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Centenary College of Brandon Springs: Mississippi's First School of Medicine

By Ralph Didlake, Sarah Hunter Didlake, and Jennifer Rogers

Medical education in Mississippi, much like higher education in general, has a rich narrative that reflects the many complex social, cultural, political, and economic forces that have shaped the state over its more than two-hundred-year history. Prior accounts of formal medical education in Mississippi have focused on the proprietary schools of the early twentieth century such as the Meridian Medical College,[1] the University of Mississippi's two-year medical program established at Oxford in 1913,[2] and its four-year successor, the University of Mississippi Medical Center, which began in Jackson in 1955.[3] None has yet addressed the osteopathic medical school at William Carey University in Hattiesburg, which was established in 2008.[4] Although these institutions, which represent the dominant efforts to train physicians in Mississippi, were the forerunners of the graduate and post-graduate specialty training programs that exist in Mississippi today, none of these schools were the first to offer a formal medical curriculum to students matriculating in the state.

Centenary College, today a four-year liberal arts institution located in Shreveport, Louisiana, has historical roots extending to mid-nineteenth century Mississippi. Founded to commemorate the centennial celebration of the Wesleyan movement, Centenary was originally

[1] Ben Kitchens, *The Mississippi Medical College* (Meridian, MS: B. Kitchens, 1967).

[2] Lucie Robertson Bridgforth, *Medical Education in Mississippi: A History of the School of Medicine* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Alumni Association, 1984).

[3] Janis Quinn, *Promises Kept: The University of Mississippi Medical Center* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005). Zeb Vance Baucum, "Medical Education in Mississippi: Part I of III," *Journal of the Mississippi State Medical Association* (1961):15. (Parts II and III appear in the February and March, 1961 issues of the *Journal of the Mississippi State Medical Association* respectively).

[4] "The History of William Carey." William Carey University, https://www.wmcarey.edu/page/history-william-carey-university, accessed August 15, 2018.

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established by the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Brandon Springs, Mississippi, where it enrolled students from 1841 to 1844. At this location, Centenary offered six courses of study including a bachelor of medicine degree that represented the first formal medical education offered within the state.[5] Centenary College was the first institution in Mississippi to enroll students of medicine, to provide a structured medical curriculum, graduate students with a medical degree, and provide doctors for Mississippi communities.

Centenary College operated at the Brandon Springs location only four years before it merged with the struggling College of Louisiana to form Centenary College of Louisiana. Given this short tenure, it would be easy to relegate the concept and existence of the Brandon Springs institution to the status of a historical curiosity, a failed experiment, or the result of poor planning. Further, the significance of the college within the educational history of the state could easily be viewed as unimportant, even ephemeral. However, when the extant records of this institution are examined and placed into a multidimensional context, a different understanding emerges. The founding of Centenary College in Brandon Springs was an accurate reflection of the social, economic, and cultural forces shaping American education in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even if one accepts this claim however, the existence of a medical curriculum at this college, at this time, and in this location, seems to be curious at best if not impossibly anomalous. Indeed, Centenary College historian, Lee Morgan, found it necessary to include an exclamation mark when referring to this medical program as a ". . . touching blend of noble dreams and academic naiveté!"[6] Even more skeptical was William Hamilton Nelson, whose enthusiastic and charming 1931 history of Centenary draws an allusion to the self-important pretension of the Gilbert and Sullivan comic opera Pinafore when referencing the Centenary medical faculty.[7] However, when the Centenary College School of Medicine is examined within a complete contextual framework, it too is revealed to be not only a logical product of the many forces at play in antebellum Mississippi during the decade

[5] *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Centenary College Rankin Co, Mississippi 1842-43* (Jackson: The Centenary College, 1842).

[6] Lee Morgan, *Centenary College 1825–2000: The Biography of an American Academy* (Shreveport: Centenary College of Louisiana Press, 2008), 22.

[7] William Hamilton Nelson, *A Burning Torch and a Flaming Fire: The Story of Centenary College of Louisiana* (Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1931), 63–64.

of the 1840s but also an accurate reflection of mainstream trends in American medicine. Although a direct line cannot be drawn from Centenary College to present day medical training programs, the forces that shaped the environment in which the college and the college's school of medicine were conceived, established, and operated were neither anomalous nor specific to Centenary. Rather they were the same forces shaping education in general, the practice of medicine, and the training of doctors in the state, the region, and the nation.

The claim that Centenary College and its school of medicine are not quaint, irrelevant relics finds a stable foundation only when multiple contextual features of the time and place in which the institution was founded are understood. The contextual domains in which the founding must be considered to support this claim include the nature of higher education in the early nineteenth century, the interface of higher education and shifting social norms of the period, and the evolution of American medicine from trade to profession. Each of these domains has national features as well as characteristics specific to the antebellum South and to the state of Mississippi in particular. Each of these must be probed in order to fully illuminate the landscape in which Centenary College and its medical school were born in rural Rankin County, Mississippi. The national educational trends of the period, established and evolving socio-cultural norms of the antebellum South, as well as national and regional shifts of medical practice and medical science inform the case that the medical curriculum and education offered to Mississippi students at Centenary in the early 1840s was not anomalous, nor naive, nor irrelevant.

Centenary College of Mississippi was established in a time period that educational historian Frederick Rudolph referred to as the "college movement" in America during which institutions of higher education propagated rapidly in all regions of the country.[8] He pointed out that this proliferation aligned precisely with the spirit of the times noting:

> [C]ollege founding in the nineteenth century was undertaken in the same spirit as canal-building, cotton-ginning, farming, and gold-mining. In none of these activities did completely rational procedures prevail. All were touched by the American

[8] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 44.

> faith in tomorrow, in the unquestionable capacity of Americans to achieve a better world. In the founding of colleges, reason could not combat the romantic belief in endless progress.[9]

Indeed, philosopher and educator Henry P. Tappan, who would later become the first president of the University of Michigan, echoed this sentiment and observed that American communities in this time ". . . multiplied colleges so as to place them at everyman's door."[10] In a more quantitative analysis of higher education of this period, Donald Tewksbury tabulated 232 colleges that were established from the colonial era to the start of the Civil War. Of these, 199 (86 percent) were founded in the classically defined antebellum period (1812–1861) and of that number, 172 (74 percent) began between 1830 and 1861.[11] This period included the founding of Centenary in Brandon Springs, lending support to the view that, at least from a temporal perspective, the college was not an outlier but rather part of a well-established national trend related to the founding of new institutions of higher education.

Multiple factors contributed to the increase in the number of colleges in early nineteenth century America. Among these are the democratization of education that was an outgrowth of the Jacksonian era and the populist doctrine that social goods, including education, should be within reach of the common man. John Brubacher noted that such egalitarian ideals not only enlarged the number of colleges but also influenced their character stating that ". . . democratization of the aim and content of liberal education was the natural outgrowth of encouraging ever larger numbers of American youth to attend higher institutions of learning." Further, he observed that the application of Jacksonian principles was not necessarily a positive influence, writing that the growth of the college ranks had ". . . increased the numbers but adulterated their average quality."[12]

Another important factor of college growth during this period that was also a central feature of Centenary is that the college was founded as a denominational institution. "Denominationalism" was a primary

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[9] Rudolph, *The American College and University,* 48-49.

[10] Henry P. Tappan, *University Education* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1851), 64.

[11] Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1965), 16.

[12] John S. Brubacher, and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636–1976.* Fourth ed. (New York: Routledge, 2017), 300.

driver of college growth in this era. In 1855, while a member of the University of Mississippi faculty, F. A. P. Barnard observed that

> [N]early all of our colleges are, furthermore, the creations of the different religious denominations which divide our people. They are regarded as important instrumentalities, through which the peculiarities of doctrine which distinguish their founders are to be maintained, propagated, or defended. It is this which has led to the great multiplication of collegiate institutions in our country, and which is daily adding to their number.[13]

Earlier in the century, the legal right of denominations, churches, and other private entities to establish colleges with state-granted charters but without state control or governance was confirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Dartmouth v. Woodard*[14] and further supported by the *laissez-faire* attitude of the general public toward religious groups and social movements of the time. This freedom coupled with the denominational diversity of the American population led to what Brubacher referred to as "educational localism" further fueling the growth of local colleges.

