Brazilian while Orientalizing Brazil’s impoverished northeastern region.

Weinstein revolves her account around two central events; the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932 and São Paulo’s quadricentennial

celebrations in 1954. The Constitutionalist Revolution, a paulista military challenge against the authoritarian Vargas regime, aimed to restore a paulista vision of a Brazil that would, as Weinstein argues, be more in line with that of the “respectable citizen” of the Old Republic (1889-1930). The Revolution clearly tapped into regionalist paulista sentiments, which exalted São Paulo as the cradle of Brazilian civilization and industrial prowess. With industrialization attracting both white European-born immigrants and black migrants from northeastern Brazil, moreover, the 1932 attempt to oppose the Vargas regime also reflected how deeply-rooted racial fears underpinned São Paulo’s claims to exceptionalism.

To the student of paulista and Brazilian identity, the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932 has left several ‘puzzles,’ as Weinstein calls them. Via thorough and lucid analysis, however, Weinstein succeeds in addressing these paradoxes. She demonstrates, for instance, that blacks chose to fight in their own separate legion on behalf of the paulistas both out of economic necessity and to prove their racial prowess. The role of women during the revolution, Weinstein contends, was similarly peculiar. On the one hand, the paulista cause received ample support from women who made sacrifices as nurses, mothers, wives, and, occasionally, cross-dressed soldiers. On the other hand, the rhetorical and factual inclusion of women into the war effort also ostensibly threatened male prerogatives and the Brazilian binary of gender construction. Acting on such fears, men, rather than elevating ideals of societal and political equality for both sexes, generally portrayed the fight of their “‘noble region’ enslaved by the Vargas dictatorship,” as a struggle on behalf of women’s *moral* values. Weinstein stresses that there is a scarcity of contemporary evidence that the Constitutionalist Revolution might have served as an empowering experience. The ease, moreover, with which observers downplayed or even refused to come to terms with Afro-Brazilians’ and women’s contributions exemplifies clearly that Constitutionlists’ appropriation of black and female agency served as a mere rhetorical vehicle to incorporate them under the banner of paulista ‘modernity.’ Paulista memory, in this sense, served to propagate the vision of a paulista-dominated Brazil in accordance with revolutionaries’ white, masculine, and middle-class self-image and ideals.

The precipitate defeat of paulista state forces, paulista volunteers, and disaffected federal soldiers ought to have laid claims to supposed paulista superiority to rest. The “trope of paulista exceptionalism,” however, continued to persist after the failure of the Constitutionalist Revolution, in part because both the Vargas administration’s lenient treatment of the defeated paulistas and São Paulo’s massive economic growth throughout the 1930s and 1940s facilitated the reconstruction of the paulista self-image of cultural superiority.

In fact, the industrial clout of São Paulo would frequently compel outsiders (within and without Brazil) to succumb to the belief that São Paulo as a state and city somehow *uniquely* represented Brazilian progress.

To Weinstein, the enormous efforts that paulistas put into the planning of the festivities 1954 of São Paulo's 400th anniversary – perhaps highlighted through the inauguration of the enormous Ibirapuera Park – reinforced and underscored constructed paulista notions of masculinity, exceptionalism, and, albeit more subtly than in previous decades, white superiority. Perhaps nothing rendered this exclusivist *Weltanschauung* more conspicuous than a highly-frequented exposition about paulista history, which significantly marginalized blacks, Brazilian migrants, and women. The reconstruction of paulista imagery not only bereaved the subaltern of their agency, it also juxtaposed in contraposition paulista progress to the supposed 'backwardness' of Brazil's northeast. Further indicative of this trend of selective remembering, by 1957, the year of the Constitutional Revolution's 'silver anniversary,' paulistas had chosen to rewrite the history of the Constitutionalist Revolution altogether. Rather than calling into conscience that the revolution had reflected a paulista attempt to reestablish the hierarchical and romanticized vision of the Old Republic, paulistas openly depicted the revolution as an inherently democratic movement – a notion to which even President Kubitschek's (r. 1956-1961) adhered publicly.

