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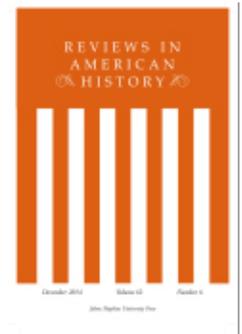
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## The Civil Rights Era and Southern History

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## THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA AND SOUTHERN HISTORY

Brian Purnell

**Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder, eds.** *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013. vii + 337 pp. Illustrations, notes, and index. \$60.00 (cloth); \$29.95 (paper).

**Pete Daniel.** *Dispossession: Discrimination against African American Farmers in the Age of Civil Rights*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013. xi + 332 pp. Illustrations, notes, and index. \$34.95.

**Brett Gadsden.** *Between North and South: Delaware, Desegregation, and the Myth of American Sectionalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 316 pp. Illustrations, notes, and index. \$45.00.

**Benjamin Houston.** *The Nashville Way: Racial Etiquette and the Struggle for Social Justice in a Southern City*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013. xii + 320 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. \$69.95 (cloth); \$24.95 (paper).

**James P. Marshall.** *Student Activism and Civil Rights in Mississippi: Protest Politics and the Struggle for Racial Justice, 1960–1965*. ix + 300 pp. Maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, and index. \$45.00.

The books under review here invite readers to think critically about a problem Matthew Lassiter and Joseph Crespino addressed in their edited volume, *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*. What does it mean, Lassiter and Crespino asked, to recognize that it is time to end the kind of distinctive Southern history and historiography that presents the South not merely as a different region, but as a place that is “exceptional from the rest of America and in historical opposition to the dominant national trends”?<sup>1</sup> Some of the books under review contain analyses that show how the culture, politics, and economics that shaped Southern societies during the Civil Rights era *connected those places to*—rather than *separated them from*—other parts of the country. Rather than an exceptional place defined solely by regional and historical peculiarities, some of these books show how, “southern and American history are transformed

when the South is no longer exceptional, but rather, fully integrated into the national narrative."<sup>2</sup>

However, some of the books under review, or parts of them, remain wedded to the idea that the South possessed exceptional characteristics—that its distinct particularities alone shaped its history. Those analyses certainly perform important revisionist work within the field of Southern history. For example, the two volumes that focus on Southern student activism during the 1950s and 1960s call attention to the important differences between Southern student social movements and the hotbeds of college campus protest that defined the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast. Furthermore, both the anthology by Cohen and Snyder and the monograph by Marshall argue emphatically that Southern black students in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) occupied an early primary leadership position in New Left student movements that unfolded in the 1960s. By overemphasizing the South's importance and distinctiveness, these revisionist texts allow readers to think about Civil Rights Movement history and histories of American racism in new, provocative ways.

What happens, though, when contradictions in the South's exceptional characteristics surface? What should historians do with inconsistencies that reveal the South, or specific parts of the South, not as a monolithic culture or society, but a place of variety, nuance, and diversity of thought and experience? How should historians interpret social and political developments of the Civil Rights era, such as when white people aggressively resisted school desegregation programs, which looked very similar on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line? If a Southern town or city—Nashville, in this case—developed social relations around racial segregation that mirrored Boston more than Birmingham, should historians characterize Nashville's mores as distinctively "Southern?" When historians build a specific narrative box labeled "Southern" and reserve it as the only repository for certain events, practices, ideas, and mores, they risk sweeping under the rug many inconsistencies and contradictions that inevitably shaped the past, and overlooking commonalities that existed across state and regional borders. We can learn so much more about the South, the rest of the nation, and indeed the world, when we break out of narrowly defined narrative boxes, explore contradictions and inconsistencies that shatter our myths about historic places and people, and use those moments that challenge history's conventional wisdoms to try to figure out the what and why of the past.<sup>3</sup>