The founding of Centenary College was positioned squarely within the mainstream of the denominational movement. Discussions within the Mississippi Methodist conference regarding the establishment of a college are documented as early as 1832. That year, at its annual conference in Vicksburg, a committee was appointed to consider the issue. The conference proceedings record: "[T]he time had come to establish a male school of high grade within our own territory."[15] Even before 1832, the Mississippi Methodist community was deeply engaged in educational efforts across the country, by establishing Elizabeth Female Academy in Adams County near Washington, as well as making contributions to Wesleyan Academy in Massachusetts, Augusta College in Kentucky, Lagrange Female Academy in Georgia, and Holly Springs Female In-

[13] F. A. P Barnard, "On Improvements Practicable in America Colleges," *American Journal of Education and College Review*, 1 (1856), 176.

[14] *Dartmouth v. Woodard*, 17 U.S. 518 (1819).

[15] John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1908), 287.

stitute in north Mississippi. The longstanding enthusiasm of the conference for education was in part driven by a desire for a more literate clergy. More broadly, liberal education aligned with the philosophy of Methodism's founder John Wesley, who made education a core value of the Methodist movement. Biographer John Body, wrote, "Wesley may be regarded as the true successor to Erasmus by providing great provincial universities in this day, spreading knowledge and culture throughout the land, breaking down the barriers of privilege and creed, and making learning accessible to all."[16] Although Body's assessment leans toward hyperbole, it is clear that Wesley was a strong proponent of education both for theological ends and as a component of social reform. It is also clear that American and southern Methodism upheld these values.

The timing of Centenary's founding had an additional feature specific to the Methodist denomination. The Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South had planned to celebrate the centennial of Methodism in 1840, one hundred years after Wesley's Aldersgate conversion experience. Plans to memorialize this event are recorded in the minutes of the annual meeting of the Mississippi Conference dated August 7, 1839. To finance the memorial activities, church leadership proposed a system of pledges based on subscriptions. The various allocations of the anticipated collections included ". . . seven-tenths for the establishment of a college to be under the direction of the Mississippi Conference, to be located as near the center of the conference as practicable."[17] Thus, the founding of a college was a principal element of memorializing the centenary of Methodism—therein resides the origin of the new college's name.

It must be noted here that enthusiasm for denominational colleges was not universal. The Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South successfully petitioned the Mississippi legislature during the 1841-42 session to grant a charter to its new school. Although passed by both houses, Governor Tilghman Tucker vetoed the bill believing a charter for a denominational school was a troubling conflation of church and state. In a message explaining his decision, Tucker describes apprehension about ". . . giving by law, a preference to a religious corporation or in other words to a corporation controlled by a religious sect." [18] Although his explanation was based on a carefully

[16] Alfred H. Body, *John Wesley and Education* (London: The Epworth Press, 1936), 142.

[17] Stephen Tomkins, *John Wesley: A Biography* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), 56.

[18] T. M. Tucker, "Veto Message," *The Southern*, February 25, 1842.

crafted constitutional argument, it also included an explicit but more personal assertion about religious influence in governmental affairs: "[T]he influence of such sects of religionists, and such subjects, and the prejudice or bias in their favor, have too frequently influenced the actions of men, not for the best of purposes . . ." The public outcry over the veto was later characterized by Edward Mayes as "a profound sensation throughout the state."[19] In response to the public criticism, Centenary president Dr. T. C. Thornton was compelled to address the veto in an open letter published in local newspapers in which he minimized any negative impact of the governor's action on the standing of Centenary; ". . . I have ever said that our charter is in the education we give, in the discipline, order, and system in our school and the progress and good conduct of our students"[20] A second bill introduced to grant a charter to Centenary, not to the Methodist Conference but rather to members of the college's board of trustees as private citizens, was passed by the Mississippi legislature in July of 1843 and ultimately signed into law by Governor Tucker.[21] This second charter for Centenary College also specifically authorized schools of law and medicine.

A third factor that fueled the "college movement" was America's rapid westward expansion. By the year 1840, almost seven million people lived west of the Appalachian Mountains. This number represented forty-one percent of the total U.S. population and a dramatic increase from only two million or twenty-five percent just twenty years earlier.[22] This population shift created great demand for institutions of higher learning as new communities were established and grew behind the advancing frontier. Mississippi was directly in the path of this expansion as the former Indian territories opened for settlement, as both settlers and plantation owners sought new land for the cultivation of cotton and other crops, and as the relatively young state brought stable governance, investment in roads and bridges, and opportunities for expanded commerce into the region. The U.S. Census of this period indicates that the non-slave population of Mississippi increased from just 7,600 in 1800 to

[19] Edward Mayes, *History of Education in Mississippi* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), 112.

[20] T.C. Thornton, in Mayes *History of Education in Mississippi*, 112.

[21] An Act to Incorporate the Centenary College, in the County of Rankin. *Laws of the State of Mississippi* (Jackson: C. M. Price & G. R. Sall, State Printer, 1843) 67-69.

[22] Steven Manson, Jonathan Shroeder, David Van Riper, and Steven Ruggles, IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 12.0 [Database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. 2017. http://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V12.0.

over 375,000 by 1840.[23] As in other regions, efforts to establish colleges followed these population movements and the development of associated infrastructure. In fact, an early twentieth century analysis of the distribution of historic college growth pointed out that its pattern closely matched that of railroad construction. "There is a 'railway belt' extending approximately from east to west across the center of the United States and the same area has been called 'the college student belt."[24]

The relationship between railroad construction and location was also a factor in Centenary's development. Before the school opened its doors for student admission in Brandon Springs, serious competition had taken place among Clinton, Sharon, and Raymond as possible locations for the college. As described by Methodist historian John G. Jones, the Methodist leadership including Rev. William Winans, one of the most prominent and respected voices within the conference, conducted vigorous discussions regarding where to establish the institution. Access to rail transportation was a central component of these arguments.[25] The proposed Brandon Springs location benefited from a rail line from the Jackson & Brandon Railroad & Bridge Company, chartered in 1836, to run east from the growing city of Jackson to Brandon. Although extant records are unclear regarding when segments of this line were opened for travel to the Brandon Springs area, a Mississippi map dated 1842 (Figure 1) indicates a railroad from Jackson to Brandon and shows the location of Centenary College just to the northeast of the city of Brandon

[23] United States Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1949. *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945.*

[24] Robert L. Kelly, "The Preliminary Report of the Association Commission on the Distribution of Colleges," *Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges*, 7 (1921): 21.

[25] John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.* Rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Book Store, 1966), 446-449.

Figure 1. 1842 Mississippi map indicating railway from Jackson to Brandon.

where the line terminated.[26] The hope that the rail line would come through the area was part of the optimism of westward expansion in the American South at the time and was probably enough to solidify Brandon Springs as the location for Centenary. Locating Centenary College at Brandon Springs, however, would ultimately serve to the institution's detriment and contribute to its demise.

A final factor to consider as a driving force of college proliferation in the antebellum South is the development of a middle class within the evolving social structure. This stratum, which emerged as part of early southern industrialization and urbanization, had political interests, social priorities, and normative values that, although distinctly southern, were often at odds with both poorer whites and the politically more powerful elite planter class. Describing this increasingly well-defined and influential class of southerners in the pre-war period, Jonathan Daniel Wells noted how by the 1850s a commercial and professional class was well formed. The shared values, aspirations, and ideals of this growing middle class not only created pressure on established social norms but also created demands for infrastructure, services, and institutions through which the interests of this class could be expressed. Wells's analysis indicates clearly that in the years leading up to the Civil War, this group was setting the stage for cultural and social change.

[26] Sydney Morse, and Samuel Breese, "Mississippi," Map. In Morse's *North American Atlas* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1842).

