

2020

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Recommended Citation

Goudsouzian, Aram; Boutin, Cameron; Brown, Yvonne; Cable, John H.; Chiles, Marvin T.; Hedgers, Kellie; Johnson, Karen J.; Kline, Ryan; McAllister, James N.; Mersmann, Molly C.; Robinson, Marco; Tomlin, Chase; and Totten, Marie C. (2020) "Book Reviews," *Journal of Mississippi History*. Vol. 82: No. 1, Article 5. Available at: <https://aquila.usm.edu/jmh/vol82/iss1/5>

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hattiesburg: An American City in Black and White

By William Sturkey.

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019. Acknowledgements, illustrations, map, notes, index. Pp. 442. \$29.95 cloth.

ISBN 978-0-674-97635-1.)

During World War II, Turner Smith stopped waiting for white people to board the bus first. By then, he was in his eighties. Born into slavery, he had become a teacher and then a carpenter. He and his wife Mamie established themselves as pillars in the black community of Hattiesburg, Mississippi. They served in the Methodist Church, involved themselves in business and civic organizations, and grew active in local Republican politics. They raised children who became doctors, teachers, and community leaders. Throughout his time in Mississippi, Smith had built institutions that brought stability and vibrancy to African American life, while operating within the structures of Jim Crow. And then, soon before his passing in 1944, in the symbolic arena of public transportation, he began to reject Jim Crow itself.

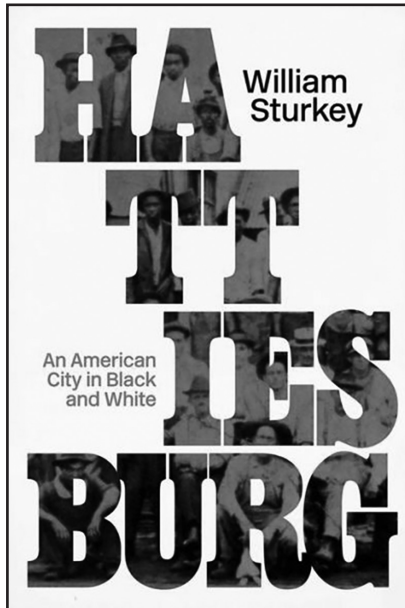
The example of Turner Smith reinforces a central argument in William Sturkey's outstanding and

insightful book, *Hattiesburg: An American City in Black and White*. Sturkey illustrates that throughout the era from the late nineteenth century through the 1960s, African Amer-

icans established community organizations and cultural practices that lent refuge from racial oppression. Those institutions forged the tools to help destroy legal segregation during the civil rights movement.

Hattiesburg is particularly notable for how it intersperses the experiences of its black and white residents. Hattiesburg enjoyed an economic boom

into the early twentieth century thanks to the railroad and lumber industries. Sturkey describes the jobs, homes, and community institutions that defined the lives of Hattiesburg's citizens. He especially focuses on the entrepreneurs and civic leaders who drove change in the city. With the local economy in decline by the 1930s, prominent white men such as W. S. F. Tatum and Louis Faulkner looked



beyond the South. Through organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, they courted new industries. They welcomed programs and federal grants during the New Deal. They celebrated the U.S. government's spending surge during World War II, particularly as the Army post at Camp Shelby multiplied in size, ensuring prosperity through the postwar years. Only in response to calls for racial equality – as witnessed by the 1948 Dixiecrat revolt and resistance to the United States Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision – did they espouse the doctrine of states' rights.

Sturkey documents the many oppressions faced by African Americans. He takes readers through the ordeals posed by Jim Crow laws and second-class jobs, a convict labor system that resembled slavery, a "Lost Cause" mythology that buttressed white supremacy, and the gruesome racial discipline of lynching. But black life under Jim Crow was not static. The lumber and railroad booms created space for a parallel economy based around Mobile Street in downtown Hattiesburg. Churches, juke joints, and the Eureka High School football team lent cushions from the ravages of the Depression. World War II breathed life back into the black economy, and it fueled a new rights consciousness, as seen in Turner Smith's quiet violation of racial etiquette on the city bus.

Not until the final chapters does *Hattiesburg* describe the tumultuous civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. These developments included a voting rights suit, grassroots organizing by the NAACP and SNCC, the leadership of figures such as Victoria

Jackson Gray, mass meetings, Freedom Schools, and voter registration drives that made Hattiesburg a hub of the civil rights movement in 1964. These years further witnessed white resistance that came in the forms of the Citizens Council and Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, the abuse of Clyde Kennard, who sought to integrate Mississippi Southern College, and the Ku Klux Klan's murder of the local activist Vernon Dahmer. Rather than situate this history within a "long civil rights movement" framework, Sturkey aptly notes that "local black activists engaged in 1960s-era protests typically considered the activism of the era distinct" (296).

Much more than a local study, *Hattiesburg* is a model for how to write southern history. It is textured in the economic forces, political developments, and lived experiences of the people, both black and white, who defined the city.

Aram Goudsouzian
University of Memphis

Confederate Generals in the Trans-Mississippi, Volume 3: Essays on America's Civil War. Edited by Thomas E. Schott and Lawrence Lee Hewitt. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2019. Maps, photos, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. Pp. xxiv, 374. \$64.95 cloth. ISBN: 978-1-62190-454-0.)

Compared to the military campaigns east of the Mississippi River, historians have often overlooked the importance of the Civil War in the

Trans-Mississippi region. Like its predecessors, *Confederate Generals in the Trans-Mississippi, Volume 3* seeks to rectify this scholarly neglect through eight deeply researched and engaging essays that analyze the Confederate high command in the Trans-Mississippi Theater. The region featured a different type of war than in other theaters, as it was far from the political leaders in Richmond, the Union military forces gained a foothold much sooner than in the rest of the South, and guerrilla warfare was prevalent. Each essay in the collection examines a Confederate commander who served in the Trans-Mississippi and contended with the theater's wartime challenges. While the eight officers are a diverse group, the contributors to *Confederate Generals in the Trans-Mississippi* effectively reveal that "despite the unique circumstances facing them and the disadvantages that hampered their efforts, each man acquitted himself as well as most generals on either side." Furthermore, these eight officers cannot be held responsible for the Confederacy's defeat (xiii).