The arguments in these books on the Civil Rights Movement in the South indicate that the South possesses distinguishing traits in the same way that any local place or region has unique cultures, histories, or ways of life. But the South does not possess a monopoly on the history of racism and civil rights activism, the main subjects of these books. Neither did racism and activism

look the same all over the South. Distinctions certainly matter when historians grapple with the ways local customs, cultures, economies, and traditions shape how the past unfolded in a specific place, but as Southern history develops in the future, historians should not continue to think about racism and Civil Rights activism as strictly Southern phenomena or as historical processes that moved linearly south to north, east to west. Even within the South, and within specific states or even counties, nuance and diversity, not uniformity, defined social practice and everyday life. Perhaps a black educator in Mississippi spoke best about the South's complexity when he said that, in the Magnolia State, "every town had its own mores, its own unwritten restrictions. The trick was to find out from local people what the 'rules' were."<sup>4</sup> In truth, the "solid South" exists in myth only, as does the idea that the South and other parts of the country possess drastically different social practices. Those myths die hard. Moreover, they played destructive roles in the ways racism worsened throughout the country, especially outside the South. Brett Gadsden's wonderful study reveals how mythologies that surrounded sectional differences became encoded in major federal legislation and helped destroy bussing programs designed to desegregate some of Delaware's metropolitan school districts. All of these books, even the ones that hold fast to Southern distinctiveness, remind us that during the decades after World War II, racism and Civil Rights activism shaped national—not merely regional—history.

Pete Daniel's fascinating history of how the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) discriminated against African American farmers during the third quarter of the twentieth century shows how dynamic approaches to Southern history can connect the region's past to the nation's past and can weave together political, economic, and social history. Daniel is a past president of the Organization of American Historians and the Southern History Association and is author of two other monographs on politics, economics, and technology in the post-World War II South.<sup>5</sup> Building upon insights he developed in those earlier works, his *Dispossession* reveals alarming ironies that call into question conventional wisdoms regarding the federal government's Civil Rights legislative achievements during the mid-1960s as well as causes of the decline of the Southern agricultural economy and the impact that decline had on the region's farmers, black as well as white.

The USDA, Daniel shows, actively restructured the farming economy in ways that "shamelessly promoted capital-intensive operations," which favored wealthy landowners who possessed massive amounts of property or emerging agricultural corporations, because both could afford the latest and most expensive equipment. Daniel exposes how the USDA "used every tool at its disposal to subsidize wealthy farms and to encourage their devotion to science and technology" (p. xi). Mechanization of the agricultural economy and

changes in farming methods brought on by chemicals and pesticides did not reflect some abstract invisible hand of the market at work, Daniel contends, but clear government policies and the active work of government bureaucrats. Historians have long listed factors that wrought seemingly uncontrollable alternations in the South's farming economy, such as boll-weevil infestation, development of sophisticated mechanized harvesters, and the rise and domination of big agribusinesses over independent farmers. To that list we now have to add the work of bureaucrats who worked for the USDA.

The influence of those federal bureaucrats did not stop in their active restructuring of the South's agricultural economy. In fact, during the high point of the Civil Rights Movement, when the Supreme Court declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional and Congress passed sweeping Civil Rights legislation, the USDA practiced what Daniel calls "passive nullification." Its agents actively discriminated against black farmers and caused tens of thousands of them to lose their land and livelihoods. Daniel shows how these bureaucrats stated their "agreement with equal rights while continuing or intensifying discrimination," which "did not rely on antebellum intellectual arguments or confrontations but instead thrived silently in the offices of biased employees" (p. xii). The USDA's widespread racial discrimination had a staggering effect on black farmers and revealed a biting irony of the nation during the Civil Rights era. During the 1920s, a high point of the nation's overtly racist violence and rampant public discrimination against African Americans, the number of black farmers reached a record 925,000. Ironically, during the twenty-five years that Daniel marks as the post-World War II Civil Rights era (1951-75), when "government programs, civil rights laws and science and technology promised prosperity and fair treatment," the number of black farmers plummeted to 45,000 (p. xii). Daniel's book explores how the USDA made this happen, how its "powerful, pseudo-democratic agencies became repositories of prejudice and discriminatory practice"; how no white person was ever fired for discriminatory treatment of black farmers, incompetence, or outright lies; and how people fought back against these willful practices of dispossession (pp. xii-xiii). Simply put, "black farmers suffered the most debilitating discrimination during the civil rights era, when laws supposedly protected them from bias." The USDA offered more programs and hired more staffers, but these increases "had an inverse relationship to the number of farmers: the larger the department, the more programs it generated, and the more money it spent, the fewer farmers that survived" (p. 5).