He noted:

> the hunger for internal improvements like railroads and banks, the need for more numerous and more elaborate manufacturing enterprises and more sophisticated cities, and the desire for cultural advances, such as libraries, lyceums, and public schools, became the building blocks for the ideological and political agenda of the southern middle class.[27]

Within this social group were growing numbers of merchants, bankers, lawyers, teachers, and physicians who understood higher education as a means of upward social mobility and wanted educational opportunities that would allow their children to join the growing class of merchants and professionals in the South. In contrast to the very wealthy who could afford private tutors or to send their sons, and in far fewer cases their daughters, to colleges and universities in the North or abroad, many middle class southerners saw local colleges as the way to retain or advance the social status of their families.

Additional insight into the educational interests of the ascendant southern middle class may be gleaned from the Centenary curriculum itself. The fact that the programs of study included law and medicine in addition to classical studies of Greek, Latin, history, and mathematics suggests an explicit effort to prepare students for participation in the growing and diversifying professional sector of the southern economy. As a local college, Centenary also afforded the advantage of maintaining a southern worldview. *The Mississippi Free Trader* expressed this value in an article extolling the educational facilities and virtues of the new college. "With all these advantages, this institution offers inducements to patronage, unsurpassed by any college in the Union. Those who wish to encourage our own institutions, under direction and control of southern men, should patronize this."[28] It is evident that although the establishment of Centenary College reflected national trends, the opportunity for higher education to support regional values and socio-cultural ends was recognized by the public.

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[27] Jonathan Daniel Wells, *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class: 1800-1861* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 67.

[28] *The Mississippi Free Trader*, November 13, 1841.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, opportunities for Mississippians to access higher education within the state were limited. In the period between the initial 1832 discussions of Centenary's founding and the merger and relocation of the college in 1845, the only other institutions available for higher education in Mississippi were Mississippi College in Clinton, which began as Hampstead Academy in 1826, and Sharon College in Madison County which opened in 1838. The University of Mississippi would not be chartered and opened for enrollment until 1848. Interestingly higher education opportunities for young women at this time were more plentiful with female academies operating at Oxford,[29] Port Gibson,[30] Holly Springs,[31] and Washington.[32]

At the time Centenary College was establishing its School of Medicine, American medical practice was an unorganized environment of competing medical theories, unregulated practitioners, and inconsistent minimally effective treatments. Registration, licensure, and other forms of state oversight were essentially nonexistent. Although some meaningful advances in medical science were made during the first half of the nineteenth century, including the discovery of anesthesia, the introduction of the stethoscope for diagnosis, and the first successful blood transfusion, the profession as a whole was still far from a cohesive evidence-based discipline and even a full fifty years from broad acceptance of the germ theory of disease.[33] Adding to the disarray of American medicine were competing schools of thought including homeopathy, Thomsonian medicine, naturopathy, botanical practitioners, and the orthodox or allopathic physicians often referred to as "the regulars."[34] Each of these approaches to diagnosis and treatment had strong proponents creating sects that vied for authority both among physicians and within the communities they served. The authority, which each group sought, was not only about the validity of diagnosis and treatment but also about the position of doctors in society. Paul Root Wolpe in his assessment of the medical sects of this period through the lens of professional ethics

[29] Mayes, *History of Education in Mississippi*, 93.

[30] Ibid., 96.

[31] Ibid., 46.

[32] Ibid., 38.

[33] Nancy J. Tomes, "American Attitudes toward the Germ Theory of Disease: Phyllis Allen Richmond Revisited," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 52, January 1997.

[34] W. G. Rothstein, *American Physicians of the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

and social status observed:

> [T]here was simply no true orthodoxy to be an alternative to in the early to mid-nineteenth century. The reason we think of homeopathy, eclecticism, Thomsonianism, and the rest as alternatives is because the regulars won the battle for professional dominance; and it is the winners who write the history of the losers. Instead of orthodox and alternative medicine, the early nineteenth century is characterized by a stratified and diverse healthcare market in which different healthcare philosophies were competing. Within that field each group considered itself the legitimate representative of the future of medicine and others as pretenders.[35]

The efforts of these various sects to establish authority were part of a larger social transition of medicine from trade to profession wherein social and cultural standing of physicians was being established as well as validity regarding diagnosis and treatment. In this complex environment, the evolution of medical practice in pre-Civil War America toward a unified authority was, at best, slow and difficult. As noted by Paul Starr, the attainment of medical authority met numerous obstacles including perceived competence, the absence of public trust, and ". . . general resistance to privileged monopolies in the society at large."[36] Although incremental progress would be made in this regard later in the nineteenth century, substantive change toward a more cohesive and unified medical profession would not begin until the early twentieth century. Two important foundations of the evolution to come were the formation of the American Medical Association in 1847 and the gradual incorporation of advancements in medical science into medical practice.

Further complicating the effort to establish medical authority within the antebellum South was the political milieu of increasingly strident southern sectionalism and a vigorous argument in favor of a "southern medicine." This argument, however, was not merely regionalism, politi-

[35] Paul Root Wolpe, "Alternative Medicine and the AMA," in *The American Medical Ethics Revolution: How the AMA's Code of Ethics Has Transformed Physicians' Relationships to Patients, Professionals and Society*, ed. Robert B. Baker, et. al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 220-221.

[36] Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 17.

cal rhetoric, or perceived cultural differences between North and South. Rather, it was grounded in various medical theories that asserted certain diseases and their causes were unique characteristics of the southern climate or the result of physiological differences between northern and southern individuals. Such assertions inevitably led to differences in treatments. In practice, southern medical distinctiveness was actualized as differences in drug doses or variations in the use of treatments such as bloodletting or purging. For example, the liver of the southerner was thought to be less responsive to medications used to stimulate its function. In order to "arouse torpid southern livers" large doses of drugs like calomel were given for many diseases in far larger doses than those administered to patients in the North.[37] Although within medical circles this movement was framed in the diagnostic and treatment needs of southern patients, as Warner points out, "[T]here were also powerful social, political, and economic incentives for fashioning a distinctive southern medicine with its own educational institution."[38]

The notion that a specific form of medical practice was required for the southern region was secondarily supported by rising southern sectionalism and further expressed as support for a distinctive medical education for southern physicians. The movement toward the definition of a 'southern medicine" was also reinforced by the emergence of medical journals produced in the region. *The Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, published in Augusta, Georgia, first appeared in 1836. In its inaugural edition, the editor introduced the purposes of the journal, which included recognition of a distinctive southern pathophysiology and practice stating:

> . . . the profession at the South have long regarded and anticipated, as a most desirable object, the establishment of a Journal that should collect and preserve the valuable discoveries and improvements of Southern practitioners relative to the nature and treatment of diseases incident to Southern climates . . .[39]

The editor, Dr. Milton Antony, goes further in his introduction

[37] John Harley Warner, "The Idea of Southern Medical Distinctiveness: Medical Knowledge and Practice in the Old South" in *Science and Medicine in the Old South,* eds Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 182.

[38] Warner, "The Idea of Southern Medical Distinctiveness," 206.

[39] Editor, "Introduction," *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal,* no. 1 (1836), 2.

speaking more directly to the marginalization and isolation of doctors practicing in the South lamenting that the southern medical experience was not being communicated through available professional publications. The new journal was intended to correct this "evil" and to provide ". . . that Southern physicians should no longer want an appropriate vehicle of communicating to each other and to the world the valuable results of their observation, practice and reflection . . ."