Joseph G. Dawson III's essay on Earl Van Dorn explores how the U.S. military system and battlefield experiences shaped Van Dorn's career. Dawson argues that although Van Dorn was effective in more minor leadership positions, he was out of his depth as an independent field commander. His ineptness in the battles of Elkhorn Tavern and Corinth ranked him in the lower one-quarter of Confederate generals who led similar armies. Jeffery S. Prushankin looks at another prominent Confederate commander in the Trans-Mississippi, Edmund

Kirby Smith. Prushankin contends that the constant demands of regional politicians, the discontent of subordinates, and the incessant pressure of the enemy in 1863 frustrated Smith and left him despondent. Many of the other essays in the volume collection analyze lesser-known members of the Confederate high command in the far west. Stuart W. Sanders studies James Fleming Fagan, a reliable general who had several wartime blunders but still "exhibited a constancy that paid dividends for the Confederacy across the Trans-Mississippi" (61). The essays of Curtis Milbourn and Paul Scott focus on Tom Green and John Austin Wharton, respectively. Both were cavalry commanders who served in the Trans-Mississippi and died before the end of the war. Milbourn and Scott highlight the successes of their subjects, who often displayed competent leadership and were well regarded by their comrades. Still, commanders like Green and Wharton remain overshadowed by other Confederate cavalrymen such as Nathan Bedford Forrest and J. E. B. Stuart.

Three of the essays in the collection are authored by Richard H. Holloway. Two of Holloway's contributions discuss more obscure Confederate commanders, the mostly unsuccessful Hamilton P. Bee and William Robertson Boggs, who never led Confederate troops in battle but held various positions in the Trans-Mississippi. The subject of Holloway's third essay is Richard Taylor, one of the most renowned military leaders of the Trans-Mississippi Theater. Utilizing previously unpublished documents, Holloway examines Taylor's involve-

ment in an unsuccessful effort to move Confederate troops east of the Mississippi River in 1864. Holloway also addresses Taylor's refusal to address his insubordination and acrimony toward his superior Edmund Kirby Smith in his memoirs, thus hindering the accuracy of his writings.

By studying Confederate commanders with their fair share of failures, successes, and experiences, the contributors of *Confederate Generals in the Trans-Mississippi, Volume 3* deepen our understanding about the Trans-Mississippi Theater. While the essays have a limited focus and do not always connect developments in the Trans-Mississippi to the course of the conflict at large, the well-written pieces clearly demonstrate the dynamic complexities facing the Confederate war effort beyond the Mississippi. Both academic and popular audiences with an interest in the Civil War would benefit from reading the final volume in this worthwhile series.

Cameron Boutin
University of Kentucky

Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy. By Elizabeth Gillespie McRae. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. Acknowledgments, Abbreviations, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 343. \$34.95 hardcover. ISBN: 978-0-19-027171-8.)

In *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy*, Elizabeth Gillespie McRae presents a new perspective on a movement that historians

have characterized as a short-lived, regional failure. According to historical narratives, southern white men, predominantly middle-class, led the massive resistance to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954. Although pictures show white women and children waving signs and screaming epithets at black schoolchildren attempting to enter all-white schools, historians have not placed women at the center of massive resistance. McRae argues that rather than being accessories, white women were pivotal to creating and sustaining the structures and tenets of segregation and white supremacy long before and even after massive resistance.

McRae examines several reasons why scholars have found it difficult to locate or understand women's participation in anti-equality movements. If women opposed equality, for themselves or others, it was assumed they had to be ill-informed, deceived, or coerced by their husbands. McRae's book joins a growing body of work, such as Michelle Nickerson's *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (2012) and Kim Nielsen's *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare* (2003), that not only acknowledges women's roles in anti-equality movements, but places them at the forefront.

Historians of women in politics and social movements often find their sources and subjects at the state and local level, because of a dearth of national source material. Historians also find it necessary to redefine what constitutes political action. McRae begins her book in the 1920s, which

challenges the periodization of massive resistance as an isolated backlash to *Brown v. Board*. McRae focuses on four women from Mississippi, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Florence Sillers Ogden, Mary Dawson Cain, Cornelia Dabney Tucker, and Nell Battle Lewis were educated and progressive southern women, who were politically, civically, and socially active from the 1920s through the 1950s. Ogden, the sister of Walter Sillers Jr., the longtime Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representatives, hailed from Bolivar County in the Mississippi Delta and wrote a newspaper column that ran for thirty-five years. Nell Battle Lewis and Mary Dawson Cain were also writers and newspaper columnists. All promoted a more progressive and prosperous South built on economic diversification and business leadership. The common denominator that defined them, however, was a commitment to a social order that rested on white supremacy and racial segregation.

These women believed and propagated the view that the South had it right on race relations all along—that peace and progress rested on rigid racial segregation and white control, even as they embraced the prerogatives of the new woman. Progressive ideologies bolstered their case. The new scientific emphasis on eugenics and concerns over loosening sexual mores prompted twentieth-century white southerners to be more vigilant against interracial fraternization and sex. Although Ogden, Cain, Tucker, and Lewis were far from average, they lived and worked mostly at state and community levels. Through the lives of these women, McRae argues

that grassroots women birthed and sustained massive resistance to integration. The passage of a law or a Supreme Court ruling could not uproot an entrenched social order. McRae shows that cultures are sustained or destroyed in the functions of everyday life, of which women have historically been the keepers.

The last half of McRae's book covers resistance to *Brown v. Board* and the aftermath. One of McRae's themes is that massive resistance was a long movement that extended from Jim Crow to the anti-busing riots of the 1970s and beyond. McRae argues that segregationist women nationalized and reshaped white supremacist ideals to suit changing times. Eschewing the most incendiary race rhetoric, middle-class segregationist women found common cause under the umbrellas of states' rights, resistance to intrusive and unconstitutional government, and the fear of losing both parental rights and individual liberties.