The Color of Modernity is the grand manifestation of Weinstein's ability to write a history that not only contributes to Brazilian historiography by complicating the construction of race, gender, memory, regionalism, and nationalism, but that also serves as a Brazilian intellectual history *par excellence*. Always careful to weigh her evidence, Weinstein succeeds in substantiating her thesis while rectifying previous scholarly misconceptions, including claims about the Constitutionalist Revolution's limited support among São Paulo's masses. In part, Weinstein's accounts impresses because she is able to convey complex thoughts through clear language. Much of her analysis, moreover, derives from her employment of an impressive array of sources, including primary sources from a dozen of Brazilian archives, various Brazilian newspapers, and myriad bilingual secondary sources. While providing a monograph that would lend itself to a wide array of disciplines and prove highly-suitable for comparative regional and cultural studies, Weinstein's elegant and nuanced writing style also endows her scholarship with a high degree of accessibility, thus making her work appeal to a wider readership.

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***Island Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai'i's Pacific World* by Jennifer Thigpen. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 184 pp. \$35.68**

In 1820, a ship carrying the first American missionaries to Hawai'i set anchor off the islands' coast. Even before the travelers disembarked, royal Hawaiian women visited the Christians bringing gifts, and a swath of cloth. In return for their benevolence, they wanted the wives of the mission to sew western-style dresses for them. In *Island Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai'i's Pacific World*, Jennifer Thigpen presents a well-researched study of the relationships between Hawaiian royal women and American missionary wives, centered on gift-giving and receiving. Thigpen argues that it is these female relationships which eventually proved pivotal to the mission's success and vital for the establishment of American influence in Hawai'i. It also helps illuminate the nature of American expansion around the world.

The book is organized in five thematic, roughly chronological chapters. Thigpen begins in chapters one and two by introducing readers to Hawai'i and New England at the turn of the 19th century. She provides evidence that Hawaiian leadership did not passively accept changes but strategically engaged with foreigners who arrived off the islands' shores. Thigpen also gives the reader insight into the ideas and history of the New England missionaries. Crucial for Thigpen's work are the missionaries' beliefs as to the proper place for mission wives. A wife's role was to be a "help-meet" to her husband, the primary evangelizer. In chapter three, Thigpen brings her readers into the Hawai'i of 1820. The death of a ruler as well as changes in Hawaiian religious beliefs altered the playing field for the missionaries, to their advantage they believed. However, as they looked for inroads and allies on the island, the Americans continued to misunderstand the power structure of Hawai'i, especially pertaining to Hawaiian royal women.

Thigpen's most compelling contribution follows in chapters four and five as she meticulously juxtaposes the developing relationships between mission wives and royal Hawaiian women against the failed attempts of missionary husbands to implement a "top-down" strategy of converting male rulers. As the wives and the matriarchs of Hawai'i interacted in mutual acts of giving and receiving, Hawaiian women engaged in political diplomacy and mission wives opened up spaces for conversion. It is the women who shaped the mission's work.

It is also the women who laid a foundation for a religious and political 'middle ground.' In Thigpen's introduction, she cites the influence of Richard White's work, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*.²⁰ White's work proposes a theory of a 'middle ground' between cultures produced by a process of mutual accommodation arising from a need for reciprocal benefit. According to Thigpen, Hawaiian royal women not only wanted western style dresses but also desired to increase their own political influence by aligning with Americans. On the other hand, missionary wives desired to create an atmosphere and relationship conducive to evangelization. Through their interactions, including creative misunderstandings, the two groups of women developed their own 'middle ground.'

Island Queens and Mission Wives adds significant insight into the scholarship on Protestant women missionaries. By drawing out the relationship between the missionary wives and the Hawaiian women, Thigpen shows ways in which both groups negotiated difference and misunderstanding to find a place of mutual benefit. This work contributes to the ever-expanding research on the contributions of American women missionaries that challenge 19th century ideas of woman's "proper place." It also helps historians to rethink the role of American women in the process of American expansion and influence on the global stage.