In the first half of the nineteenth century, reformers of American medicine, both North and South, held strongly that any improvement or standardization of medical practice must be achieved through improvement and standardization of medical education. However, medical education in this period was fragmented to the same extent as medical practice. The practitioners produced at the time were a mixture of the more or less formally educated and those relying solely on apprenticeships served with paid or voluntary physician preceptors. Dr. Daniel Drake, an ardent supporter of medical reform, gave a rather dismal view of those entering medical practice at the time. In an 1832 essay on medical education, he observed that the profession was ". . . filled with recruits, deficient either in abilities or acquirements—too often both—who thus doom it to a mediocrity, incompatible with both its nature and objects." Drake further suggested that neither parents nor established physicians were selecting candidates for medical training who had adequate intellect or the proper constitution but rather those ". . . too stupid for the Bar and too immoral for the Pulpit."[40] The more highly-regarded medical schools of the day included Jefferson Medical College, the University of Virginia, and the University of Pennsylvania. These institutions represented the mainstream allopathic school of medical thought and their structure and curricula and were largely based on the well-established teaching institutions of Europe—principally in France and Germany.[41]

In response to this state of affairs, state and local medical associations as well as the more established and forward-thinking medical schools proposed numerous improvements for physician training

[40] Daniel Drake, *Practical Essays on Medical Education and the Medical Profession in the United States* (Cincinnati: Roff & Young, 1832), 1-6.

[41] John Harley Warren*, Against the Spirit of System: The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century American Medicine* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004); T. N. Bonner, *American Doctors and German Universities: A Chapter in International Intellectual Relations, 1870-1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

including requirements for minimum student age, strengthening faculty, educational requirements for admission to medical training and minimum requirements for graduation. The collective aims of medical leaders regarding reform of education are represented in the report of a May 1847 meeting of 250 state medical societies (including Mississippi) that was held in Philadelphia in May 1847.[42] The recommendations of this report were the nation's first substantive efforts toward consistency in medical education and set in motion discussions that would lead to the formation of the American Medical Association.[43]

The Centenary College School of Medicine was representative of the national aims of medical education reform and was well within the emerging mainstream of thought in the establishment of a degree-based medical training program housed within an academic institution. Growth in the number of medical schools generally paralleled the growth of colleges. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, four medical schools existed in America. Each of these began at already established institutions—the University of Pennsylvania's medical school started in 1765, King's College Medical Department (now Columbia) was established in 1767, Harvard's medical school was founded in 1782, and Dartmouth's in 1797. Through 1840, only six additional medical schools were founded—forty-seven were added from 1840 through 1876.[44]

In the antebellum Deep South, students who wished to study medicine at a formal school rather than serve apprenticeships had limited opportunities. Prior to the start of the Civil War, Alabama had two medical schools, both of which were founded after the establishment of Centenary. The first was the Graefenburg Institute in Dadesville, Alabama, chartered in 1852. This private venture closed in 1862.[45] Subsequently, the Medical College of Alabama was founded in 1859 by Dr. Josiah Nott in Mobile.[46] The Memphis Medical College was established in 1846 as a private entity of the Memphis medical community that

[42] Proceedings of the National Medical Conventions, Held in New York, May 1846, and in Philadelphia, May 1847 (Philadelphia: American Medical Association, 1847).

[43] Morris Fishbein, *A History of the American Medical Association* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1947), 27-29.

[44] Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, and Students of the University of Pennsylvania. Session 1845-46. University of Pennsylvania.

[45] Roy H. Turner, *Graefenberg, the Shepard Family's Medical School* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1933).

[46] C. B. Rodning, "Medical College of Alabama in Mobile, 1859-1920: A Legacy of Dr. Josiah Clark Nott" *Southern Medical Journal*, 82, no. 1 (1989): 53-63.

operated intermittently until the beginning of the war after which it ceased to exist. Tennessee established its second medical school in 1850 as a department of the University of Nashville. This program evolved into what is today the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine.[47] Closer to home, Mississippi students could attend the Medical College of Louisiana in New Orleans that began lectures in 1834 and used the well-established Charity Hospital for clinical instruction. This school was granted a charter the following year.[48] A second Louisiana school, the New Orleans School of Medicine, was opened in 1856.[49] A clear legacy for the Centenary medical program, in addition to its primacy within Mississippi, this school served a large geographic area including northern Louisiana, central Alabama, and Tennessee when no other school of medicine existed. Mississippi itself would not see other medical schools established until 1882 when Kirk's Clinical Institute of Medicine and Surgery was chartered in Meridian and the Mississippi Medical College, also in Meridian, was established in 1906.[50]

The founding of a medical school at Centenary aligns well with other actions taken on behalf of health and health care in antebellum Mississippi. Even as a young state, Mississippi made significant investments in this regard. In 1818, its first full year of statehood, the general assembly (it became known as the legislature with the Constitution of 1832) enacted legislation to provide housing and care for the indigent and to authorize county governments to maintain stocks of medicine "for the benefit of the poor." Formal credentialing, as a mechanism to regulate the practice of medicine in the state of Mississippi began in 1819 with legislation to establish a Board of Medical Censors "to grant licenses to practice medicine and surgery to applicants, therefore, upon satisfactory evidence of qualification . . ."[51] Mississippi was well ahead of most other states in the regulation of medical practice. Further, the

[47] Otis S. Warr, "The History of Medical Education in Tennessee," *The Centennial History of the Tennessee State Medical Association, 1830-1930.*

[48] A.E. Fossier, "History of Medical Education in New Orleans: From Its Birth to the Civil War," *Annals of Medical History*, 6 (1934): 320.

[49] John Duffy, *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana,* Vol 2, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), 260.

[50] Lucius M. Lampton and Karen A. Evers, *Images in Mississippi Medicine: A Photographic History of Medicine in Mississippi* (Jackson: Mississippi State Medical Association, 2018), 24.

[51] George Poindexter, ed., *The Revised Code of the Laws of Mississippi in Which Comprised All Such Acts of the General Assembly of a Nature as Were in Force at the End of the Year 1823 with a general index* (Natchez: Francis Baker, 1824), 416.

general assembly in 1820 established penalties for practicing without state authorization. Hospital facilities were supported by the state through the 1846 purchase and operation of the federal marine hospital in Natchez, as well as by the repair of the Vicksburg Hospital after it was damaged by fire. It is interesting in light of twenty-first century discussions of health care access and immigration policy that the last line of the act appropriating funds for the Vicksburg facility provides universal access to care, citizen or not, reading, "The institution shall always be open for the reception of all and every afflicted human being, not only of the United States of America, but of the whole world."[52] This viewpoint, although somewhat Utopian, does indicate the value that the legislature placed on health infrastructure. Additional efforts in support of medical care and health policy between 1820 and 1848 included an act to prevent the practice of empiricism[53] in the state, legislation to prevent the importation of smallpox and other contagious diseases, creation of a vaccine depot, establishment of schools for the deaf and blind, and the establishment of the Mississippi State Lunatic Asylum in Jackson.[54]

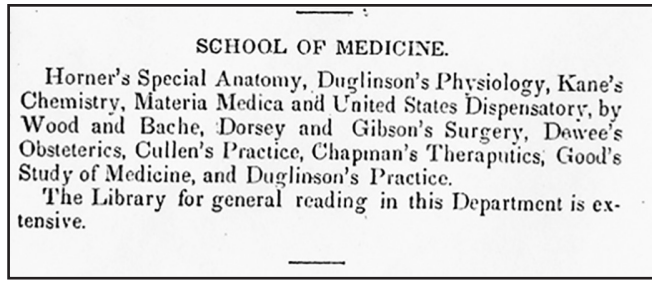
Another way to contextualize Centenary's medical program is by close examination of the eleven textbooks and references that framed its curriculum. Such an examination provides a means to position the curricular content of the school within American medical reform efforts and within the profession's struggle to establish technical and cultural authority. This analysis also allows comparison of Centenary's program of study to contemporary medical curricula at more established institutions. A list of the texts appears in the Centenary Catalogue for the 1842-43 session (Figure 2). These books constitute a body of medical knowledge that is distinctly allopathic (modern) and parallels the diagnostic and therapeutic principles that would, as the century progressed, emerge as orthodoxy. There is no indication that homeopathy, eclecticism, or other competing treatment philosophies were taught at Centenary. The listed texts also suggest a curriculum that is strikingly modern in that it encompassed basic medical science subjects, such as

[51] George Poindexter, ed., *The Revised Code of the Laws of Mississippi in Which Comprised All Such Acts of the General Assembly of a Nature as Were in Force at the End of the Year 1823 with a general index* (Natchez: Francis Baker, 1824), 416.

