

# Sacred Heart University DigitalCommons@SHU

**History Faculty Publications** 

**History Department** 

2006

## Lincoln's Defense of Politics: The Public Man and His Opponents in the Crisis Over Slavery (Book Review)

Julie Mujic
Sacred Heart University, mujicj@sacredheart.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.sacredheart.edu/his\_fac
Part of the American Politics Commons, and the United States History Commons

#### Recommended Citation

Mujic, Julie Allison. "Lincoln's Defense Of Politics: The Public Man And His Opponents In The Crisis Over Slavery." History: Reviews Of New Books 34.3 (2006): 77.

This Book Review is brought to you for free and open access by the History Department at Digital Commons@SHU. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons@SHU. For more information, please contact ferribyp@sacredheart.edu.

Light and Rand discuss the legal framework of Native American gaming with great care. Particularly useful to most readers is their detailed explanation of the milestone Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) of 1988, which came on the heels of the significant Supreme Court decision of California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians. The Cabazon decision told California authorities that states did not have the authority to regulate tribal gaming. However, in 1988, Congress passed IGRA, which backtracked from Cabazon by asserting that tribes and states needed to work together toward mutually beneficial interests. Specifically, IGRA recognized the legality of Indian gaming, but attempted to balance federal, tribal, and state interests. IGRA provides the legal framework for the implementation and regulation of the Indian gaming industry, forcing tribes and states to negotiate compacts that clarify tribal and state interests. The Supreme Court made a ruling in Seminole Tribe v. Florida (1991) that compromised Indian sovereignty by allowing states to negotiate compacts on terms advantageous to non-Indians. As a result, the authors argue that tribes have been forced to compromise elements of their sovereignty to build a gaming economy. Indian gaming, thus, has developed within a structure imposed by the white man, and not in accord with how most tribes understand tribal sovereignty. The result is a flawed mechanism that, unless fixed, will invite further disruptions to Indian sovereignty and self-determination by federal and state governments.

One of the strengths of Indian Gaming is its detailed discussion of how both whites and Indians perceive this new industry. Some critics see it as "slot machine welfare." Others see the persistence of Native American poverty as evidence of gambling's failure. Conversely, successful casinos are often cited as evidence of illegal activity, or the machinations of "casino Indians"-a codeword for less than 100 percent Indians who have abused the federal tribal recognition process to access the riches of the gaming world. Although some tribal casino experiences offer hard lessons, on balance, the authors believe gaming has been a positive force for both Indian and non-Indian economies.

The book concludes with Light and Rand's recommendations for changes in the legal framework governing Indian gaming. IGRA, as constituted, gives too much power to the states to shape compacts. The negotiation framework needs to be revised by the federal government to become a dialogue between equals—a true government-to-government relationship. *Indian Gaming* is a detailed look at an important issue that will continue to generate controversy. Light and Rand's study, while often lacking a literary touch, nevertheless contains much useful information on the topic.

STEVEN C. SCHULTE Mesa State College Copyright © 2006 Heldref Publications Schneider, Thomas E.

#### Lincoln's Defense of Politics: The Public Man and His Opponents in the Crisis over Slavery

Columbia: University of Missouri Press 224 pp., \$39.95, ISBN 0-8262-1606-4 Publication Date: January 2006

Although Thomas E. Schneider intends for Lincoln's Defense of Politics to serve a political science audience, the book deserves consideration in the arena of historical scholarship as well. Schneider, currently a research associate at Boston University's Editorial Institute, explores how Abraham Lincoln's position and actions concerning slavery differed from the perspectives of two other distinct groups: pro-slavery Americans, who invoked constitutional states' rights, and abolitionists, who contended that moral law surpassed the Constitution in demanding slavery's eradication. He begins by assessing Lincoln's reputation as a man with contradictory opinions about slavery, using Lincoln's 1858 debates with Stephen A. Douglas as a backdrop. Schneider then compares Lincoln's views with those of Alexander H. Stephens, John C. Calhoun, and George Fitzhugh from the constitutionalist school and Henry David Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, and Frederick Douglass from the abolitionist movement. Lincoln never debated these men publicly about slavery, but their opinions on the topic often stood in stark contrast to his more political stance. Schneider argues that Lincoln refused "to see morality and law as excluding each other" and thus pursued a course regarding slavery that epitomized political integrity (12). Lincoln supported the constitutional argument where slavery already existed and the moral argument of freedom in the territories, never admitting a conflict between them. Schneider examines topics such as Lincoln's refusal to compromise his political platform during the 1860-61 secession crisis, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the nature of popular government, emphasizing Lincoln's adherence to his political priorities despite an awareness of existing oppositional extremes.

Schneider bases his analysis on published primary sources and a range of secondary sources in history and political science. Unfortunately, he frequently quotes historians whose scholarship, although often considered seminal, is decades old. Schneider's heavy reliance on historians such as David Potter and Don E. Fehrenbacher signals his familiarity with the leading minds regarding Lincoln's political agenda. However, one wonders how his interpretation might change if he considered more recent scholarship as well. Schneider ultimately attempts to build on the conclusions of these notable historians, but his research does not supplant theirs. The inconsistent level of comparison in various chapters between Lincoln and his opponents also weakens the book. For example, Lincoln's perspective appears much more frequently in the chapter regarding Garrison than it does in other chapters.

This book is not crucial to a historian's understanding of Lincoln's political views, which is clearly in line with the author's intentions. Nevertheless, although his methodology may seem slightly unfamiliar to history students, those wishing to delve deeper into Lincoln's political career should find Schneider's research helpful.

JULIE ALLISON MUJIC Kent State University Copyright © 2006 Heldref Publications

Baptist, Edward E., and Stephanie M. H. Camp, eds.

### New Studies in the History of American Slavery

Athens: University of Georgia Press 306 pp., \$54.95, ISBN 978-0-8203-2563-7 Publication Date: May 2006

Like many distillations of studies originally developed for presentation at conferences and symposia, this collection tends toward somewhat disparate flashes of illumination. Thanks to adroit shaping and editing, however, the essays bring into clearer focus the long-suspected complexity of daily life in the North American slave labor system.

The introduction, subtitled "A History of the History of Slavery in the Americas," points out the racially obtuse historiography of several generations of scholars led astray by the paternalistic myths about Southern slavery popularized by motion pictures from D. W. D. Griffiths through *Gone with the Wind* and beyond. Apart from two chapters that deal with seventeenth-century Mexican and Jamaican beliefs in the supernatural, the book concentrates attention on mostly North American (U.S.) issues and phenomena.

Among the explorations of recently explored primary material, perhaps the most dramatic discuss collections of letters by literate slaves sold away from families in the Old South to western areas during the antebellum years. Other chapters draw from a variety of sources to explore gender politics and survival strategies in slave-holding households, including the realms of birthing techniques and literacy acquisition, evangelical religion, and the subtle implications of sentimental rhetoric.

These insights could stimulate discussion in a graduate seminar, providing a brief but valuable map of the directions taken in recent historiography and clues to mining underused materials like interviews with surviving former slaves conducted by the WPA. The essays as a whole present subtle forms of resistance, analysis, and hitherto unimaginable horror, grief, and pride.

Several essays foreshadow contemporary issues of gender bias. For example, Jennifer Morgan's piece offers fresh insights into the stereotyping of black women's sexuality and the development of the white woman's pedestal in the popular imagination. The role

Spring 2006 77

Copyright of History: Reviews of New Books is the property of Heldref Publications and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listsery without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.