In Daniel's examination, African American farmers in the South suffer tremendously at the hands of a rapidly changing political economy and both public policies and private practices that conscientiously positioned black people at the bottom of the American social ladder. One can compare and contrast the machinations of the USDA bureaucrats featured in *Dispossession*

with the underhanded practices of Federal Housing Authority and Home Owners Loan Corporation agents, home-owner association members, realtors, and bankers who manipulated housing prices and racial demography in twentieth-century American cities in ways that created undervalued, undesirable racial ghettos.<sup>6</sup> The dispossession of black farmers and the residential segregation of black city dwellers during the mid-twentieth century both paved the way for a “new African American inequality” after the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> For those black people who, even after the gains of the Civil Rights era, consistently found themselves poor and socially excluded, their “new” inequality reflected past racist practices and ideologies, but it continued and metastasized in “colorblind” and “post-racial” ways. The processes that created new forms of social inequality certainly varied with time and place, but from the Great Depression through the Civil Rights era, racist policies and practices, like those that Daniel documents, took place in the South and joined with similar types of exclusionary patterns elsewhere to make the mid-twentieth century—South and North, rural and urban—a historical period during which racism ordered the entirety of post-WWII American society: politics, economics, class mobility, and demography.<sup>8</sup> In *Dispossession*, Daniel emphasizes how connections between national history and regional history offer so much more than a provocative, devastating portrayal of racism in the South. Scholars and teachers can use Daniel’s book to think critically about national trends of mid-twentieth-century racist policies and practices and about how racism reordered agricultural and urban communities throughout the nation.

Moving to an urban setting, Benjamin Houston’s *The Nashville Way* examines “racial etiquette” in Nashville, Tennessee, from the 1940s through the end of the 1960s. In this book, readers learn about Nashville’s particular etiquette of moderation, which, at least in the minds of Nashvillians, distinguished their city from Southern places with more antagonistic forms of racism. Houston’s book concentrates on how a culture of moderation made and supported Jim Crow segregation in Nashville, especially in the ways people there occupied social, residential, and commercial space. In Nashville, “racially divided space downtown,” Houston stated, “had haphazard patterning” (p. 13). Signs did not necessarily have to hang to mark where whites and blacks could eat, drink, sleep, sit, or use bathrooms. In Nashville, “unspoken codes of conduct prevailed,” and Jim Crow spoke loudly through “unspoken mores” (p. 14).

This etiquette, which historians might more accurately consider as an ideology,<sup>9</sup> became the dominant worldview through which Nashvillians delayed action on school integration. Houston then chronicles how the sit-ins and Civil Rights activism of the mid-1960s directly challenged Nashville’s benign, but nonetheless powerful, racist ideologies and practices, and how racism endured these acts of resistance. “The Nashville way” then responded to the

Black Power Movement, which opponents easily characterized as militant and aggressive, with a more enforced sense of white Nashvillians' own moral and political rightness. Finally, in the book's most powerful chapter, Houston records the ways that new political and economic practices tied to the urban renewal policies of the late 1960s and the Model Cities program, repackaged the old forms of racial segregation into new spatial layouts of the city, thus worsening social and class divides between blacks and whites.

Despite Nashville's sense of itself as more moderate than the rest of the South, Houston documents how violence during public school racial-integration campaigns still rocked the city, and how those desegregation efforts prompted city officials to institute a ten-year plan—the Nashville Plan—that received national attention and praise for its gradual, soft approach to the thorny issue of ending racial segregation in public schools. Indicating the desegregation effort's weakness, Houston called the Nashville Plan “the triumph of tokenism,” and his book documents how “black Nashvillians listened with skepticism as national media acclaimed the city as a model for race relations” because “for all the changes in the racial landscape, their story was still much the same story—sometimes free to choose their destiny, but still curtailed by both invisible and tangible racial boundaries” (p. 81).

Houston's assessment of how Nashville's soft-core racism survived the Civil Rights Movement—“the spirit of Jim Crow hovered over a newly evolving fusion of law and custom” (p. 163)—wonderfully captures the perplexing ways racism developed throughout the country during the mid-twentieth century. In Brett Gadsden's *Between North and South*, the history of school desegregation in Delaware from before the *Brown* decision through the 1970s evolved along with what Gadsden calls “the sectional imaginaries of de jure and de facto segregation” (p. 12). Especially after the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown* declared racially segregated public schools unconstitutional, those “sectional imaginaries” allowed racial segregation to exist and thrive in the absence of official Jim Crow laws. “The spirit of Jim Crow” that Houston shows plagued “moderate” Nashville also infected many other cities and suburbs throughout the country. Gadsden's sophisticated monograph combines legal analysis, education policy history, and social history of activists (both those who favored and those who opposed racial desegregation of public schools); and it reveals how “sectional imaginaries” justified the types of racism that survived the legal challenges that defined the 1960s.