In brief, *Mothers of Massive Resistance* is a well-written and meticulously researched book. McRae's arguments are persuasive. The strength of the book is in the individual stories of white women, many of whom will never be known outside the pages of this book, who used their pens, voices, and feet to keep African Americans out of white schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods. History is often told in sweeping stories and large events but McRae shows that history comes to life in the stories of ordinary women.

Yvonne Brown
Mississippi University for Women

Poll Power: The Voter Education Project and the Movement for the Ballot in the American South.

By Evan Faulkenbury. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 200. \$90 cloth, \$27.95 paper. ISBN: 978-1-4696-5131-6.)

Evan Faulkenbury makes an important contribution to the study of the black freedom movement by “following the money” (5). *Poll Power*, a concise history of the Voter Education Project (VEP), examines the difficult work of funding a movement whose participants were long on ambition but who rarely had the money to purchase supplies, pay utility bills, or make bail. By placing philanthropy at the center of the story of the southern struggle, Faulkenbury uncovers a long-neglected set of connections among activists, the federal government, and donors with deep, useful pockets.

Faulkenbury begins by discussing the origins of the VEP in the Southern Regional Council (SRC), an Atlanta-based research agency committed to toppling Jim Crow. After voting rights emerged as the “centerpiece” of the movement in the late 1950s, civil rights leaders, government officials, and philanthropists chose the SRC as a “clearinghouse dispensing money to registration campaigns” (22, 47). That dispensation happened through the new VEP, whose mission tax lawyers carefully framed as educational to ensure tax exemption. IRS approval in March 1962 enabled the VEP to begin issuing hundreds of thousands of dollars from

the Taconic and Field Foundations, the Stern Family Fund, and other sympathetic philanthropists, to the major civil rights organizations and independent, grassroots registration projects. In its first two years the VEP granted \$50,000 to Mississippi’s Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) alone. Although VEP director Wiley A. Branton took pains to keep the project looking non-partisan and research-based, he was not above coordinating a multi-organizational registration blitz in Greenwood, Mississippi, after vigilantes attacked COFO workers.

In Faulkenbury’s telling, the VEP grew into its original mandate during its second incarnation, between 1966 and 1969. Now headed by Vernon E. Jordan, the project continued to register voters even as it encouraged activists and local leaders to move toward citizenship education and leadership training. For instance, the Auburn (Alabama) League of Women Voters received VEP funds to rent voting machines for inexperienced new registrants to practice using, as well as to produce and air television programs about voting. Within months, the League had also registered 2,500 new voters. Not surprisingly, counties in receipt of VEP largesse were more likely to elect black officeholders in the late 1960s. Faulkenbury deftly demonstrates that that connection was not lost on conservative legislators, who, through Section 4945 of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, all but cut the VEP off from the philanthropic support that had been its lifeblood. The shrewd architects of the Tax Reform Act afford a connection to the present, where, the author argues, “conserva-

tives have continued the assault on black political power” (136).

The story of big philanthropy’s involvement in voting rights is not an easy one to tell. The details are scattered across countless archives, oral history collections, and memoirs. Plumbing all of those and more in this richly provocative book, Faulkenbury is notably among the first to make use of the newly-processed Taconic Foundation Records. Moreover, rather than include tables and graphs to represent the many VEP-funded campaigns across the South, he refers readers to an innovative, helpful digital map.

Poll Power is a fresh interpretation that historians of the black freedom movement – and voting rights in particular – cannot afford to overlook. Yet recent work by Karlyn Forner, Greta de Jong, and Pete Daniel has complicated how historians view the role of voting rights in the broader freedom movement. The post-World War II transformation of southern agriculture forced many black southerners off the land and blunted some of the gains that might have otherwise accrued from the franchise. The work of de Jong and Daniel would have been available to Faulkenbury, yet he neither engages nor cites them. That criticism notwithstanding, this book is a fine study that deserves to be read carefully.

John H. Cable
Florida State University

Let Us Make Men: The Twentieth Century Black Press and a Manly Vision for Racial Advancement. By D’Weston Haywood. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,

2018. Acknowledgements, illustrations, map, notes, index. Pp. xi, 340. \$55 cloth, \$19.50 paper. ISBN: 978-1-4696-4338-0.)

D’Weston Haywood’s *Let Us Make Men* is, like many first manuscript publications, an enhanced version of his dissertation. This study’s language is plain, and the thesis is well stated and effectively argued. Simply put, this book “reinterprets the twentieth-century black press as a tool of black men’s leadership, public vocalization, gender and identity formation, and space for the construction of ideas of proper black masculinity that shaped the twentieth-century black freedom struggle” (2). This reinterpretation is key because historians generally see the black press as a machine of racial activism that used Victorian values, pride, industry, thrift, and political solidarity to protest discrimination. Haywood does not dismiss the black press’s racial agenda. However, he uses five thoroughly written chapters, an introduction, and conclusion to prove that the black press was more than a racial institution. It was, as Haywood states, “one of the most widely accessed black social institutions in the twentieth century,” allowing black men to define and assert their masculinity (6).

Chapter 1 details the black press’s early twentieth century development. Haywood analyzes the founding of Robert S. Abbott’s widely circulated *Chicago Defender* and William Edward Burghardt DuBois’s *Crisis* magazine. Haywood makes it clear that both media outlets continued the black journalistic militancy of the previous century. However, Ab-

bott and DuBois, Haywood contends, broke with the past by shaping the black press into a platform for black masculinity. This platform became essential for articulating black migration to the North—known as the Great Migration—as a *manly* response to racial violence in the Jim Crow South.

In Chapters 2 and 3, Haywood argues that the black press dominated the black public sphere during the years between World War I and World War II. This preeminence came from the *manly* protest in Marcus Garvey's *Negro World* publication and John Sengstacke's (Robert Abbott's nephew) organization of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. Here, Haywood shows that black publishers responded to the failing American economy in a gendered manner. Garvey saw economic separatism, or as Mississippi historian Neil R. McMillen once called the "group economy" in his seminal book *Dark Journey*, as the most masculine way to achieve racial equality. Garvey's use of the press to foster black economic uplift allowed Sengstacke to construct the image of black males as hard workers whose masculinity was under attack by unemployment and workplace discrimination. Economic rights grounded black civil rights efforts in the mid-twentieth century. Chapters 2 and 3 shed light on this reality by showing that the black press helped black men see the economic crisis as an affront to their manhood.

