Ford makes a compelling case for this "ideological reconfiguration," but more explicitly attention to historiographical context might have helped him clarify his understanding of paternalism. In depicting an ongoing struggle between paternalists who favored "making slave society work humanely" and their opponents who put security first and therefore favored tighter control of slaves, for example, Ford presents one particular version of paternalism (p. 147). Some historians, however, have counted the acts of keeping slaves in a dependent, childlike state and undercutting slave autonomy as essential components of paternalism, which simultaneously required treating slaves humanely and strictly controlling them.

Running throughout Deliver Us from Evil is the argument that race loomed increasingly large in white Southern thinking on slavery. For those who flirted with gradual emancipation, the problem of what to do with freed blacks proved an insuperable barrier. As Southern states embraced white equality and universal white manhood suffrage, race replaced wealth as a marker of status and those states disfranchised the few black men who had the right to vote. And as proslavery ideologues rushed to rebut abolitionist attacks in the 1830s, they made increased use of racial arguments to insist that whatever the theoretical ills of slavery, racial reality made emancipation a practical impossibility. "Race mattered," Ford declares pithily; "little else did" (p. 532).

Although Ford convincingly establishes this growing commitment to white supremacy, some may think that he assigns too much explanatory power to "race" without sufficiently exploring its relationship to interest. Whether racial arguments were increasingly central to the defense of slavery remains in contention among historians, and Ford plays down the simultaneous proliferation of general or abstract arguments that made the case for slavery primarily on the basis of its systemic superiority rather than on black inferiority. (These arguments, which reached their fullest fruition in the 1840s and 1850s, have recently been exhaustively documented by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese in Slavery in White and Black: Class and Race in the Southern Slaveholders' New World Order (2008)).

In asserting that "few lower South whites accept...
rative of two distinct emancipations (one in the postrevolutionary North and the other in the Civil War South), received wisdom about the causes of sectionalization, and historians' emphasis on distinct and largely unconnected free communities in the urban North and slave communities in the rural South. After reimagining the entire United States as a slave society, Hahn labels the "enclaves" of African Americans across the North "not so much as 'free black communities,' but as entities that resembled 'maroons,' communities of fugitives from slavery lodged in a society in which slavery still lived" (p. 24). That designation is more than semantic. Maroon enclaves attracted African Americans who brought a diverse range of experiences and expectations to make these enclaves important sites for the formation of black political ideals and strategies, especially during the 1850s. Like their counterparts throughout the Atlantic world, maroon communities in the North attacked and disrupted slavery, becoming "political formations" that "helped shape the politics and deployments of power in slave societies" (p. 29).

Hahn next recasts the abolition of slavery during the Civil War as both a revolution and as the greatest slave rebellion in modern history. Again, the distinctions between historians' traditional emphasis on flight and resistance and Hahn's use of revolution and rebellion are more than semantic. The swift, uncompensated destruction of slavery during the Civil War broke with the model of gradual and compensated emancipation that had accompanied abolition elsewhere. Furthermore, while historians have emphasized individual acts of flight and resistance, Hahn characterizes the massive number of slaves who fled or resisted—up to 500,000 in less than three years—as "a collective undertaking" that amounted to a monumental rebellion (p. 78). That rebellion created new political spaces in contraband camps and plantations that allowed the articulation of black political interests, including providing for the safety and well-being of family and communities. An extended comparison of the American Civil War and the Haitian Revolution and an analysis of a century of Civil War historiography add to the case for treating the actions of African Americans in the Civil War as an enormous slave rebellion.

In the final section, Hahn turns to Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), often dismissed by everyone from black intellectuals to white historians as "a collection of angry, ignorant, unsophisticated, and displaced black folk" (p. 121). In the 1920s the UNIA had over one thousand divisions stretched across the urban North, the rural South, the Caribbean, Central America, and as far as Nova Scotia, British Columbia, Brazil, and West Africa. That expansion created, in Hahn's words, "a significant underground of African American political activity" that encompassed the diverse regions of the United States and the larger black Atlantic world (p. 145). Hahn stresses that the UNIA and its many predecessors, successors, and competitors sought self-determination, self-governance, and self-defense as well as integration or repatriation to Africa. Garvey's and the UNIA's influence extended well into the 1960s, as Hahn demonstrates in his mini-biographies of a diverse group of twentieth-century black leaders ranging from Charlotte Bass to Malcolm X.

This book began as the Nathan I. Huggins lectures at Harvard University; as is inherent to lectures-turned-books that offer sweeping new interpretations, its many points are more compelling than convincing, more suggestive than definitive. Though Hahn's interpretation will be familiar to those who have read A Nation under Our Feet, The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom is nonetheless required reading for historians of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century political history and African American history, and it will be a valuable reading in graduate seminars and undergraduate courses. Indeed, this volume challenges historians to rethink the fundamental assumptions that underlie so much political history, African American history, and the practices, goals, and ideals of African American politics. It is a worthy successor to a Pulitzer Prize winner.

John Craig Hammond
Penn State University
New Kensington, Pennsylvania