

Hiram Drache's "Midwest Agriculture: Changing With Technology." Drache suggests that small farms will continue to be absorbed by ever-larger producing units, and he contends that this trend is good because it contributes to greater efficiency. Less controversial is Don Paarlbert's "Agriculture Two Hundred Years From Now," but many will disagree with his optimistic projections.

Several useful historiographical essays by recognized experts in the field are also included in this collection. Theodore Saloutos surveys immigrants in American agriculture, Harry Fornari sketches the history of grain exports, Allan Bogue discusses credit in the North, Paul Gates overviews land policy, and Gilbert Fite assesses the contribution of the pioneer farmer. In each case the author does what should be done in a useful historiographical essay by raising questions for further study while evaluating what has already been done.

Most of the articles in this volume concern the staples of agricultural history—land and credit, money, politics, marketing, and technology. But those who believe that agricultural historians should devote more attention to the social aspects of agriculture will find reasons for hope here. For example, Mary W. M. Hargreaves looks at the settlement of the Great Plains through the eyes of women who published accounts of that settlement, and she suggests some of the effects the region might have had on women. And Gladys Baker sensitively explores the difficulties women have faced in their attempts to advance in the male-dominated United States Department of Agriculture. Hopefully, this interest in an area of social history by two of our leading agricultural historians is a sign of things to come in this sub-discipline.

The remainder of the articles included in this volume are less exciting, and a few are quite disappointing. Fortunately, these lesser efforts do not alter substantially the general quality of the collection. Taken as a whole, *Two Centuries of American Agriculture* proves that agricultural history remains a vital and eclectic sub-discipline. Those interested in the field will find no major surprises here, but they will want to own this collection.

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Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction, by Nell Irvin Painter. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977. pp. 288. Index, bibliography, illustrations.

Exodusters is a study of Southern race relations at that crucial juncture between the decline of Radical Reconstruction and the rise of Jim Crow. Given the "utterly irreconcilable assumptions about the place of black people in the South," racial conflict now seems to have been inevitable. Whites thought of blacks as stagnant "units of labor," while blacks themselves dreamed of a dynamic social and economic uplift. Convinced that life would improve for them only outside the South, about 2,000 poor freemen from

Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, and Tennessee, launched the first black migration out of the region.

Professor Nell Painter has conclusively demolished several myths. One of them is that the Kansas Exodus of 1879 resulted from the machinations of "unscrupulous" emigration agents. She amply demonstrates that the origins of the Exodus are to be found in grassroots decisions initiated by poor blacks themselves. In fact, the Exodusters cited two other reasons for their flight: the white "bulldozing" which characterized the campaigns of 1876 and 1878, and the Louisiana constitutional convention which assembled in January 1879. Viewing the convention as the signal for legal reenslavement, poor blacks were, as P. B. S. Pinchback put it, "fleeing from the wrath to come." The push of a "hell" in Mississippi, and the pull of a "promised land" in Kansas, produced, in the author's words, a "millenarian" movement. That the Exodusters conceptualized their destiny after the "Children of Israel" was no coincidence.

This is a revisionist study in still other ways. It effectively repudiates the commonly accepted notion that lower-class blacks were motivated by simple economic considerations, while political issues were the exclusive province of the black middle-class. Actually, many Exodusters perceived that politics and economics were two sides of the same coin. Professor Painter also repudiates the thesis that poor black people looked upon the "better-class" of whites as a "shield of protection" against the violence of lower-class whites. Afro-Americans saw "good" whites as "accessories before and after the fact," however, for they either sat by quietly and did nothing, or joined the rampaging white "bulldozers."

Rejecting a leader-created Exodus, the author develops a more appropriate model which might be called the "executor-constituency hypothesis." When uneducated rural blacks faced a communal decision, they held mass meetings, hammered out a "commonsense" policy, and chose a man to "execute" their will. On inter-racial issues, though, Afro-Americans needed spokesmen adept at dealing with whites. Misunderstanding the limited nature of this charge, whites "anointed" these black spokesmen "representative colored men" and incorrectly treated them as across the board decision-makers. According to Painter's model, black people had no "national leaders," for the social distance between these men and the grassroots community was too great for them to be *of* the people. Besides, they held that lofty position by the aegis of white people. Thus, to his brethren, Frederick Douglass revealed a "breathhtaking ignorance" about such problems as those which created the Exodus. Douglass was the ultimate "representative colored man," one who existed apart from the folk and who displayed an "extraordinary acceptance of Democratic twaddle."

But this leadership model is overly simplistic, and in the end confuses more than it explains. Partially, at least, this stems from the fact that Professor Painter devotes too little space refining the paradigm for precise use, even though it is essential to her purpose. Thus, Afro-American spokesmen who disagreed with emigration, whether to Africa or Kansas, presumably exerted

influence only among the whites who had anointed them. Surely this goes too far. Moreover, only about .0003 per cent of the total black population was examined for this study, so it is doubtful that we can ascertain who the "real" leaders were from such a narrow sample. Another caveat may be entered here. "Radical" and "emigrationist" are not necessarily interchangeable terms. Nor are "representative colored men" and "conservatives." The radicals of the 1870s, if not the 1970s, were integrationists who advanced the then revolutionary proposition that black people should be incorporated into American life. Separatists are neither radical nor conservative; they simply withdraw.

In the end, the Exodusters' faith that a new life could be found in the sanctuary of the West turns out to be more a manifestation of their determination to get ahead in this world, than incipient black nationalism. The true significance of the Exodusters focuses on their rejection of white racist demands that blacks conform to the subhuman stereotypes imposed upon them. Distractions aside, *Exodusters* offers informative reading for all, and constitutes a limited, but nonetheless important, contribution to the field.

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Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokee Indians, by R. Halliburton, Jr. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977. pp. x, 219. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$15.95.

When Europeans first landed on the shores of America, they inadvertently introduced the institution of black slavery to the Cherokees of the southeastern United States. These Indians had practiced involuntary servitude years before the arrival of Europeans, but black slavery provided an opportunity that the sophisticated Cherokees could exploit economically. As the Europeans confiscated Cherokee land, the natives found it expedient to alter their lifestyle from a hunting culture to a novel sedentary society. Black slavery accommodated this new pattern of living.

Halliburton, in this survey, depicts how the institution of black slavery grew in the Cherokee Nation, reaching its apex at the Civil War. The author contends that by this time Cherokee slaveholding "was a microcosm of the 'peculiar institution' that existed in the southern United States." (p. x)

Halliburton recounts the origins of black slavery in the Cherokee Nation, illustrating how the Indians recognized the economic profitability of the institution and readily adopted it. As they were forced to abandon their traditional communal lifestyle and become individual farmers, the Cherokees assimilated the techniques of the southern planter, and some Indian men, such as James Vann and John Ross, became extremely successful. When coerced to move West, Cherokee slaveholders took their chattel with them. Among the Cherokee, slavery was an ancient institution.

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