Chapters 4 and 5 uses Robert F. Williams's *Crusader* and Malcolm X's *Muhammad Speaks* to explore, as Haywood claims, the black press's "shift from decades of militant racial

advocacy to a conservative policy of simply reporting news" during the civil rights years (177). This shift came from increasing black radicalism—as seen by Robert Williams and Malcolm X—and white political and economic pressure. Instead of siding with black radicals, the black press mirrored the popular civil rights image of "the non-violent model of black male leadership and masculinity" after World War II (177). The black press's need for white advertising dollars played a decisive role in this approach. The refusal to support black radicals, along with social integration, Haywood contends, ultimately pushed the black press to the periphery of black life in the late twentieth century.

While Haywood's scholarship is sound, the book has trouble maintaining consistency in its emphasis. At times, it is a concise narrative about the black press and its important figures in general. At other points, it is an analysis of the black press as a gendered institution of racial advancement. This does not devalue Haywood's historiographical contribution to African American, southern, twentieth-century, and intersectional studies. The book is so eloquently plain and without jargon that casual consumers of history will enjoy it. Scholars, instructors, and students of African American history, with a particular interest in gender studies, should also add this book to their collection of must-reads.

Marvin T. Chiles
Old Dominion University

The Man Who Punched Jefferson Davis: The Political Life of Henry S. Foote, Southern Unionist.

By Ben Wynne. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. ix, 323. \$47.50 cloth. ISBN: 978-0-8071-6933-9.)

Henry Foote was an exceptionally disagreeable man. A Mississippi lawyer turned politician, he sowed rancor and discord his entire political life, from Mississippi state politics to the floor of the United States Senate and then to the Confederate Congress. Odds are good that if there was some sort of fracas going on in Congress in the years leading up to the Civil War, or in the Confederate Congress during the war itself, Henry Foote was involved in one way or another. Usually, he was motivated by his burning hatred for his political nemesis, Jefferson Davis. It is tempting to dismiss Foote as a political hooligan, delighting in chaos while advancing his career. However, Ben Wynne, by acknowledging Foote's considerable personality flaws but pushing past them, reveals a political career worth examining in its entirety. Wynne recounts Foote's career, with its many ups and downs, political party switches, and his frequent, often violent, clashes with other politicians, with a distinct air of bemusement. He is not interested in making excuses for Foote. He acknowledges that Foote was disliked, often despised, by many of his political contemporaries. However, Wynne argues that "he was a complicated man with a complicated personality, and

while that did not necessarily make him one of the more influential political characters in nineteenth-century America, it certainly made him one of the more interesting" (6).

Wynne finds Foote's staunch adherence to the Union, especially in the face of immense political pressure during the secession movement, worthy of praise. In the aftermath of Abraham Lincoln's election, however, Foote found his devotion to the Union constituted nothing short of political suicide. Foote, above all other things, was a survivor. He made a career out of vocally supporting the Union in the face of massive southern outrage. As proof of his Unionist credentials, Foote won the governorship of Mississippi in 1851 on a pro-Union platform, despite having much of the Mississippi political community forsake him for it. Republican victory in 1860, though, represented an almost unfathomable change to the political landscape for Foote. Secession, long an idea and a threat held close to southern hearts, became a reality. Foote eventually bowed to political expediency and abandoned the hard-fought principles he had held for over a decade. The staunch Unionist had now transformed into a full-throated supporter of secession. Foote preached the gospel of secession and made a move that "confirmed, in the minds of his critics, that the foundation of his political character was opportunism" (219). Given the ease with which Foote gave and retracted his loyalty to an array of political parties over the decades, this judgment is hard to dispute.

Ultimately, Wynne describes

Henry Foote's political legacy as a mixed one. In the years leading up to the Civil War, he stood firm against the rising tide of secession, and spoke out against abandoning the Union for a defense of slavery. He was unwavering in the face of white-hot southern outrage that ended his career in Mississippi but gave him a spot on the national stage. Ultimately, Foote abandoned the Union on the eve of war, letting the principles he had stood for crumble into dust, forever marking him as a political opportunist.

Kellie Hedgers
Louisiana State University

Desegregating Dixie: The Catholic Church in the South and Desegregation, 1945-1992. By Mark Newman. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018. Acknowledgements, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvii, 455. \$90 cloth, \$30 paper. ISBN: 978-1-4968-1886-7.)

Recently, historians have expanded our knowledge of Catholics, race, and the civil rights movement in the United States. Most historical work has focused on one city, state, or religious group within Catholicism. Mark Newman's *Desegregating Dixie* offers a sweeping synthesis of southern Catholic responses to desegregation in the second half of the twentieth century and integrates the Catholic story with Protestant and secular responses to desegregation. His research is extensive and includes several oral history interviews.

Attending to both diversity with-

in the Catholic Church and regional differences between the Deep South and peripheral South, Newman divides Catholic desegregation into three stages. Between 1945 and the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, most southern white Catholics, clergy and laity alike, supported segregation. A few dioceses desegregated in a piecemeal way outside the Deep South. Few Catholics saw a theological problem with segregation and, by supporting it, white Catholics—religious outsiders already—could be racial insiders. When the institutional Church began arguing that segregation was sinful, many lay people wondered why the Church had changed its position. Only a few progressive white Catholics, often citing the Mystical Body of Christ doctrine and Jesus's call to love one another, worked for desegregation. While Newman observes that some white progressives could be paternalistic, he does not offer a robust critique of their actions and words. Between 1954 and 1965, all southern dioceses began desegregating parochial schools. Diocesan leaders in the peripheral South sometimes desegregated before secular schools, citing obedience to federal law, but in the Deep South, institutions desegregated in tandem with other institutions. After 1965, limits on federal funding to segregated institutions led dioceses to desegregate all their institutions, which often meant closing black churches and schools. This practice not only deprived African Americans of resources offering identity, belonging, and community, it also became the basis for many black Catholics'

critiques of the Catholic Church after the late 1960s.