*Between North and South* is divided into three parts. The first documents how African American educators and activists in Delaware strove to make the racial segregation system better before *Brown*. They wanted equal resources in their racially separate schools, and where that was not possible—at first in graduate and professional schools—black citizens wanted access to all-white institutions. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

led the legal challenges against Delaware's racially segregated schools, and their tactics slowly evolved into calls for complete desegregation of the state's public schools based on the argument that racially segregated schools caused irreparable psychic and social damage to black students.

When the Supreme Court rendered its decision in *Brown*, however, Gadsden argues that its language and scope designated "the sectional imaginary" of de jure segregation as "constitutionally suspect" (p. 13). The Court declared legal forms of racial segregation unconstitutional, but it said nothing about patterns of racial segregation that existed independently from legal restrictions. After *Brown*, in Delaware and everywhere, the South became known as the home of bad, unconstitutional forms of racism because, since at least the 1890s, Southern states made racial segregation part of their ratified constitutions and local customs. But places like Delaware that did not encode racism into law became the home of benign forms of racism—de facto racial segregation—which were certainly undesirable, but also not really anyone's fault, at least not directly. De facto racial segregation stemmed from people's personal choices and market forces in housing sales. De jure racial segregation originated in racist laws. The Supreme Court, and later the Congress and the president, declared the latter kind illegal, while the former proved beyond constitutional reproach. In Gadsden's book, "sectional imaginary" proved indispensable in public school activists' work. Proponents of desegregation slowly argued that de facto and de jure differences mattered little because the outcomes—racially segregated and unequal schools—remained the same. Opponents of racial integration used the "sectional imaginary" to argue that their schools did not operate under the "Southern style" of racial segregation, and therefore the government could not force them to racially integrate.

The second and third parts of Gadsden's book cover this ground. After *Brown*, opponents and proponents of desegregation in Delaware argued over the pace of racial integration and how African American teachers and administrators would share power in the newly integrated school systems. A powerful analysis in this book concerns the loss of power that black teachers, administrators, and school board representatives experienced during decades of political squabbles and policy changes over public desegregation. First, activists in favor of racial integration called for desegregation of schools. Then they moved toward "equalization" of power sharing within the school systems (p. 169). Some opponents responded with calls to protect white citizens' interests against federal encroachment. In Delaware, this opposition took the same form as it did in other parts of the South: massive resistance and public protest. The residents of the southern part of this mid-Atlantic state even formed an advocacy group called the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP).

Over time, this tactic waned. Whites simply moved into expanding suburbs and a new phase of school desegregation took shape around the state's metropolitan regions. White opponents no longer opposed encroachment on states' rights, but instead articulated their resistance as an effort to protect citizenship rights of white children from attending schools with black students who scored lower on tests and, they argued, increasingly exhibited disruptive behavior in schools. Desegregation proponents called for metropolitan strategies that used bussing and rezoning to bring racial balance to schools. In the end, Gadsden shows how metropolitan desegregation, when it happened, went one way: the small number of black city students who boarded busses headed to white schools in white suburbs. The black teachers, administrators, and school boards remained segregated in suffering urban schools. Power did not follow the people who participated in limited desegregation efforts, which became evident in the ways people, most notably a young Senator Joe Biden, consistently opposed bussing and weakened bussing plans. "If school desegregation proponents advanced their programs in many tangible ways," Gadsden argues, "opponents of reform were never vanquished" (p. 17). Even when their opposition against federal encroachment or their defense of white rights died, they morphed their attack language, multiplied in number, and kept schools racially segregated. Gadsden's book makes a sophisticated argument about how racism worsened throughout the nation during and after the Civil Rights era, even as it died legally in the South: "Equal protections of the laws drew the line at affirmative action measures (like metropolitan school bussing programs) that promised to subvert more ingrained and persistent structures of racial segregation in modern American culture and further fortified the assumed distinction, rooted in notions of geography and time, between de jure and de facto segregation" (p. 240). Ideologies about section differences and the distinctiveness of "Southern" racism, as well as weaknesses in federal antidiscrimination laws, fueled nationwide attacks against racial integration in schools, housing, and jobs.

