nomic conditions, remedial labour legislation, and proper machinery to administer it.

Stromquist insightfully observes that the USCIR was a watershed in the Progressive movement. Though Walsh attempted to keep his vision of class-based progressivism alive through his work on the National War Labour Board, it was Commons' vision that prevailed in the 1920s. It was thus not just the implications of militarism and expanded state power that divided Progressives during World War I. The postwar strike wave continued to challenge Progressive hopes of transcending class conflict. Worker hopes to define industrial democracy in favourable terms foundered as most reformers embraced the Commons ideal of rationalized labour-management relations. Progressives bequeathed to twentieth-century liberalism a retreat from the structural inequalities of American capitalism.

Reinventing "The People" is a remarkable analysis of the complexities of the Progressive movement through the lens of class. Stromquist ultimately offers a hopeful vision of class-based reform that might have been.

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Paul Ortiz, *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

William P. Jones, *The Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

In 1954, pioneering African-American historian Rayford Logan dubbed the years around the turn of the twentieth century the 'nadir' of African-American history. Abandoned by their European-American former allies in the North, black Southerners suffered the twin defeats of disfranchisement and segregation. Logan, however, was by no means the first African-American intellectual to view these years as a time of acquiescence and accommodation: during the 1920s, Alain Locke and others associated with the Harlem Renaissance proclaimed the emergence of a 'New Negro', more assertive than his predecessors in challenging white supremacy. The first historians of the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s similarly proceeded upon the assumption that the struggles they chronicled represented a new determination to overthrow Jim Crow.

Logan's work, which stressed the abandonment of African Americans to white racism, and hence the complicity of the federal government in creation of the South's totalitarian system, was intended to challenge the then prevailing historiography, which emphasized the wrong headedness of Reconstruction and the virtues of North-South reconciliation. By focusing on white oppression, however, Logan and others left the implication that African Americans should be viewed primarily as victims. Such a portrait has become the target of attack by a recent

advance guard of historians who place their emphasis upon African-American struggle and resistance in the face of unrelenting and ruthless oppression. The books by Ortiz and Jones fit squarely within this new historiography, extending its coverage to new groups and new places among whom and in which the crippling effects of racist oppression were previously believed to have been most severe.

Emancipation Betrayed does not present a history of black Floridians, but rather focuses upon European-American repression and African-American struggle. During the 1880s, when African Americans made up nearly half of the state's population, activists joined with a few rebellious whites to create the Independent Party. The Independent Party attacked government favouritism toward the corporations then beginning to exploit Florida's resources as well as supporting unrestricted suffrage. It was defeated, however, by terrorism and legal chicanery. A constitutional convention in 1885 and succeeding legislatures created a poll tax, a multiple-box voting procedure to discourage illiterate voters, and a stringent voter registration process, and required bonding for county officers to place such offices beyond the reach of working-class Floridians. The arrival of the Knights of Labor assisted the organization of black workers, who struck docks, warehouses, and tobacco factories. The culmination of this early organizing phase came in a general strike in the Gulf Coast port of Apalachicola in 1890. Labour movements turned to politics in the state's three major cities, Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Key West, electing a coalition government in the first of these in 1886 and re-electing it two years later. State power, however, crushed these local movements, as the legislature revoked the charters of the three cities. "Rarely," Ortiz writes, "had class warfare in the United States ever been so transparent" (52).

In addition to disfranchisement and segregation, white Floridians deployed brutal violence to keep African Americans in their place. "Between 1882 and 1930, African Americans in Florida suffered the highest lynching rate in the United States" (61). African Americans responded with armed self-defence, which sometimes succeeded in protecting would-be victims from lynchers. Historical memory formed another battleground in the struggle for the state. European Americans worshipped the myth of the Lost Cause, and their textbooks ridiculed African Americans. African Americans, however, organized lavish Emancipation Day celebrations, which elaborated a counter-image of African Americans' crucial service to the Union. Speeches at such events commonly demanded reparations for the damage done to blacks during slavery. Meanwhile, the state legislature, acting upon the image of Reconstruction as a crime against the South, demanded repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

Blacks struck against segregation with successful streetcar boycotts in Pensacola and Jacksonville, but again state power intervened to defeat their cause. State power was less effective, however, in halting the tide of out-migration once jobs opened to African Americans in the North. The Great Migration, Ortiz argues, created new leverage for renegotiation of the terms of work in Florida.

After the Great War, for which African-American recruitment in Florida was more forthcoming than European-American, black Floridians mobilized for another offensive against Jim Crow. Energized by returning veterans and activist women and perceiving an opportunity in passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, African Americans launched a major voter registration campaign aimed at the 1920 presidential election. Their strategy aimed at either making African Americans an element to reckon with in Florida politics or embarrassing Congress into reducing the state's congressional representation, as the Fourteenth Amendment required, if they could prove that voting rights had been abrogated. In the event, African-American voting rights were—to put it mildly—viciously abrogated, as white Floridians, facing a threat of black mobilization, responded with Jim Crow's basic weapon, terror.

If your image of the state of Florida focuses on Disneyland, sunshine, orange groves, and white sandy beaches, this book will shock you. Ortiz demonstrates that Florida segregationists equalled, if not exceeded, their other Deep South counterparts in brutality. During the early-twentieth century, Florida was a totalitarian state whose European-American governments came to power and stayed in power because of their willingness to deploy the same extralegal and legal violence that brought the Nazis to power in Germany. Ortiz confirms Rayford Logan's portrait of white oppression at its peak at the turn of the twentieth century. But at the same time, he shifts the focus to African-American resistance, which he portrays as more or less continuous from Reconstruction on, a struggle the more heroic because of the ruthless and powerful forces against which black Floridians had to contend.