Newman gives voice to black Catholics, who were crucial members of the Church. His evidence supports the historical argument that, for many African Americans, the civil rights movement was primarily about ending discrimination more so than achieving integration. Most black Catholics valued their churches and schools, even if they were taught by white nuns and shepherded by white pastors who did not often prioritize black pride. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, black Catholics, especially those supporting the black power movement, managed to exert influence through national and local organizations while fostering liturgical innovations. Most, however, stayed in the Church, although they understood why Father George Stallings wanted to found an independent African-American Catholic congregation.

While top-down narratives prioritizing prelates drive the text, Newman's scope includes the actions of laypeople, priests, and nuns. Newman insightfully probes the limits of the Church's hierarchical powers, demonstrating how racial contexts influenced Church leaders. His chapter on the sociology of religion and Catholic desegregation offers an invaluable roadmap to Catholic polity for those unfamiliar with the ways authority functions within the Church and allows Newman to demonstrate that, while the Catholic Church appeared more progressive with its theology and racial pronouncements than its Protestant counterparts, its local actions were often similar to those of

Protestants.

While there were some exceptions, the Catholic Church in the South ultimately appears reactive not proactive in fostering desegregation. For example, while Mississippi's bishop, Richard O. Gerow, offered arguably the most powerful denunciation of Medgar Evers's murder in 1963 from a white religious leader, this statement was Gerow's first public condemnation of white racism in his nearly four decades as bishop. While the Church formally desegregated all of its institutions and promoted more black priests, such as Father Joseph L. Howze, who became the first black bishop to lead a diocese when he was made bishop of the Diocese Biloxi in 1977, it failed to fully integrate. Desegregation did not mean that white Catholics embraced integration, a position Newman could have explored more fully, and, since Catholic parishes are geographically bound, the institutional Church's moderate efforts were ultimately stymied by housing segregation.

Newman's comprehensive work discusses many people, places, and events, and offers crucial context for anyone studying desegregation in the South. Overall, *Desegregating Dixie* is an essential resource for those concerned with race and religion in the South, Catholicism in the United States, and the civil rights movement.

Karen J. Johnson
Wheaton College

The Loyal Republic: Traitors, Slaves, and the Remaking of Citizenship in Civil War America. By Erik Mathisen. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018. Acknowledgments, illustrations, map, notes, index. Pp. xi, 219. \$34.95 cloth. ISBN: 978-1-4696-3632-0.)

In *The Loyal Republic: Traitors, Slaves, And The Remaking of Citizenship in Civil War America*, Erik Mathisen shifts the discourse surrounding citizenship away from rights to a focus on the participatory value of loyalty on both sides of the conflict. Though many loyalty studies of the Civil War focus on the divided allegiance between the Union and the Confederacy, this book reframes the “political act” of loyalty to transform the requirements of citizenship between the two nations (2). Shedding new light on the importance of the Civil War, *The Loyal Republic* reveals the tragedy, possibility, and legacy of redefining citizenship in a moment of crisis. Through exploring national, regional, state, and local interactions with citizenship, Mathisen presents a multilevel conversation solidifying the importance of statecraft and expanding the understanding of politics. Entering a scholarly conversation with Eric Foner, Steven Hahn, Hannah Rosen, Carole Emberton, and Stephen Kantrowitz, Mathisen identifies the meaning of loyalty during the definitive process for citizenship during a period of treason, emancipation, and reunion.

The chronological and thematic organization of the book presents a clear delineation between federal, regional, state, and local understand-

ings of citizenship from the Early Republic through Reconstruction. The thematic approach maps the changing definition of citizenship and the complicated relationship that forms with a multi-leveled approach to loyalty among Confederates, soldiers, Mississippians, and African Americans. By highlighting the importance of rights following the American Revolution, Mathisen charts the value of the political transformation of citizenship during the Civil War. From stories of crumbling state governance to post-war loyalties amidst the Lost Cause, the roots of American citizenship emphasize the changing relationship between the modern state and citizens at a time of national disunion. The overarching themes highlight how various groups of people redefined, challenged, and expanded the qualifications of loyalty in a post-Emancipation society. Erick Mathisen delivers a clear foundation for modern citizenship in a time of conflict, which captures the sectional crisis as a moment where the meanings of loyalty underwent significant reconceptualization.

In *The Loyal Republic*, Mississippi functions as an exploratory space for the potential of reunion, the legacy of Confederate loyalty, and opportunity for African Americans. The shifting bond between state and federal government in a place like Mississippi highlights the early moments of modern statecraft between the Confederacy and the Union. The book points to Mississippi as the birthplace of Confederate loyalty, as well as, the disintegration of state allegiance. Mathisen effortlessly highlights the ways that blossoming

citizenship qualifications inspired both reunion and the treasonous discourse surrounding the Confederacy. In Mississippi and across the South, black men and women implemented their loyalty to the Union as a stepping stone to citizenship. By probing the bonds of the nation, the book explores the effect that loyalty had on the African American community. The rights commonly associated with citizenship such as property ownership and voting relied on loyalty in the South to provide, what W. E. B. Dubois called, “a moment in the sun” for African Americans. Each of the experiences with allegiance highlights the definitive limbo that the Civil War created for the transformation of modern citizenship.

Though Mathisen provides an exciting exploration of loyalty and citizenship throughout the nineteenth century, there appear to be some portions of the regional and national identity missing. Because of the study’s focus on the rise of citizenship, the nation should play an important role in Mathisen’s analysis. He does not, however, delve deeply into nationalism and the nationalist movement of the late nineteenth century. With the formations of single state nations across Europe like Italy and Germany, *The Loyal Republic* offers little discussion of the discourse surrounding nationalism and its relationship to loyalty during the Civil War. With the vast scholarship discussing Confederate nationalism, the book would benefit from an examination of nationalism’s development through the concept of loyalty. With that slight critique, Erik Mathisen has written a skillful monograph that pushes

Civil War and political historians to question the realities of wartime citizenship and the legacy that loyalty left on the South.