Thigpen's work is concise and focuses on the author's intended arguments and as such it contains little narrative drive. However, it is well written and argued. At the end, the author, in light of the Hawaiian women's growing support of the American missionaries, invites further research into the role these women played in the development of American colonialism in Hawai'i.

Island Queens and Mission Wives is an accessible and relevant book for all interested in gender, Hawaiian, colonial or religious studies. Scholars will find it an enlightening read.

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***Wounded: A New History of the Western Front in World War I* by Emily Mayhew. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. 228 pp. \$16.95.**

²⁰ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Until recently the wounded and dead have received little attention in the historiography of the First World War. Most of the recent studies like Beth Linker's *War's Waste* and the touchstone piece by Joanna Bourke *Dismembering the Male*, though worthy of praise in their own right, focus on the wounded within society. Emily Mayhew's *Wounded: A New History of the Western Front in World War I* is a new and unique addition to the growing literature on war disability. A Research Associate at Imperial College and consultant to various museums, Mayhew relies on first-hand accounts to bring a new look at the years 1914-1918 through the eyes of British medical personnel and wounded. The release of a new paperback edition of *Wounded* in 2016 provides appropriate opportunity to highlight the book.

Mayhew should be applauded for the creative structure of her book as much as for the rich text she provides. *Wounded* is a book about the journey of the soldier from the moment of injury to the return to Britain. She begins the book with the experiences of Mickey Chater, a soldier wounded at Nueve Chapelle, describing how he felt when the shell burst next to him ravaging his face with metal, and his subsequent and painful ambulance ride to the nearest medical station as his waning morphine and intense pain caused him to drift in and out of consciousness. Mayhew makes small reference to the various medical personnel that Chater unconsciously encountered on his way to the hospital from the stretcher-bearers, to the orderlies, to the ambulance driver and nurses.

The chapters that follow are devoted specifically to each person that Mickey Chater, and other wounded soldiers, encountered during their painful journey. Mayhew focuses specifically on two to three personnel who served in that role to explore how they served and how they dealt with the emotions inherent in caring for wounded men of war. One obtains a sense of the sometimes mundane tasks like that of Regimental Medical Officer Kelsey Fry who "every time the battalion moved, it was his responsibility to find a fresh-water supply and make sure it didn't get polluted."²¹ Other chapters highlight the heavy emotions involved in medical work like that of nurse Elizabeth Boon who had to write letters of condolence to the families of soldiers who died in her station, or Alfred Arnold, an orderly who spent much of his time in the "death tent" packaging the belongings of deceased soldiers to send home to the families. Some familiar faces even surface as Kelsey Fry cared for Siegfried

²¹ Emily Mayhew, *Wounded: A New History of the Western Front in World War I* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 40.

Sassoon, and Marie Curie joined surgeon Henry Souttar's staff with her new X-Ray machine.

The reader gains a sense of what it may have really been like to be wounded in war and what it was like to care for those wounded. As chapters of wounded soldier experiences are interspersed throughout the text, the author almost provides constant reminder of the sole purpose of the book. The final narrative follows the experiences of Joseph Pickard. Only fifteen when he joined the war, Pickard suffered awful shrapnel wounds and was sent home only to be cautiously observed by his fellow countrymen. Mayhew describes, "It took Pickard a long time to recover and, when he finally went home, people stared at his broken face. But he didn't mind it much. He had gone to the war to become a man, and a man he now was, even if he didn't look or walk quite right."²²

Mayhew writes, "No one survived the Great War unscathed. The wounded had their scars, as did the men and women who cared for them – although theirs were less easy to see."²³ The experiences described in *Wounded* aim to show the myriad ways the war implanted itself indefinitely into the lives of those who lived through it. The centenary commemorations of the First World War allow for renewed interest and scholarship of the years 1914-1918. More recently, scholarship has highlighted the varying circumstances of grief and the wounded. Mayhew's work, however, stands out with its creative narrative style and fascinating characters. This is a must read as it is relevant for the scholar as much as it is for the casual reader interested in the history of the Great War.