William Jones presents a similar picture of African-American lumber workers from the late-nineteenth century to the 1950s. The title of his book derives from a trilogy of novels written by white sociologist Howard W. Odum between 1928 and 1931. Black Ulysses was an imagined prototypical African-American industrial worker who, like the Ulysses of Homer's *Odyssey*, severed ties to family and community, wandering the South in search of work. The moral of the story was that southern blacks were unavoidably demoralized by modernization. Such an image, Jones shows, has pervaded both popular and academic conceptualizations ever since. The story Jones tells is radically different. In the first phase of the southern lumber industry, from the 1880s to the 1920s, companies "cut out and got out," exhausting timber stands and then moving on. During this period, African-American lumber workers successfully combined seasonal work in the woods and sawmills with agricultural labour in their home communities. After 1920, when companies adopted conservation techniques and located the mills permanently, workers moved their families to company towns or communities adjoining the mills. In neither phase, therefore, did lumber work require, nor did workers allow, disruption of families or communities. But Jones goes beyond merely refuting Odum's characterization of black southern industrial workers. "[S]outh-

ern industrialization," he argues, "was in many ways defined by black lumber workers' struggles to establish new family and community relationships based on industrial wage work" (2).

Once African Americans committed themselves to permanent industrial work during the second phase of the lumber industry's history, they commenced to organize in both American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations unions, receiving a welcome boost from Section 7a of Franklin Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act. Their chances for success improved greatly with US entry into the Second World War, when the heightened demand for labour gave workers much-increased leverage. African-American lumber workers pushed forward unionization, sometimes interracial unionism, over opposition from many European-American workers during and after the war. Contrary to the prevailing academic and white activist consensus, they embraced a resolutely class-conscious politics which showed them to be anything but the demoralized victims of discrimination and modernization. Only with the decline of lumber production in the late 1950s and 1960s did they meet defeat when their jobs vanished.

Jones has given us a badly-needed study of a neglected but extremely important group of African-American workers. As he points out at the outset of his book, "[b]etween 1870 and 1910, lumber grew faster and employed more workers than any other industry in the southern United States" (1). In 1900, southern lumber represented twice the value of textile production and three times the value of coal, the latter industries that have received far more scholarly attention than lumber. "Before World War II, no other industry employed more African Americans" (1). During the New Deal era, lumber workers as industrial labour, unlike agricultural and domestic workers, fell under federal labour legislation.

Jones's portrait of lumber workers' struggle, first to balance agricultural and industrial work and later to enhance their collective lot through militant action, is compelling. Like Ortiz, his arguments rest upon a solid base of official records, newspapers, and oral history. Ortiz's research among Florida newspapers, both African-American and European-American, is especially impressive. Both studies refute claims of African-American passivity, acquiescence, or accommodation, demonstrating instead a history of constant struggle against mutating, but constantly oppressive, conditions. Ortiz is more attentive than Jones to internal divisions among his subjects, but both place greatest emphasis upon an ongoing campaign against great odds. In explaining times when the conflict became particularly intense, both give credit to events external to the African-American community, events that created opportunities which African Americans then built upon their militant tradition to exploit: Reconstruction, the Great War and the Nineteenth Amendment for black Floridians; the New Deal and the Second World War for black lumber workers. With other recent historians, Ortiz and Jones have

given us a new and better picture of African Americans during and after the 'nadir'. They have also shown that a full explanation of the rise and fall of African-American militancy must incorporate factors both within and beyond the black community.

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Kevin Murphy, *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Class Struggle in a Moscow Metal Factory,* International Studies in Social History Series (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

Jeffrey J. Rossman, *Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 2005).

Jeffrey Rossman's *Worker Resistance under Stalin* and Kevin Murphy's *Revolution and Counterrevolution* both deal with workers in the Soviet Union between the October Revolution and end of the First Five Year Plan in 1932. Albeit the two monographs investigate two very different groups of workers, as Rossman focuses on the textile mills and workers of the Ivanovo Industrial Region (IIR) from 1928 to 1932 and Murphy on the metal workers of what was, before the revolution, the Guzhon or Moscow Metalworks, and after the revolution the Hammer and Sickle Factory. Both types of workers loom large in the mythology of revolution and Marxism. The textile workers of Ivanovo were among the most active in the unrest of 1917 despite Marxist preconceptions that the textile industry was made up of significant numbers of 'backward' elements like women and workers with close ties to the countryside, while metalworkers were considered the most politically conscious workers. Rossman and Murphy investigate the reaction of these key groups of workers to the pressures of Stalinist industrialization but they reach very different conclusions. Murphy regards the metalworkers as pacified by 1932 while Rossman's textile workers resist in that crucial year.

Murphy's arguments rest on an assumption: "If Soviet workers generally exhibited a sense of 'terror' in their relations with the state in early Soviet society, or later volunteered their support for Stalinism, one would reasonably expect that evidence of such sentiments could be found in the largest metal factory in the capital"(5). The problem is that the assumption itself may be a shaky one. Metalworkers have long been the darling of Marxists, considered the 'most conscious' workers in a Marxist sense, the most 'developed,' the most 'proletarian'. They had a longer developed union consciousness than most other workers in Russia and were the focus of revolutionary activity of all varieties. If these workers were the most sophisticated in terms of a socialist or a union consciousness, perhaps they would be most likely to think that they had the power to resist in the 1920s and thus not feel terror and to believe that they could *oppose* Stalinism and had the tools to see it as distinctly non-socialist and not to support it. One might