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Aberration of Mind: Suicide and Suffering in the Civil War-Era South. By Diane Miller Sommerville. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 448. \$105 cloth, \$34.95 paper. ISBN: 978-1-4696-4330-4.)

Guns, bayonets, cannons, and other weapons scarred and disabled millions during the Civil War, but some suffered psychological scars just as dangerous as the kind left by a bullet. In *Aberration of Mind*, Diane Miller Sommerville delves into why Confederates and southerners in particular considered suicide as a reprieve from suffering. The troubling numbers of suicides during the war forced Americans to reexamine not only why people acted upon the impulse of self-destruction but the effects their actions had on family, friends, and society at large. Sommerville explains how the nearly incomprehensible and uncountable suffering of the Civil War shifted ideas about suicide from a selfish, cowardly, and sinful act of self-murder to an act of desperation deserving of empathy or even heroism, at least when committed by white people.

Sommerville’s methodological rigor leaves few stones unturned as

she looks closely at suicide among men and women, white people and people of color, soldiers, and non-combatants. The book is not chronological; instead, she divides it into three broad sections, looking first at white Confederate men and women during the war, then on black people during and after slavery, and finally at white Confederates after the war. A final chapter entitled “The Secularization of Suffering and Suicide” addresses the theological discourse about suicide. Each section of the book attempts to determine why particular people considered suicide and examines how gender and race shaped people’s decisions about suicide, as well as how suicide was perceived by peers and other community members.

Sommerville’s research shows that suicide was a highly gendered experience. Men and women often considered and acted upon suicidal impulses for different reasons. Men seemed to seek to relieve themselves of lingering injuries or the fear of cowardice, or as a way to regain control of their lives when their agency and status had been stripped by war, death, and defeat. Elite white women might turn to suicide when thrust into a life they had been told they were unsuited for—laboring on a farm without enslaved workers or fit men—or to escape the grief of loss. Unfortunately, exact causes or reasons were almost always opaque. Some people, for example, likely “died from the effects of overdosing on opium . . . for anxiety or depression” (224). Both white Confederate men and women became despondent when they considered, in the face of crushing defeat, that their great suffering was for nothing. This

suffering transformed suicide into a redeeming act and contributed to the Lost Cause mythology.

Of particular interest are Sommerville’s chapters on the perceived racial distinction of the causes of suicide. If black people were happy under slavery, as many southerners believed at the time, then supporters of slavery needed to minimize and obscure suicide committed by enslaved black people. Acknowledging that an enslaved person’s suicide as an escape from suffering would have shown that enslaved people were unhappy. Some white apologists for slavery claimed that black people lacked the emotional ability to form family bonds and they could not be upset when their families broke up. However, Sommerville notes that “[e]nslaved men as well as women experienced profound emotional distress following separation . . .” that could lead to suicide. (110). Still, post-emancipation suicide by black people was seized upon by white supremacists to explain that black people were naturally unhappy out of bondage. Further, if suicide could be seen as a redeeming act when carried out by white people, then suicide had to carry different meaning when black people committed the same act.

Sommerville does an effective job handling the unfortunate but sometimes necessary reliance on documentation generated by elite southern whites. She has sought out every shred of evidence, including a close reading of asylum records, military records, letters from caregivers, newspaper articles, and interviews. Her work builds neatly on earlier groundbreaking books like *This Republic of Suffering* and the more recent *Living*

Hell, thus contributing to a growing corpus of literature examining suicide in the Civil War. *Aberration of Mind* is a masterful investigation into not just the causes but, especially, the effects of suicide in the Civil War era, which also seeks to understand how and why we view suicide the way we do today.

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Women's War: Fighting and Surviving the American Civil War.

By Stephanie McCurry. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019. notes, acknowledgements, index. Pp ix, 297. \$26.95 hardcover. ISBN: 978-0-674-98797-5.)

Stephanie McCurry's latest work is a call to arms for historians of not only the Civil War, but all wars, to credit women as equal and forceful actors in military conflicts. She argues that previous scholarship has bought into the "fiction" that Civil War women experienced the war only as non-combatants—as mothers, wives, and daughters on the home front. These histories, she observes, either leave out the women, both black and white, who spied, resisted, and fought, or write them off as an aberration or rare exceptions to the norm of "innocent women" on the home front. Accepting these women as active participants in the war's military conflict, McCurry argues, allows readers to better understand how the war influenced women as well as how these women influenced the Civil War.

To tell this story, McCurry alters the geographic location of conflict.

Instead of confining warfare to battlefields, she broadens the scope to include the household. To demonstrate the household as a site of warfare, McCurry follows three stories of women both during and after the war. The first two narratives examine how women's actions shaped both the laws of warfare and the Union's emancipation policy. The final story takes readers through the process of rebuilding one's personal life after the war overturned the South's social order.

More than twenty years ago, Mark Grimsley's *Hard Hand of War* (1995) argued that the Union policy shifted from one of deliberate restraint to hard war because of resistance on the home front. But McCurry pushes that analysis further, asking the reader to consider the ways in which gender shaped policies such as the Lieber Code. Written by German-American professor Francis Lieber, the Lieber Code was the first document to comprehensively outline rules regulating the conduct of war. McCurry contends that as the Federal army made its way through Border States, they originally viewed Confederate women as innocents to be protected. As early as 1862, however, many in the U.S. leadership grew tired of these same "innocent women" participating in guerilla warfare against the Union, especially because they could not be tried under the laws of war. To quell this resistance, Francis Lieber incorporated into his code a new rule that civilian protection would be based on loyalty rather than presumed innocence on the basis of gender. Ultimately, Confederate women's defiance forced the Federal

government to change the laws of war to meet local conditions.

