The Roots of Rough Justice: Origins of American Lynching

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Loras also faced a substantial challenge in finding enough priests to meet the needs of his sprawling diocese. His desperation would lead him to accept a number of troubled priests who were, at best, a mixed blessing. Not surprisingly, Loras devoted considerable energy to a “seminary on Mt. St. Bernard” that would later become the college that today bears his name.

The publication of *Man of Deeds* brings to completion the last scholarly work of Thomas E. Auge, a beloved professor of history at Loras College. Auge completed the manuscript in 1980 but never carried it forward to publication. The project was revived by Amy Lorenz after she discovered the manuscript in the collections of the Center for Dubuque History in 2006. “In working with Dr. Auge’s manuscript,” she writes in her introduction, “I have made every effort to maintain the integrity of his text, with minor corrections.”

*Man of Deeds* is a useful study—the first scholarly biography of an important figure in Iowa history. It is thorough, balanced, and well written—based on Loras’s letters and documentary legacy as well as the relevant primary and secondary sources available as of 1980. The only limitation to the study is that it is focuses too closely on Loras himself and would have benefited from a broader look at the history of Catholicism in other midwestern dioceses at that time. *Man of Deeds* nonetheless merits inclusion on any reading list of books about the history of religion on the midwestern frontier.


*The Roots of Rough Justice* is a tidy and provocative prequel to Michael Pfeifer’s important comparative portrait of lynching in America, *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947* (2004). In this new book, Pfeifer examines the social and cultural antecedents of lynching to better understand the history of mob murder in America. Through an analysis of various American regions—particularly the cotton south, the emerging midwestern frontier in Iowa, and the desert southwest—Pfeifer argues that lynching was a white response to legal reforms that promised protections for non-white Americans. Historians of American lynching have primarily focused on the post-Reconstruction and
Jim Crow eras, but Pfeifer asserts that an examination of lynching during the antebellum period is instructive. Most of the book’s analysis rests on American antecedents of lynching, but the author also suggests that a tradition of vigilante violence in the British Isles was transplanted to American soil during the colonial period.

The book contains five chapters, the first of which is an extremely brief survey of collective violence across the modern Anglo world. In five pages, Pfeifer proposes that a transnational perspective informs the historical context of mob murder in America. Given that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century crowd actions in England and Ireland tended towards the non-lethal variety (public flogging, for example), and given that a large cross-section of American ancestors of settlers from the British Isles were devoted to the rule of law and never engaged in mob violence, Pfeifer’s transnational explanation raises more questions than it answers. Although the cultural connections he draws are intriguing, Pfeifer offers too little in the way of evidence and explanation on the transnational antecedents to make a convincing case.

Questioning the book’s contributions as a transnational history of lynching is a minor criticism, however. The following four chapters are grounded in impressive regional research. The remainder of the book presents a complex portrait of nineteenth-century American social and cultural antecedents of systematic racialized lynching that occurred after Reconstruction. The second chapter examines the southern, midwestern, and western frontiers and analyzes issues of class and legal authority.

The book really hits its stride in the third chapter, where Pfeifer discusses the emergence of lynching as a terror tactic used against minorities. Lynching’s development into a racialized weapon was, as Pfeifer sees it, a backlash to developing legal protections of due process that in theory at least extended to blacks, Indians, and Hispanics. In the fourth chapter, Pfeifer argues that, by the 1850s, vigilante ideologies and due process legal reforms “had competed for cultural supremacy in American life for decades” and “took on a particular intensity at midcentury” (54). Partly because of the dynamic changes in the social, economic, and political landscapes and the growing multicultural environment, this competition heightened perceived threats against white culture and society.

The final chapter connects the antebellum context of lynching to the transformative era of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Violence, Pfeifer argues, was at the root of the America’s national conversion from slavery to emancipation; and he reiterates that lynching was further entrenched as a “visceral means of seeking to resist and to redi-
rect the dynamics of social, political, and legal change” (67). To end the book, Pfeifer includes a short epilogue, suggesting how his research might serve as a springboard for understanding mob violence in other parts of the world.

*Roots of Rough Justice* is an important little book for three reasons. First, the research it presents on lynching in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s is impressive, and a regionally organized chart in the appendix providing details of individual lynchings will prove invaluable for scholars researching mob violence in the antebellum era. Second, the book very clearly connects the history of lynching in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to its pre–Civil War history. This might seem a logical connection, but many lynching historians have neglected to analyze lynching’s early career in America. Third, the book very loudly asserts that region matters as a historical context for lynching and that a comparative analysis of regional variation in the character of mob action is imperative. Examining the regionalized social foundations of vigilante movements in the 1830s to the 1850s makes clearer the dynamic ways in which lynching became a tool in a contested and violent struggle for social order after emancipation.


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Edward Coles is best remembered in the Midwest as the governor who between 1822 and 1824 fought to keep Illinois from becoming a slave state. Kurt E. Leichtle and Bruce G. Carveth’s new biography demonstrates the heavy cost Coles paid for that brief episode. Coles spent most of his life in Virginia and Pennsylvania, but it was the decade he spent in Illinois and the actions he took there that indelibly marked his fate.

Edward Coles was born into Virginia’s slaveholding aristocracy. Dolly Payne Madison was his first cousin, and he served as a personal secretary to President James Madison in what the authors describe as “the Republican Court.” The description is apt: Coles lived in a rarified air at Washington City in daily presence with republican royalty. In 1816 his experiences became even more rarified when Madison sent him as a personal envoy to the czar’s court at St. Petersburg, Russia.