"The de jure/de facto dichotomy trapped the black freedom struggle within a discourse of regional difference," Matthew Lassiter argues, "even as civil rights groups repeatedly emphasized the moral equivalence and challenged the constitutional boundaries between 'southern-style' and 'northern-style' segregation."<sup>10</sup> The "sectional imaginary" also affects historians who continue to emphasize the South's distinct, separate, exceptional characteristics. Portions of two books on Southern student activists—James P. Marshall's *Student Activism and Civil Rights in Mississippi* and an anthology edited by Robert Cohen and David Snyder, *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*—contain elements of "Southern exceptionalism." At their best, these books highlight distinct characteristics of regions in the South and force

readers to consider closely the continued historical significance of even very well-known examples such as Mississippi. They also encourage students to investigate unexplored areas of research in Southern history. Some arguments that ring out with tones of "Southern exceptionalism," even when they perform important revisionist work—as happens in several of the essays in the Cohen and Snyder volume—sound overstated and beg for comparison with places outside the South.

*Rebellion in Black and White* contains sixteen essays, including noted historian Dan. T. Carter's fascinating personal reflection on Southern student activism, a thorough and provocative introduction by Robert Cohen, an afterword by 1960s specialist David Farber, a historiography essay by Doug Rossinow, and a powerful essay on the legacies of the student movement by Cleveland Sellers. All these make the book well worth the price of the ticket. The essays break down into four different groups. The first group investigates how Southern student activists turned their ideas, or their conversations and "bull-sessions" about social change, into political action. This section contains essays about SNCC as the organization that birthed the New Left; student activists who pushed against conservative administrators, state legislators, and Red baiting in their pursuit of academic freedom and claimed the right to free assembly on campuses as constitutional rights protected by the First Amendment; the Southern Human Relations Project, an early and moderate forum of interracial dialogue that gave future Southern student activists their first taste of "race relations" activism; and a case study of student moderates who led activists' efforts in South Carolina. The anthology's second section contains three case studies: one on Civil Rights activism in Nashville, one on antiwar activism at the University of Alabama, and one on conservative prosegregationist activism at the University of Georgia. Part three contains perhaps the most innovative essays on the Southern student counterculture, with articles on a local "head shop" in Columbia, South Carolina; sexual liberation politics at the University of North Carolina; and a general overview of government repression of the Southern New Left. The final section contains a fascinating article on the Black Power Movement at North Carolina A&T State University and Cleveland Sellers' informative retrospective reflection on Black Power and student activism in the South.

Aside from Sellers' highlights of themes of Black Power organizing on Southern campuses, one other scholarly essay does not seem to do the Southern student Black Power movement justice. Given the recent attention historians have paid to student-driven Black Power movements, future Southern historians certainly need to develop this area of research more.<sup>11</sup> Overall this collection's weaknesses and strengths derive from its overemphasis of the importance of Southern student activism. On the one hand, the collection forces teachers and scholars who totally ignore Southern campuses in their

portrayals of the 1960s New Left and campus antiwar movements to take seriously the events, cultures, politics, and histories that shaped student activism in the South. One should not teach about the Kent State massacre as a sign of government repression of student activism and violence that shaped life for American college students and ignore completely the massacre that occurred in Orangeburg, South Carolina. But, on the other hand, as a collection, if not in individual essays, in revising the narrative of campus activism to include the South, the anthology overplays Southern campuses' distinctiveness when compared to Northern ones. Cohen argues against "trying to present the southern sixties on campus in northern terms" and calls for historians to "depict it in its own terms" because "we have much to learn from its distinctiveness" (p. 27). The South did not experience the excesses seen on Northern campuses: the Weather Underground, the high-profile confrontations with administrators and police, the heightened forms of identity politics, massive antiwar protests, or widespread drug use. "The Southern campus scene may lead to a more clear-sighted view of the movement's impact on higher education and American society," Cohen argues. "If instead of obliterating the North-South differences we study them closely, they may yield comparative histories that shed new light on the possibilities, limitations, and aftermath of the 1960s Left, North, and South" (p. 27). But he relies on a "sectional imaginary" that equates all Northern campuses with the radicalism of Columbia and Berkeley and that construes all Southern campuses as falling subject to a monolithic Southern conservative culture, "the most conservative region in the US" (p. 28). His essay and the collection as a whole perform much needed revisionist work, but with his adherence to "Southern exceptionalism" Cohen misses a chance to chart a dynamic course for studies of 1960s campus movements that spans regions, connects campuses around the nation, and identifies common characteristics that promoted and constricted student activism nationwide.