[52] A. Hutchinson, *Code of Mississippi* (Jackson: Price and Fall, 1848), 305.

[53] Empiricism in this context refers to the practice of medicine without regard to scientific theory and based solely on practical experience. By the mid-nineteenth century, this method of practice was considered a form of quackery.

[54] Hutchinson, 1848, 281-307.



SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

Horner's Special Anatomy, Duglinson's Physiology, Kane's Chemistry, Materia Medica and United States Dispensatory, by Wood and Bache, Dorsey and Gibson's Surgery, Dewee's Obsteterics, Cullen's Practice, Chapman's Theraputics, Good's Study of Medicine, and Duglinson's Practice.

The Library for general reading in this Department is extensive.

Figure 2. Excerpt from 1842-43 Centenary College Catalogue showing course of study for the school of medicine.

anatomy and physiology, and complemented them with applied medical practice topics and specialty subjects.

The first three entries were the foundational medical texts of the period. *Horner's Special Anatomy and Histology*,[55] first published in 1826, was in its sixth edition as Centenary opened and would remain a mainstay in American medical education for the following three decades. Dunglison's physiology, was held in similar esteem among students of medicine and their instructors. Although spelled incorrectly in the Centenary catalogue, Dunglison's *Human Physiology* was the premier medical physiology reference in America from the first edition released in 1832 to well beyond its eighth edition in 1856. "Kane's Chemistry" refers to *Elements of Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical: Including the Most Recent Discoveries and Applications of the Science to Medicine and Pharmacy, to Agriculture, and to Manufactures.* First published in Dublin, Ireland, by Sir Robert Kane in 1841, this work was immediately popular in both Britain and America as a core textbook of applied chemistry. In 1842 John William Draper, who would later become the first president of the American Chemical Society, produced an American edition of Kane's text, which would have been the version available to students at Centenary.[56] These three texts represent a then state-of-the-art curriculum in the basic sciences and a solid foundation for the study of medicine.

Materia Medica, as referenced in the Centenary curriculum, is a broad term for the systematic study of drugs, medications, and other

[55] William Horner, *Special Anatomy and Histology* 6th ed. (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1843).

[56] Robert Kane, *Elements of Chemistry Including the Most Recent Discoveries and Application of the Science to Medicine and Pharmacy, and to the Arts*. American Edition, John William Draper ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1842).

therapeutic materials used in the treatment of patients. Today, this body of knowledge resides within the field of pharmacology. In the early nineteenth century, little existed in the way of standardized drug preparations making the response of an individual patient to a particular prescription often unpredictable. In 1820 an effort to correct this problem was made by a small group of physicians through the publication of the *United States Pharmacopoeia* as a reference for drug standards.[57] George B. Wood, a physician serving as Chair of *Materia Medica* at the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Franklin Bache, a physician and medicinal chemist, determined the *Pharmacopoeia* alone to be inadequate for teaching or practice because it did not include tests to confirm the content, purity, or strength of compounds. It also did not provide descriptions of crude drug preparations or the botanical materials from which they are derived. To correct these deficiencies, Wood and Bache co-authored *The Dispensatory of the United States of America* in1833.[58] The importance of including this particular reference text in the Centenary curriculum is that it served as an appropriate source of information for physicians who might function both as medical practitioners and apothecaries. This was especially important for those who were going to practice in more rural areas and would be preparing their own medications.

The listing of *Dorsey and Gibson's Surgery* in the Centenary Catalogue refers to two prominent, in fact seminal, surgical textbooks of the period and emphasizes Centenary's connection to the University of Pennsylvania faculty and curriculum. John Syng Dorsey, was a rising star in American surgery who graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, studied in the great surgical clinics of Europe, and returned to join the faculty at Pennsylvania. In 1813, he published *Elements of Surgery: For the Use of Students,*[59] which was the first comprehensive textbook of surgery written and published in America.

The second surgical text in the Centenary curriculum was the monograph of William Gibson titled *The Institutes and Practice of Surgery:*

[57] *The Pharmacopoeia of the United State of America, 1820* (Boston: Charles Ewer, 1820).

[58] George B. Wood and Franklin Bache, *The Dispensatory of the United State of America* (Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot, 1833).

[59] John Syng Dorsey, *Elements of Surgery: For the Use of Students* (Philadelphia: Edward Parker, 1813).

Being the Outlines of a Course of Lectures.[60] Gibson, an American who matriculated in medicine at Edinburgh, returned to assume the chair of surgery at the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1819, a position he held until 1855. His textbook, first published in 1824, was a foundational resource for students and practicing surgeons well into the post-war period. For any medical training program of the Centenary era, it would have been the single best American surgical reference available.

"Dewee's (sic) Obstetrics" is the next listing in the syllabus and references William Potts Dewees's *A Compendious System of Midwifery*, first published in 1824.[61] At this time in nineteenth-century America, the vast majority of deliveries were attended by midwives or in fewer instances, an accoucheur or male midwife.[62] Physician-attended labors and deliveries were still unusual and many medical schools of this period did not teach obstetrics at all. William G. Rothstein, in his review of nineteenth century medical school curricula, observed that, "[B]cause social values of the period precluded student attendance at obstetrical deliveries, most medical students became physicians without ever witnessing the birth of a child."[63] It was Dewees, while on the University of Pennsylvania faculty, who brought obstetrics forward as a defined and legitimate specialty and who became the first medical educator to develop a full course of lectures on the subject. Dewees's textbook went through twelve editions and played a central role in moving the practice of obstetrics into the mainstream of American medicine and ". . . laying the foundation for scientific midwifery in the United States."[64] The inclusion of obstetrics in the Centenary plan of study is further evidence of the school's commitment to a progressive medical curriculum.

The final four texts listed in the Centenary catalogue focus on general medicine and therapeutics. Today, this body of knowledge would be encompassed within the discipline of internal medicine. The first of these, described as "Cullen's Practice," is properly *First Lines of Practice of Physic* by William Cullen of Edinburgh, Scotland, one of the most

[60] William Gibson, *The Institutes and Practice of Surgery: Being the Outlines of a Course of Lectures* (Philadelphia: Edward Parker, 1824).

[61] William P. Dewees, A *Compendious System of Midwifery Chiefly Designed to Facilitate the Inquiries of Those Who May Be Pursuing This Branch of Study* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1824).

[62] Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Child-Bearing in America, 1750-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[63] Rothstein, *American Physicians of the Nineteenth Century*, 92.

[64] John S. Haller, *American Medicine in Transition: 1840-1910* (Urbana; University of Illinois Press, 1981), 53.

prominent physicians in the United Kingdom. This monograph had deep provenance as a medical text having first appeared in 1777 and was published in numerous subsequent editions as late as 1829.[65] Following Cullen's death in 1790, John Rotherham added explanatory notes and updated the text. This edited version, first published in 1806, gained significant popularity in both Britain and America.[66]

"Chapman's Therapeutics" refers to a text with the cumbersome title *Elements of Therapeutics and Materia Medica: To Which are Prefixed Two Discourses on the History and Improvement of the Materia Medica, Originally Delivered as Introductory Lectures*.[67] This work went through six editions and remained a mainstay of American medical education through the first half of the century. The text's author, Nathanial Chapman, was a dedicated medical educator who held the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania for almost forty years. Good's *Study of Medicine*, a similar comprehensive four-volume text organized by organ system, was first published in London in 1822. After six successful editions in Britain, an American edition published in 1836 would have been the version used by Centenary's students. Robley Dunglison's *The Practice of Medicine; A Treatise on Special Pathology and Therapeutics*[68] is the last entry in the curriculum list. The first edition became available in 1842 and represented the most up-to-date general medicine text available to students of medicine at that time.