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***The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America* by Stephen Warren. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 320 pp. \$27.95.**

²² Mayhew, *Wounded*, 197.

²³ Mayhew, *Wounded*, 212.

The Worlds the Shawnees Made reconstructs the long and lively story of the Shawnee place in Indian politics from the pre-contact period into the eighteenth century. Stephen Warren (University of Iowa) pieces together ethnography, archaeology, and archives from Pennsylvania to Florida to trace the history of this opportunistic, transient, and adaptive group from their origins in the Middle Ohio Valley and into slave hunting, trading, and warring alongside the English across the Southeast. “Simultaneously parochial and cosmopolitan,” they connected with a wide variety of Spanish, French, and English powers and Indian nations, becoming indispensable and skilled middlemen who found opportunity in colonization.²⁴ The author reveals through discussions of diplomacy, trade practices, lifeways, and village politics that Shawnee success lay in reinventing their identities around migration, a permanent part of life after contact with Europeans. Although the famous nineteenth-century Shawnee, Tecumseh, attempted to unify a coalition of native peoples, individual Shawnees ultimately cast that vision aside in the pursuit of the narrower village identities which the Shawnee preferred. In a story full of movement and contradiction, Warren’s Shawnees were both “a coherent tribe that was shattered by colonial forces [and] a coalescent community borne out of the despair of the early colonial period.”²⁵

Warren tackles a native group receiving little scholarly attention and makes several historiographical contributions in this work, but two might prove especially revelatory for early Americanists in particular. First, Warren dismantles the association of Indian cultural loss with the Indian removal, a tie undergirded by the assumption that Indian identity is irrevocably tied to the “sacred spaces” colonized and destroyed by Europeans.²⁶ Not so here. Although the Shawnee traded mobility for their homes in the contested Middle Ohio Valley in the seventeenth century, they continued to identify as Shawnee even as they traversed across European boundaries and changing native landscapes. The resilience of Shawnee identity should inspire further investigation into the transformations or creative strategies employed by other native groups during the long period of removal.

Second and most important, *The Worlds the Shawnees Made* answers the recent call made by other historians of Native America such as Pekka Hämäläinen to bring together microhistories and niche or local works of limited geographical or chronological scope. Broader, expansive narratives remedy “those wider coordinates of early [continental] American history that

²⁴ Stephen Warren, *The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 18.

²⁵ Warren, *The World the Shawnees Made*, 19.

²⁶ Warren, *The World the Shawnees Made*, 8-9.

are now becoming obscured.”²⁷ Imperialist removal policies and colonial wars traditionally bring Native American histories into broader, more traditional early American narratives, but Warren accomplishes much more through his organic use of far-reaching Shawnee networks that embrace the continent beyond the Eastern Seaboard. Through their travels, he brings seminal places and events in Atlantic World history – the *pays d'en haut*, Bacon’s Rebellion, Tecumseh’s War – together through the “multiethnic gathering places” the Shawnees were drawn into and helped create. Their militarized travels in both the Indian slave trade and the mourning wars “stitched together North America.”²⁸ Warren proves that historical actors like Tecumseh had long since cultivated continent-wide native histories – which wait for historians to cross the familiar colonial, state, and regional boundaries which commonly define the Atlantic World.

The only considerable drawback in Warren’s work is the occasional editing or organizational issue. Readers hoping for a contribution to the spike in new scholarship on Indians in Bacon’s Rebellion (in a chapter subtitled “The Iroquois, Bacon’s Rebels, and the People in Between”) will find little about the actual rebellion or even Virginia. The missing background may be a side effect of covering so much ground, but non-specialists may have trouble following the narrative. Nonetheless, this book is a wonderful and brief read for historians searching for context on the machinations of the Indian slave trade or Iroquois diplomacy, and for junior scholars seeking examples of ethnography and archaeology incorporated seamlessly into a Native American history.