Building upon the recent work of Tera Hunter's *Bound in Wedlock* (2017), McCurry weaves throughout her narrative the idea of marriage as a system of governance with men as the head of household and women relegated to the position of dependent. While many have viewed marriage as a private institution, McCurry demonstrates that it is intricately connected with political life. Her chapter on African American women highlights the gendered nature of the Union's emancipation policy. McCurry notes that slave men could earn citizenship through their military service, while slave women earned it through their marriage to these black soldiers. She points out that not only does this common narrative assume all slave women as wives, but it also assumes that they did not fight for their freedom as their "husbands" had. Even after emancipation, McCurry notes, black women remained under a system of governance vis-à-vis the institution of marriage.

While McCurry's source material for much of the first two chapters relies on correspondence and legal documents, the final chapter takes a new look at the diary of Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas, the wife of a Georgia planter who kept an extensive journal of her life during and after the Civil War. Through Thomas's diary, McCurry argues that Reconstruction was not limited to the political arena, for it also penetrated the household. Thomas's marital relations as well as her image of her husband as a competent man fell apart amid her family's financial difficulties. The combination

of emancipation and the death of her father meant the knowledge of sexual relations between Thomas's father and their family's slaves became public knowledge. Thomas's diary, McCurry argues, gives an example of how emancipation represented a significant fracture in history.

Following the war, women's resistance tactics faded in both the postwar narrative and the long-term historiography. McCurry's work, like Jacqueline Glass Campbell's *When Sherman Marched North from the Sea* (2003), reminds us that these active women should be just as much a part of the military narrative as their male counterparts. In her preface, McCurry writes, "It is the exclusion of women from histories of military conflicts that is the artificial construct" (x). After reading *Women's War*, many will agree.

Molly C. Mersmann
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Lines Were Drawn: Remembering Court-Ordered Integration at a Mississippi High School. Edited By Teena F. Horn, Alan Huffman, and John G. Jones. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2016. Acknowledgments, illustrations, map, notes, index. Pp. xi, 266. \$ 35 hard back. ISBN: 978-1-62846-231-9.)

The preponderance of literature on the social upheavals of the 1950s and 1960s in the American South has focused primarily on the experiences of activists, members of the black community, civil rights leaders, and white politicians. In the process of focusing on these multifarious perspectives,

the ordinary white citizen's perspective of the social transformations has, for the most part, been left to obscurity. Over the past fifteen years, scholars of the civil rights era have shifted their focus to documenting the experiences of white southerners who escaped the public eye. White southern communities were not homogeneous, as the editors of this work point out. White southerners' ideas and reactions to the implementation of desegregation policies differed across the vast regions of the southeastern United States. Likewise, the mindsets and responses of young white Mississippians varied across the state, especially in Jackson, Mississippi.

This book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the experiences of those white students who did not opt out of newly-desegregated public schools and the dilemmas both black and white students faced while finding common ground during the integration process at Murrah High School, located in Mississippi's capital city. The three editors of this volume, all white and participants in school desegregation at now predominantly black Murrah High, affirm that the "integration moment" at their school was in many respects a social anomaly and has never occurred again in the South. Moreover, Claiborne Barksdale, the book's foreword contributor, asserts, "This is not a top-down or bottom-up view, or a chronology, or even a history . . . It is an inside-out remembrance of what it was like for seventeen and eighteen year-old Mississippi children (and a couple of teachers and other observers) to go to school every day as sometimes witting and unwitting

instruments of equality" (X).

Jackson was a hotbed of civil rights activity as well as the state's segregationist home base, and the incidents that occurred at Murrah High School during the early 1970s provide a prime case study from which to explore the social dynamics around school integration. The authors contend, "What was attempted during the five or so years of successful integration of Murrah had never been tried before, has not been tried since, and constitutes a unique glitch in Mississippi's long struggle with race" (23). The editors of this work judiciously sought out both black and white classmates (and a few teachers) from this era to interview, respond to questionnaires, and to participate in group discussions. They then used the information collected as the foundation for the book. Despite their efforts to compose a balanced story, the majority of the memoirs in the book are from white classmates. The culmination of this data collection produced a work that unpacks the myriad of reasons why some white Jacksonians did not abandon public schools for private academies and sheds light on the day-to-day intricacies of young people coming to grips with racial acceptance and equal access to public education.

This book is accessible to all levels of readers. Most importantly, the volume provides insight into the unfinished process of racial reconciliation in the Magnolia State. However, after reading this work, the question arises; would the authors' conclusions regarding integration at Murrah have been different if a representative sample of blacks had participated in the study? Ultimately, lay-readers and

researchers, alike, will be intrigued by reading this saga of cross-racial acceptance and the struggles for social change.

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Industrial Development and Manufacturing in the Antebellum Gulf South: A Reevaluation. By Michael S. Frawley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2019. ix, 256 pp. Cloth, \$45.00, ISBN 978-0-8071-7068-7.)

In *Industrial Development and Manufacturing in the Antebellum Gulf South*, Michael Frawley seeks to dispel the misconception that the South's slave-centered economy—primarily between the Panic of 1837 and the commencement of the Civil War—precluded its engagement in meaningful manufacturing. Historically, people have perceived the American South as a rustic region dominated by its inhabitants' agrarian pursuits, largely at the expense of industrial development. Characterized as such by mid-nineteenth century travel writers like Frederick Law Olmstead, historians have perpetuated the same myth—that the behavior of the planter class prevented economic diversification in the region—for over a century since the Civil War's conclusion. Counter to traditional understandings, Frawley contends that slavery and large-scale manufacturing were not incompatible or mutually exclusive but coexisted quite effectively. In doing so, he suggests that there existed a much greater degree of investment in industrial

concerns and local production of manufactures in the prewar South than initially supposed.

In a revisionist vein, the author offers a more complete understanding of the nature and scope of southern manufacturing and forces us to reconsider the “depressive effect” that slavery ostensibly had on industrial growth (17). Following the cliometric revolution of the 1970s, historians Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss misrepresented the true extent of industrialization in the former Confederate states in their coauthored work, *Deplorable Scarcity*. Predicated on the “woefully incomplete” 1860 census, their study minimized the pervasiveness and importance of manufacturing in the region, which Frawley argues persuasively, necessitated a reevaluation.