Viewed in its entirety, the Centenary curriculum, as outlined by the texts listed in the college's 1842-43 catalogue, can be judged as sufficiently broad to meet the needs of the medical students of the period, reflective of ideas and trends that were current, and based on the best medical and scientific sources of the day. The authors behind the texts and reference materials were among the most respected in American medicine and were associated with the premier medical schools and with major medical centers of the antebellum period. The fact that the

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[65] John Thomson, William Thomson, and David Craigie, *An Account of the Life, Lectures, and Writings of William Cullen, M.D. Professor of Medicine and General Pathology in the University of Edinburgh, Vol. II* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1859), 690.

[66] William Cullen, *First Lines in the Practice of Physics: With Explanatory Notes by John Rotherman, M.D.* (New York: Z. Duyckinek, 1806).

[67] Nathaniel Chapman, *Elements of Therapeutics and Materia Medica: To Which Are Prefixed Two* Dis*courses on the History and Improvement of the Materia Medica, Originally Delivered as Introductory Lectures* (Philadelphia: M. Carey & Sons, 1821).

[68] Robley Dunglison, *The Practice of Medicine: A Treatise on Special Pathology and Therapeutics* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1842).

faculty of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine was strongly represented among these authors deserves emphasis. Philadelphia was a destination for many southerners who traveled north for the purpose of medical education. Steven Stowe pointed out:

> Philadelphia set the standard for orthodox medical education largely because of the University of Pennsylvania medical school, esteemed since the eighteenth century, but also because of Jefferson Medical College, both schools enrolled large numbers of southerners well into the 1850's.[69]

Indeed, over the last decade of the antebellum period, fully sixty-six percent of the University of Pennsylvania's enrolled medical students were from southern states.[70] For Centenary's curriculum to have drawn heavily on the University of Pennsylvania further supports the thesis that the course of study was not an outlier but rather aligned well with mainstream medical education of the mid-nineteenth century.

The medical faculty at Centenary consisted of a single instructor, Dr. James B. C. Thornton, who served as Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. At first glance from a modern perspective, the notion of a medical school with a single faculty member is dubious at best. However, within the context of a new nineteenth century medical school with a total student body of only fifteen, the structure of a single faculty becomes less aberrant. Only twenty years earlier, the University of Virginia School of Medicine, one of the oldest and most venerated medical programs, opened to student enrollment with Robley Dunglison as the only professor. In addition, preceptorship or apprenticeship of a student to a single physician was a common pedagogical construct for medical education well into the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, many early state licensing laws applied only to apprentice-trained physicians and as Rothstein noted these laws "nominally maintained" the apprenticeship system until it was supplanted by medical school-based training in the post-war period.[71] Centenary's School of Medicine was in step

[69] Steven M. Stowe, *Doctoring the South: Southern Physicians and Everyday Medicine in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 278.

[70] Daniel Kilbride, "Southern Medical Students in Philadelphia, 1800-1861: Science and Sociability in the 'Republic of Medicine," *Journal of Southern History*, 65 (1999), 703.

[71] Rothstein, *American Physicians of the Nineteenth Century*, 87.

with these national trends.

James B. C. Thornton was appointed by the Centenary Board of Trustees to the Lane Professorship of Natural Science in May 1841. At that same meeting, the board elected his older brother, Thomas C. Thornton, a member of the Methodist clergy, to be president of Centenary. The following January (1842), the board established the medical school and gave the younger Thornton the additional title of Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine.[72] James B. C. Thornton, a native of Dumphries, Virginia, graduated from the University of Maryland School of Medicine with the Doctor of Physics degree in April 1818 having successfully defended a dissertation on fever. His dean at Maryland was William Gibson whose surgery textbook was described as part of the Centenary curriculum. Prior to joining the Centenary faculty, Thornton practiced in northern Virginia and Washington, DC, where he developed a reputation as a physician and medical educator, which was confidently characterized by his brother:

> Of Dr. Thornton, the professor of natural sciences, and the theory and practice of medicine, it does not become me to speak. He is my brother. Nor is it necessary, as he is to known to gentlemen in Mississippi of exalted standing as a physician of twenty-five years' practice and experience in Virginia and Washington City. He has been constantly engaged in the instruction of your gentlemen in the science of medicine, several of whom are eminent physicians now in this and the adjoining States.[73]

Albeit the medical faculty was only one individual, Centenary College students of medicine had the advantage of a clinically-experienced, university-trained instructor who had made a commitment to medical education.

Under President Thornton's leadership, the college assembled other qualified faculty who were dedicated educators and content experts. Dr. James B. Dobbs served as professor of mathematics. The thirty-four-year-old Dobbs, also a Virginia native, came south in 1841 at the request

[72] Minutes of the Board of Trustees: Centenary College, Brandon Springs, Mississippi, 1841-1845. Centenary College Archives. Centenary College, Shreveport, Louisiana.

[73] Mayes, *History of Education in Mississippi*, 112.

of the Reverend John Lane who chaired the Centenary College board of trustees. He served Centenary College in Brandon Springs until its closure in 1845 when he moved to Jackson, Louisiana, to join the faculty of the newly created Centenary College of Louisiana the following year.

Subsequently, Dobbs moved to Transylvania College in Lexington, Kentucky, where he became president *pro tem*. Over his career, he published numerous mathematics textbooks that became widely used both in America and Canada and distinguished himself as a mathematics educator. David O. Shattuck, originally from Connecticut, was a Methodist minister, practicing attorney, and judge appointed by the Centenary board in July 1843, to the position of professor of law. Just over a year later, Shattuck would play a leadership role in the closure and merger of Centenary, Brandon Springs, with the College of Louisiana and would serve as the first president of the newly-formed Centenary College of Louisiana from 1844-1848. It should also be noted that Shattuck was the Whig candidate for Mississippi governor in 1841 and was narrowly defeated by the democratic candidate, Tilghman Tucker, who vetoed the initial Centenary charter. There is no evidence that the veto was influenced by Shattuck's association with the school as he was appointed to the faculty well after the matter was resolved. In later years, Shattuck would relocate to northern California where he became a prominent judge and businessman.

The goal of any medical school, past or present, is to produce doctors who provide care for patients. Extant records indicate that the Centenary College School of Medicine attained this benchmark. At least fifteen students are known to have enrolled in the medical curriculum and are listed along with their place of residence in the 1842-43 catalog. Six students were identified by William Hamilton Nelson in his 1931 history of the school as graduating in the class of 1844, but this list appears to be based on a typescript of the original Centenary board of trustees minutes and almost certainly contains transcription errors regarding some of the names.[74] Using the original Centenary Catalogue as a source document and available period documents as cross references, eight of these students can be confirmed to have established medical practices in Mississippi. Dr. Caleb F. Farrar took additional medical training at the University of Pennsylvania under the preceptorship of James B. C.

[74] Nelson, *Burning Torch, Flaming Fire,* 120.

Thornton,[75] practiced for thirty-five years in Adams County and was issued Mississippi permanent medical license no. 582.[76] After Centenary's closure, Samuel Cobun Humphreys also enrolled in the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine where he graduated in 1845. Humphreys established a medical practice in Claiborne County where he practiced until his death in 1853 at the age of thirty.[77] Dr. Edward M. Lane also completed his medical degree at Pennsylvania in 1845 and returned to Vicksburg where he became a prominent citizen and physician. Evidence of his considerable social status includes his serving as executor of the estate of Martha Vick, a daughter of Vicksburg's founder. He died of pulmonary disease at the young age of thirty-nine.[78]

W. S. Gibson, originally from Warren County, settled and practiced in the Natchez area. After practicing in Yazoo City, Dr. Daniel A. James relocated to Claiborne County in 1852 where he served patients until his death in 1872. Less fortunate were Dr. A. F. Scott who died of "congestive fever" only a year after leaving Centenary and Dr. J. M. Selser who practiced actively in Vicksburg until 1861 when he was killed by a fellow Vicksburg physician in an altercation over Selser's sister.[79]

Dr. Alonzo Lancaster settled in Bolivar County where he practiced medicine until his death in 1884 at age sixty-three. His obituary relates a moving story of his demise due to a fall from his horse while making a house call at night.