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***Gold and Freedom: The Political Economy of Reconstruction* by Nicolas Barreyre. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015. vii + 336 pp. \$39.50.**

Nicolas Barreyre wants to shift the focus of Reconstruction historiography away from Dunning School inspired debates about whether or

²⁷ Pekka Hämäläinen, “The Shapes of Power: Indians, Europeans, and North American Worlds from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century,” in *Contested Spaces of Early America* ed. Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 33.

²⁸ Warren, *The World the Shawnees Made*, 71.

not the federal government's post-war efforts in the South were a success or failure. Instead Barreyre is interested in understanding how Congressional debates involving monetary policies and taxation can help inform historians' understanding of Reconstruction—particularly the North's eventual abandonment of the region. Interestingly, the economic debates Barreyre documents did not take place between Republicans from the North and Democrats from the newly re-admitted states in the South, but instead took place within the Republican party itself—between Midwest and Northeast Republicans. In fact, Barreyre's central thesis involves what he calls the "spatial history of politics," in which regions became synonymous with an economic outlook—with the Midwest being identified as pro-agrarian and pro-greenback and with the Northeast as pro-manufacturer and pro-specie.

Despite his promising shift in focus to economic debates, Barreyre does not advance a wholly original thesis with his thoughts on "spatial politics." Writing over a century ago, Edwin Robert Anderson Seligman, the leading Progressive economist of taxation whose work is still well-respected, argued members of Congress voted on issues, such as tariff rates, based on the perceived economic burden to their geographic region.²⁹ Moreover, a little more recently Richard Benseel has argued the "direct representation of the political economic interests of the respective [Congressional] districts works very well" as "a proximate explanation of voting on these [economic] issues."³⁰

However, Barreyre's work does offer a promising counter to one of the leading historians of the Republican party in the nineteenth century — Heather Cox Richardson. In her widely-cited work, *The Greatest Nation of the Earth*, Richardson traces how the Republican party transformed from the pro-emancipation party during the Civil War into the pro-business party during Reconstruction.³¹ Instead of modeling a similar almost inevitable adoption by the Republican Party of hard money, pro-tariff economic policies, Barreyre documents how Republicans from midwestern states fought hard in the halls of Congress to advance a more agrarian-friendly economic agenda focused on lowering tariff rates and increasing the availability of credit through either greenbacks or silver. Moreover, Barreyre argues it was this juxtaposition on

²⁹ Edwin R.A. Seligman, *The Income Tax* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1914).

³⁰ Richard F. Benseel, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in American, 1859-1877* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 335.

³¹ Heather Cox Richardson, *The Greatest Nation of the Earth: Republican Economic Policies During the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). David Montgomery makes a similar argument in his class work, *Beyond Equality, Labor and the Radical Republicans 1862-1872* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

economic policies between Midwest and Northeast Republicans that contributed to the end of Reconstruction.

Initially, Barreyre argues, economic policies offered a way out the divisive northern Republican versus southern Democrat political divide due to the fact that cash-strapped southerners were sympathetic to midwestern Republicans demands for lower tariffs and the greater circulation of greenbacks. Nevertheless, the majority of northeastern Republicans opposed the midwestern Republicans' economic agenda. In order to overcome this intra-party opposition, Republicans planned to unite the party behind new federal efforts to ensure racial equality in the South, such as the Enforcement Acts of the early 1870s, which allowed the federal government to protect the right of freedmen to vote and hold public office. Nevertheless, the continuing depression of 1873 forced Republicans to recede from these efforts and instead focus on economic issues that continued to divide the party. As such, according to Barreyre, in the 1876 Presidential election, Republicans shied away from an economic agenda that could have united the soft-money and anti-tariff politicians from the Midwest and South and instead committed to the preferred economic policies of the Northeast. By focusing solely on the economic wishes of the North(east), Republicans abandoned further attempts to capture southern votes and instead left Democrats to control the region for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, for Barreyre, the Republicans abandoned their Reconstruction efforts in the South to save their party from disintegration due to internal threats over differing economic policies.