Extending his research beyond the census, Frawley consults an array of primary sources, including local histories, county and city directories, newspaper and journal publications, and credit reports constructed by the R. G. Dun Company. He discovered a host of manufacturing concerns unlisted in the census, revealing a more industrialized and modern prewar South than depicted in the 1860 census. Piecing together data uncovered in these sources, he also resituates the region in a more varied industrial context by examining in close detail the transportation and market networks, availability of natural resources and capital, and wage and labor patterns.

One of the great strengths of Frawley's monograph is his use of Geographical Information System (GIS) technologies, a software typically neglected by scholars in this

field. Replete with graphs and tables, his book takes an otherwise unwieldy and complex data set compiled from disparate sources and transforms it into a more readily accessible format. Mapping the information also enables the author to reveal that along the same geographic path of the well-known cotton belt emerged a discernable iron belt, confirming his assertion that successful agricultural centers often generated successful industrial firms. Readers unfamiliar with GIS or intimidated by statistical analysis will benefit from the author's detailed explanation of his methodology in the appendix.

Despite Frawley's impressive research, only three of the five Gulf South states figure prominently in his study: Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas. Relegated to a brief footnote is an explanation of the decision to exclude Louisiana and Florida. Lost census manufacture schedules precluded a detailed examination of the former, while the latter's sparse settlement and negligible industrial base rendered it inconsequential. Curiously, Frawley chooses not to include a discussion of Florida's particular circumstances, which seems a missed opportunity to nuance his study and enhance our understanding of how geographical factors, such as access to natural resources or propinquity to urban centers, influenced or inhibited industrial growth.

Though better suited for an academic audience, general readers will find this book relatively accessible, both in language and content. The author adeptly contextualizes his study as it relates to preexisting scholarship, making prior knowledge

of the field not entirely necessary. Cogently argued and well written, the book will appeal to any person with an affinity for antebellum southern society or interest in economic growth in the South.

The fact that the Gulf South lagged behind a more advanced industrial North as civil war approached remains undebatable, but *Industrial Development and Manufacturing in the Antebellum Gulf South* upends the enduring myth that slavery's unbridled success forestalled concerted efforts at industrial improvement. Frawley's book reminds us that the South waged a moderately successful war against an undeniably advantaged enemy and, without the degree of manufacturing and production output he discovered in underutilized sources, it would have failed much earlier during the Civil War.

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Integration Now: Alexander v. Holmes and the End of Jim Crow Education. By William P. Hustwit. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. 8 halftones, 1 map, notes, bibl., index. 288 pp. \$39.95, hardcover. ISBN: 978-1-4696-4855-2.)

The Supreme Court deemed segregation in public schools unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). By the fall of 1968, segregationists' resistance to *Brown* kept 68 percent of southern black students in segregated schools. Although monumentally important, even Thurgood Marshall could not deny that *Brown* failed to achieve its promise. Thus,

the *Brown* case was not the end, but merely the beginning of the end of state-sanctioned segregated education. In *Integration Now: Alexander v. Holmes and the End of Jim Crow Education*, William P. Hustwit argues that public school integration did not come out of Topeka with the *Brown* decision, but from the very bosom of the Jim Crow South with the 1969 Supreme Court decision in *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*.

In the first monograph dedicated to *Alexander v. Holmes*, *Integration Now* presents a beautifully written narrative of the lawyers, plaintiffs, and white resistance involved in the Mississippi case. Hustwit provides a bottom-up narrative, building from the grassroots efforts in the early 1960s to the success of *Alexander's* implementation in 1970. As Hustwit states, by the fall of 1970 only 18 percent of black students were still segregated compared to the 68 percent just two years prior. Hustwit begins *Integration Now* with a succinct history of Holmes County race relations from the antebellum period through the early twentieth century. Although black men in Holmes County had the franchise and some political power during Reconstruction, white "redeemers" stripped black residents of their rights with the implementation of Jim Crow in the 1890s. It was not until the 1930s that New Deal legislation created the opportunity for land ownership and economic independence for some black residents. As a result, Holmes County's comparatively high rate of black land ownership uniquely situated its residents to push further for civil rights than their neighbors.

In the 1960s, Holmes County residents began reclaiming their rights through voter registration efforts. They worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to increase voter registration and bring awareness to Mississippi civil rights efforts. Holmes County residents and SNCC volunteers faced legal harassment, property damage, and assault, but they continued their efforts. Hustwit argues that late 1960s voter registration efforts proved successful as black citizens elected black politicians to local and state positions. The job of school integration, however, was entrusted to civil rights lawyers, most of whom were counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund.

Throughout *Integration Now*, Hustwit effectively conveys dense case law in a manner that is both interesting and accessible. Hustwit expertly guides the reader through the precedent-setting cases heard in the United States Southern District of Mississippi and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Hustwit explains how both NAACP and segregationist lawyers shaped their arguments after lower court decisions in cases that set important precedent for the *Alexander* case, such as *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, and *United States v. Hinds County School Board*. Hustwit connects these legal arguments with national politics by addressing the Nixon administration's responses to school desegregation efforts.

The climax of *Integration Now*

lies in Hustwit's brilliant account of "*Alexander* in the High Court" (Chapter Five) and the subsequent unanimous decision calling for the implementation of desegregation plans "effective immediately" (138). Hustwit shows how white southerners attempted to resist *Alexander*, as they had *Brown*, but the man tasked with enforcing the Court's decision, Judge Griffin Bell, a member of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, oversaw the successful standardization and enforcement of desegregation laws. Hustwit ends his book acknowledging the sad reality that forced integration has not always worked. White segregationists pulled their children from integrated public schools in the decades after *Alexander*, so that even with all the civil rights success in Holmes County, the schools were essentially segregated again by 1989.

Integration Now is thoroughly researched and draws on overlooked Mississippi newspapers, court decisions, and manuscript collections. Hustwit builds on the existing work of civil rights scholars. Eloquent and well-written, there is no doubt that *Integration Now* is a must read for civil rights scholars and is valuable for upper-level graduate course work. Thus, Hustwit stimulates new discussions of civil rights, massive resistance, and life in Mississippi since the 1960s.

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