James P. Marshall worked for decades on his book on student activism in Mississippi. It began as an undergraduate thesis at Yale and draws from his experiences as a Freedom Summer volunteer in Mississippi, but it remains a scholarly investigation of how the local movement in Mississippi changed over the course of the 1960s. For Marshall, everything that happened in Mississippi in the 1960s revolved around that state's status as a "closed society." If Mississippi possessed a particularly repressive and oppressive society during the 1960s, the amount of scholarship on the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement has certainly opened up the state to widespread investigation and reflection.<sup>12</sup> For Marshall, the state's inherently "closed" nature determined the shape that all student activism took there.

Mississippi's "closed society" pushed the students in SNCC to engage in voter registration because that strategy offered "a confrontation with the white

power structure at the place where its power was symbolically located”—the ballot box (p. 21). Furthermore, the state’s “closed society” had created a frightened, politically disinterested black population, and voting rights’ campaigns could reverse those trends. “A frontal attack had to be made on these symbols of power,” Marshall argues, “in order to break down the Mississippi African American’s fear and apathy” (p. 21). Student activists organized registration campaigns and shifted to “protest politics” and “parallel politics” when the federally sponsored Voter Education Project produced few results. Next they held symbolic “freedom votes,” allied themselves with the National Democratic Party, and then, when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party experienced the national party’s scorn, the movement used student organizing and “created entire networks of parallel institutions . . . that enabled African Americans to join together outside of the framework of white society since they were not allowed to become part of it” (pp. 4–5). Marshall’s book basically argues that when Northerner and SNCC leader “Bob Moses went to Mississippi in 1960 and in 1961 and disappeared into the rural areas, he began the process of bringing the United States to Mississippi African Americans” (p. 202).

Even with its terrible violence, Mississippi did not exist as a world apart from the United States. Mississippi—and the entire South during the Civil Rights era—possessed characteristics and practices that made it part of the nation. As Matthew Lassiter and Joseph Crespino argue:

Focusing on the South’s aberrant qualities compared to the rest of the United States obscures much more than it reveals about the fundamental questions of modern American history. . . . The ideas and metaphors of a distinctive South, and the artificial binaries that set the region’s past in direct opposition to the national version, have structured the myths of American exceptionalism and hindered the ability to describe United States history on its own terms.<sup>13</sup>

The best histories of the South during the Civil Rights era, the ones that best enrich understandings of the nation’s past, recognize the truths in one of Malcolm X’s sayings: “As long as you south of the Canadian Border, you’re South.”<sup>14</sup>

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1. Matthew D. Lassiter and Joseph Crespino, eds., *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism* (2010), v.

2. *Ibid.*, 12.

3. Many thanks to Chris Myers Asch for lively conversation on these questions.

4. Neil R. McMillian, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (1989), 12.

5. Pete Daniel, *Toxic Drift: Pesticides and Health in the Post–World War II South* (2005); *Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s* (2000).

6. See Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (1983); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985); Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (1995); Craig Steven Wilder, *A Covenant with Color: Race and Social Power in Brooklyn* (2000).

7. Michael Katz, Mark J. Stern, and Jamie J. Fader, "The New African American Inequality," *Journal of American History* 92 (June 2005): 75–108.

8. See George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (1998); Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (2003); Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (2007); Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Equality in Twentieth Century America* (2005).

9. See Barbara Jeanne Fields, "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (May/June 1990): 95–118.

10. Matthew D. Lassiter, "De Jure/De Facto Segregation: The Long Shadow of a National Myth," in Lassiter and Crespino, eds., *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, 27.

11. See Stefan Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (2009); Ibram H. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965–1972* (2012); and Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (2012).

12. See John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (1994); Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (1995); Emily Crosby, *A Little Taste of Freedom: The Black Freedom Struggle in Claiborne County, Mississippi* (2005); Akinyele Umoja, *We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement* (2013).

13. Lassiter and Crespino, eds., *The Myth of Southern Exceptionalism*, 12, 14.

14. This quote comes from Malcolm X's speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet." A transcript of this speech is in Catherine Ellis and Stephen Drury Smith, *Say it Loud: Great Speeches on Civil Rights and African American Identity* (2010), 12.