Perhaps what is lost with Barreyre's narrative of Reconstruction and his exclusive focus on economic policies, is that a political decision, such as the defunding of the Freedmen's Bureau at the start of Grant's second term, was both an economic *and* racially-motivated decision. Barreyre's work could have been strengthened by examining the racial politics behind Reconstruction-era economic decisions as well.

Another small problem with Barreyre's book involves his interpretation of the important 1877 Supreme Court case, *Munn v. Illinois*. In his work, Barreyre states the case involved the 1871 Illinois state constitution that "authoriz[ed] the state government to regulate railroads." As such, Barreyre claims the case was later used as a "basis for the future federal regulation of transportation."³² However, the section of the 1871 Illinois Constitution that was at issue in the *Munn* case involved the state's regulation of grain

³² Barreyre, *Gold and Freedom*, 71. Barreyre only cites secondary sources while discussing the *Munn* case. Perhaps Barreyre could have been better served by directly reading the Supreme Court's decision.

warehouses and not railroads. Moreover, the case had a lasting impact not because it became the basis for “federal regulation of transportation” (a power the federal government was already granted through the Commerce Clause), but because the Supreme Court upheld individual states’ rights to regulate private businesses that were deemed to have some public function.

Despite these reservations about *Gold and Freedom*, Barreyre’s work should be read by students and researchers of the Reconstruction era in order to stir deeper debates about the importance of fiscal decisions in determining the outcome of Reconstruction.

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***The Fall of the House of Dixie: The Civil War and the Social Revolution That Transformed the South* by Bruce Levine. New York: Random House, 2013. 439 pp. \$17.00.**

In 1865, an editor of *The Memphis Argus* assessed the Civil War’s devastation on the Confederacy: “The events of the last five years have produced an entire revolution in the social system of the entire Southern country. The old arrangement of things is broken up.”³³ This “old arrangement” – a paternalistic slave society – drew its strength from the prevailing illusion of “white unity” and the “loyalty” of black slaves.³⁴ Yet battlefield carnage and civilian unrest quickly revealed this feeble foundation on which the “House of Dixie” stood.³⁵ As Bruce Levine argues in *The Fall of the House of Dixie: The Civil War and the Social Revolution That Transformed the South*, the Civil War exposed the extent to which Southerners would fight to preserve slavery, the buttress of their way of life. The combined political strength of the Union and the flawed policies of the Confederacy made this conflict a second American Revolution, one that dismantled the slave system and stripped the slaveholding class of their “storied world.”³⁶

³³ Bruce Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie: The Civil War and the Social Revolution That Transformed the South* (New York: Random House, 2013), xvii-xviii.

³⁴ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 62.

³⁵ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, xviii.

³⁶ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, xviii.

Using the metaphor of a house, Levine draws on the title of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher" to trace the origins and decline of the Confederacy. His chronological narrative thus begins with the "House of Dixie" still intact. Ruled by elite white men whose wealth and status depended on slave labor, the South's "slavocracy" believed that strenuous labor should only be assigned to people "of low order of intellect" with another class of "intellectual, cultural, and political leaders" ensuring the country's "greatness."³⁷ In the South, African American slaves, "'qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity to stand the climate,'" served this role.³⁸ By restricting slaves' ability to vote, read, write, or practice religion, white Southerners strove to ensure that slaves could not protest against their lowly positions in a manner like their rational white counterparts. Indeed, slavery became the "foundation" of "a well-designed and durable 'republican edifice'" of white virtuous citizenry.³⁹

However, this belief in the South's "durable 'republican edifice'" masked its vulnerability.⁴⁰ Despite the region's overall wealth in the international cotton economy, Levine points to the many non-slaveholding whites who looked upon the wealthy elite with distaste.⁴¹ Although these whites regarded slaves as an inferior race, they did not adhere to the concept of "white unity" with the masters who had "treated poor and middling whites high-handedly."⁴² Furthermore, not all masters agreed with secession, claiming instead that secession and a war would lead to slave emancipation. In fact, four slaveholding states (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri) decided not to secede from the Union. Yet the Confederate States of America, built on the premise of white supremacy and discontent with the "Black" Republicans' opposition to slavery, still did not waver from its racial ideology. In the early days of the Civil War, cracks already marred the "façade" of the House of Dixie.⁴³

Military, political, and social history intersect in Levine's subsequent chapters on the Civil War. Citing the letters, diaries, and memoirs of Confederate and Union sympathizers, Levine shows how the Confederacy's demise was not simply due to the North's military success. Rather, it also stemmed from the elites' racist conception of republicanism. Among the most

³⁷ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 18.

³⁸ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 18.

³⁹ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 19, 25.

⁴⁰ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 25.

⁴¹ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 24.

⁴² Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 62, 24-25.

⁴³ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 62.

ruinous decisions for the Confederate cause was their reluctance to enlist slaves in the army. Early in the war, slaves contributed to the war effort as teamsters and cooks, yet their masters preferred to have them work on the “short-term,” “even if that weakened the government and armies created precisely to protect their property.”⁴⁴ According to Levine, such refusal to let slaves act as soldiers may indicate the masters’ “insecurity” about their slaves’ loyalty – a certain crack in the House of Dixie’s façade.⁴⁵ Fundamentally, though, it suggests that masters, as free republican citizens, did not want to have their personal property seized. Disgruntlement over Jefferson Davis’ policies of conscription and impressing Confederate property in the form of corn, livestock, and wagons followed the same logic. The white masters did not want to be beholden to an army like their own slaves were to them.⁴⁶

As Levine argues, Davis and his elite contemporaries did not seek to refine their policies based on the “logic of events.”⁴⁷ They saw civilians riot due to the food shortages; they saw war-weary soldiers desert the army; they saw slaves seek refuge with the Union Army. Because they were consumed by their desire to preserve the Old South, they did not adapt their war strategy in time to preserve the Confederacy. Abraham Lincoln’s political strategy serves as a counterexample. At the beginning of the war, Lincoln did not advocate emancipation or even a radical transformation of the South. As the war progressed, however, he recognized how emancipation would undermine the Confederacy’s strength and “add a crucial labor resource to the U.S. war effort.”⁴⁸ His Emancipation Proclamation became the Civil War’s Declaration of Independence, emboldening the Union soldiers with a new reason to fight and giving Southern slaves the encouragement to seek freedom.⁴⁹ Ultimately, the combination of Southerners’ reliance on ideology and Lincoln’s political tactics served as the basis for what James McPherson terms the second American Revolution – the emergence of a new, reunited United States where slaves could live with their families, become literate, and practice religion openly.⁵⁰

Levine’s *The Fall of House of Dixie* is not a groundbreaking book. It does not include new interpretations of Civil War history and does not cite many recent scholarly monographs, such as Stephanie McCurry’s *Confederate*

⁴⁴ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 82.

⁴⁵ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 87.

⁴⁶ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 194.

⁴⁷ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 107.

⁴⁸ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 124.

⁴⁹ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 142, 128.

⁵⁰ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, xviii, 405.

Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South (2010). Additionally, unlike Don Doyle's *The Cause of All Nations* (2014), it does not consider a transnational perspective of the Civil War, even though the Emancipation Proclamation famously had an international audience. Levine's success thus derives from his synthesis of a large amount of material to address the holes in Civil War memory.⁵¹ With its evocative narrative of individuals confronting a catastrophic war, the book illuminates how the Civil War exemplifies the persistent struggle for equal rights among all Americans.⁵²

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⁵¹ Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, xviii.

⁵² Levine, *The Fall of the House of Dixie*, 298.