> His horse was next morning found riderless, and on searching, the doctor was found dead from the saddle, and there alone and untended, near the banks of the lonely river, with only the stars of heaven and the pitying eye of God above him, he who had brought relief to so many throbbing brows and consolation to so many sorrowing hearts had passed from the earth forever.[80]

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[75] Catalog of the Trustees, Officers and Students of the University of Pennsylvania. Session 1845-6. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1846.

[76] Adams Co, MS Genealogical and Historical Research. http://www.natchezbelle.org'adams-ind/doc_e_m.htm. URL accessed August 26, 2018.

[77] Dr. Samuel Coben Humphreys' grave marker, Humphreys' Cemetery, Claiborne County, Mississippi.

[78] "Death of Dr. E. M. Lane," *Vicksburg Whig,* October 24, 1860, 1.

[79] "Bloody Affair at Warrington, Miss." *The Mississippi Free Trader*, June 4, 1860, 1.

[80] "Obituary," *The Clarion Ledger*, December 10, 1884, 3.

This obituary and the preceding brief biographical sketches document that Centenary medical graduates entered practice in the state and provided care for patients in Mississippi communities. If one applies the single qualitative measure of educating students who become licensed practitioners and served patients, the Centenary College School of Medicine can be judged a successful enterprise. If one applies more quantitative measures of success such as class size, an expanding faculty, or sustained operation over many years, then the Centenary College School of Medicine was clearly not successful. The causes of the school's failure were those of the college itself and have been well analyzed by others.[81] Certainly, its rural location, cumbersome governance structure, and poorly-funded business model, all played some role. However, its failure was not due to the absence of dedicated faculty or to unqualified faculty, failure to be aligned with period trends in higher education, or community priorities for educational institutions. Centenary's School of Medicine reflected emerging national efforts to improve medical education as well as evolving regional values regarding medical care in the South. The school also constructed a high quality medical curriculum that was at least comparable, if not parallel to, those of the most prominent medical schools of the period.

[81] Ray Holder, "Centenary: Roots of a Pioneer College (1838-1844)," *The Journal of Mississippi History*, vol. 42 no. 2 (1980) 77. See also Nelson, 1933 and Morgan, 2008

Owen Cooper (1908-1986): Businessman, Devout Southern Baptist, and Racial Progressive

By Charles M. Dollar

In 1961 Owen Cooper, a member of the executive committee of the Southern Baptist Convention, was angry at the Christian Life Commission for calling on Southern Baptists to apply Christian principles in everyday life, which included race relations. He told Foy Valentine, executive director of the Commission "I think the greatest contribution I can make to the life of Southern Baptists is keep you from getting another dime."[1] Two decades later, the Christian Life Commission gave its Distinguished Citizen Award to Owen Cooper, citing him as an individual who "stands for all that's best in Baptist life." [2] Accepting the award on behalf of Southern Baptists who had changed their views about the teachings of Jesus on race relations, he declared, "I had changed from a person of prejudice to a person who accepts that God is no respecter of persons."[3] He joined a minority of "progressive" Southern Baptists[4] who had recanted their segregationist views.

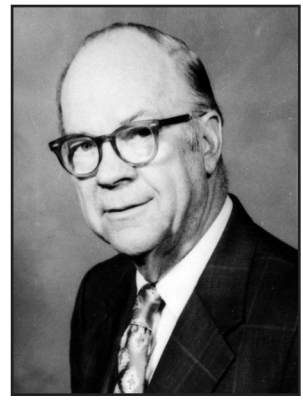

Image courtesy Mississippi Department of Archives and History

Owen Cooper

Lawrence Owen Cooper was born to W. S. Cooper Jr. and Melina Cooper on April 19, 1908, in Warren County, Mississippi, about eight miles northeast of Vicksburg. His father owned an 800-acre farm and ran a dairy, so Owen and his two brothers learned about hard work, chopping cotton, and milking cows. Regular attendance at Bethlehem

[1] Foy Dan Valentine "Oral History Memoir, May 30, 1989," Baylor Institute of Oral History (Baylor University, Waco, Texas), 62.

[2] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me, A Book About Owen Cooper* (Nashville: Fields Communications & Publishing, 1992), 10.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Mark Newman describes these Southern Baptists as "progressives" who challenged racial discrimination and inequality in *Getting Right With God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation, 1945-1995* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001), ix.

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Baptist Church was also part of growing up, as was racial prejudice. Many years later, he recalled that in school he was assigned to read *Up From Slavery* by Booker T. Washington but had refused because "I wouldn't read a book by a Negro."[5] Despite attending the small Culkin Academy where the senior class included only Cooper and another boy, he displayed leadership skills as boys from other county schools elected him chairman of a student Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), thus beginning his long association with the work of the YMCA.[6]

Following Cooper's graduation from Culkin Academy, he enrolled at Mississippi A&M College (now Mississippi State University) in September 1924 to major in agriculture. His father encouraged Cooper and his siblings to be what they wanted to be, but if they wanted to go to college they had to help pay the costs. Cooper delivered the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* and swept sidewalks to help pay his costs. Nonetheless, he had time to participate in the campus Baptist Student Union (BSU) and YMCA. Moreover, he managed to spend a week each summer at a YMCA and BSU camp, where his speaking skills and dedication were rewarded with his election as president of the Mississippi Baptist Student Union.[7]

After graduating from Mississippi A&M College in 1929, he worked for a year in the university's alumni association, primarily to lay the groundwork for a future run for governor.[8] In 1930 he moved to Leland, Mississippi, where he taught "vocational arts" and coached the girls basketball team at the high school. An active member of the First Baptist Church, he served as Sunday School Superintendent and a member of a pastor search committee.[9] Although he derived great satisfaction from teaching, he believed he should pursue another career path that would enable him to better use his analytical and problem-solving capabilities. In 1935 he enrolled in the graduate school of the University of Mississippi to work on a master's degree in public planning. After completing the M.A. degree program, he moved to Jackson to work at the State Planning Commission, where his problem-solving, organization,

[5] Jo G. Prichard, *Making Things Grow: The Story of Mississippi Chemical Corporation* (Yazoo City: Mississippi Chemical Corporation, 1998), 126.

[6] "Oral history with Mr. Owen Cooper, president, Mississippi Chemical Corporation, retired," University of Southern Mississippi Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage (1973), 5, 6.

[7] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me*," 18.

[8] Jo G. Prichard, *Making Things Grow,* 115.

[9] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me*, 3-4.

and planning skills were put to good use. His work led to an expansion of his network of friends and coworkers who recognized that his business acumen along with his capability to develop and implement new approaches and initiatives augured well for his future.

Between 1936 and 1938 while holding a full-time job, Cooper devoted considerable time to working at the First Baptist Church in Jackson. He also served as volunteer director of the Baptist Student Union at both Millsaps and Belhaven colleges in Jackson.[10] At the same time he took night classes at Jackson Law School, completing the degree program in two years, passing the bar exam, and becoming a member of the Mississippi Bar Association.

In 1938 the twenty-nine-year-old bachelor met Elizabeth Thompson when she came to Jackson to attend a Baptist Student Union convention. She was the director of the Baptist Student Union at Louisiana Tech in Ruston, Louisiana, and this shared interest quickly grew into romance. On their fourth date, Owen Cooper knew he had found his soul mate; they were married on September 2, 1938. Two months before their marriage, Cooper was terminated as assistant director of the State Planning Commission and replaced by a political ally of Governor Hugh White. Cooper then joined the U. S. Housing Authority as a consultant. This transition was an easy one for him because he had been the liaison between the Planning Commission and the Authority for low-income housing and had analyzed proposals for low-income housing projects from every county and worked with local officials to finalize their proposals. His public visibility among local county officials and other community leaders across the state, created a relationship he would draw upon in the future. In December 1940, Cooper informed the U. S. Housing Authority that he had learned about a job opportunity that he would pursue at the Mississippi Farm Bureau Federation (MFBF), which represented 250,000 farmers and rural families.[11] Several weeks later, he was named director of research and organization at MFBF.

Shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the MFBF postponed several initiatives to focus on ensuring that Mississippi farmers supported the war. A year earlier, enactment of the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 (Burke-Wadsworth Act) required all able-bodied men between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five to reg-

[10] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me*, 2.

[11] Owen Cooper to Walter Cook, November 22, 1940, Box 4, Folder 37, Owen Cooper Papers.

ister for military service. Thirty-two-year-old Owen Cooper received a deferment from the Hinds County Selective Service Board because of his age and because his work at MFBF was essential to the war effort. As the director of research and organization and managing editor of the *Mississippi Farm Bureau News,* he promoted Mississippi farmer support of the war effort. He used the *Farm Bureau News* as a "bully pulpit" to encourage Mississippi farmers to increase by ten percent their planting of long-staple cotton, which was essential in the production of military supplies and equipment. He also promoted a "buy a war bond campaign" in which county Farm Bureau organizations competed in selling war bonds. This initiative raised more than $3 million that paid the cost of manufacturing nine B-17 "Flying Fortresses," each of which was given a name associated with a county in Mississippi.[12]

In November 1945, Cooper was named executive director of MFBF.[13] He quickly revived four initiatives that had been postponed during the war. The first problem was the shortage of rural hospitals. In 1946 Cooper persuaded the legislature to establish the Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care and to match federal funds available under the Hill-Burton Act for rural hospitals. Cooper was chairman of the commission, and under his leadership it approved construction of more than one hundred rural hospitals across the state.[14] To address a second problem that involved a shortage of doctors and nurses, Cooper chaired a MFBF committee on health that advocated an increase in the number of doctors and registered nurses. The third problem identified by MFBF was the need for pre-paid health care and hospitalization through Blue Cross-Blue Shield programs. By 1947 MFBF sponsored a Blue Cross-Blue Shield program to offer low-cost, pre-paid health insurance for Mississippians.[15] Cooper would serve on its board of directors for more than two decades, much of that time as chairman.

Cooper also was concerned about the high cost of life and property/casualty insurance for farmers. In 1946 he received approval to create both types of insurance companies with the Farm Bureau underwriting

[12] Edward L. Blake, *Farm Bureau in Mississippi* (Jackson: Mississippi Farm Bureau Federation, 1971), 138-140.

[13] *The Mississippi Farm Bureau News*, Volume 23, No. 10, November 1945, 2, 5.

[14] Ibid, 141-143.

[15] Ibid, 147.

the initial reserved fund requirements.[16] Both companies were immediately successful, and today are multimillion-dollar insurance companies located in Jackson.

In 1947 W. B. Andrews, a researcher at the Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, demonstrated that direct application of anhydrous ammonia could increase yields of cotton and corn from twofold to tenfold. Cooper immediately recognized the value of Andrews's research and began planning how to get this fertilizer to farmers at affordable prices.[17] Some companies were producing it, but demand exceeded the available supply, and the price increased dramatically, preventing many farmers from purchasing the greatly-needed fertilizer. Believing the MFBF could form a non-profit farmer co-op to fund construction of a chemical plant to produce this fertilizer, he and several farmer leaders persuaded the legislature, the Mississippi Bankers Association, and the voters of Yazoo County to support the project. Their success was based on strong grassroots endorsement of the project by members of the MFBF, county agriculture agents, and high school and college vocational agriculture teachers.[18] Mobilizing the support of county agents, Cooper organized a team of salesmen to visit farmers and their bankers across the South to persuade them to buy shares of stock in the cooperative and to agree to buy a specific amount of fertilizer annually at a cost basis. At the end of the year, any profit would be returned as "patronage refunds." By the end of the summer, more than 5,000 farmers had purchased shares of stock valued at more than $2.5 million. [19]

Called Mississippi Chemical Corporation (MCC), the farmer owned co-op located the new chemical plant on the northern outskirts of Yazoo City, forty miles north of Jackson. The site was centrally located, had the abundant supply of water and natural gas essential to production, and had good railroad and highway connections. In 1948 the directors of MCC named Cooper as the first CEO. Under his leadership, additional funds from investors and a $3,349,000 loan from the Reconstruction Finance

[16] Jo G. Prichard, III, "Owen Cooper 1908-1986: Business Leader and Humanitarian," 3, *Mississippi History Now* (Mississippi Department of Archives and History), available at http://www.mshistorynow.mdah.ms.gov/articles/239/owen-cooper-1908-1986-business-leader-and-humanitarian.

[17] Ibid, 3-4

[18] Jo G. Prichard, *Making Things Grow*, 30.

[19] "Oral History with Mr. Owen Cooper," 7; Jo G. Prichard, *Making Things Grow,* 32.

Corporation enabled completion of a $10 million chemical plant.[20] MCC produced its first bag of nitrogen-enriched fertilizer on March 10, 1951, which marked the beginning of a financial venture that returned millions of dollars to farmers throughout the South over the next fifty years.

Beginning in his college days at Mississippi A&M, Cooper believed there should be no difference in his business life and his faith as a Southern Baptist. He was committed to balancing his career with a strong and active leadership in his church, in the Mississippi Baptist Convention, and in the Southern Baptist Convention. He was a deacon at the First Baptist churches in Jackson and Yazoo City, taught a Sunday School class, and participated in weekly church evangelism visitations. He had leadership roles in the Mississippi Baptist Convention, including serving as president. In 1959 he became a member of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) Executive Committee, managing the convention's programs and implementing decisions involving the Cooperative Program – the SBC's comprehensive funding initiative for missions and ministries.

Between 1960 and 1963, he began rethinking his views about race relations. A key factor in this process was his daughter, Nancy, who while a teenager in Yazoo City questioned segregation after she witnessed a car accident that injured a black man. She put the man in her car and drove to the emergency room at the nearest hospital where she was told, "You'll have to take him over to Afro," the black hospital.[21] After she spent her junior year in a college in Germany, she realized the prejudice she and others had about blacks was unfounded. Segregation, she believed, was unchristian and she wanted no part of a church that promulgated and practiced segregation in worship.[22] Years later, Nancy Cooper Gilbert explained that her father gave her and her siblings too much credit for persuading him to change his views about race because few people persuaded him to change his mind on any topic. Rather, she said, he thought deeply about important matters, including race, and would consult with people about their views but would then internalize

[20] "Statement by Owen Cooper, executive vice president, Mississippi Chemical Corporation, Yazoo City, Mississippi, to Senate Finance Committee on Banking and Currency, May 26, 1953," Box 54, Folder 50-B, The John C. Stennis Collection, Congressional and Political Research Center, Mississippi State University, Starkville, Mississippi.

[21] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me*, 201.

[22] Ibid., 201-203.

the problem or issue and eventually would reach his own decision.[23]

Three pivotal events track the evolution of Owen Cooper's views on race. The first was the riot at the University of Mississippi after James Meredith's enrollment on September 30, 1962. The next day Cooper worked with Billy Mounger, president of the Lamar Life Insurance Company, to persuade influential business leaders to sign a strong public statement deploring the violence on campus, advocating law and order, and calling for the arrest of the rioters.[24] As a member of the Mississippi Economic Council, Cooper was concerned that the riot and the determination of Governor Ross Barnett to preserve segregation at all costs would slow down industrial development. Fostering industry, Cooper believed, was critical to the state's efforts to build up its economy.

Barely a year later Cooper delivered an extraordinary commencement address to the graduates of Mississippi Baptist Seminary in Jackson marking another pivotal step. After preliminary remarks about the importance of the role of the seminary in the education of black ministers, he explained that recent events relating to race impelled him to address this topic. Race was an ancient and universal problem not limited to the South or to the United States, but it was an inherited problem, especially in the South, because "it was a grievous sin to capture men like wild animals and sell them into slavery. The consequences of this sin are now being visited on us, the third and fourth generations." This inherited problem, he believed, could not be solved by federal legislation because "it is impossible to legislate emotions, feelings, and love. Legal force will not compel anyone to like, accept, or respect anyone."[25] Nonetheless, he believed it possible to create an atmosphere in which progress and improvement could be achieved.

Cooper urged white Mississippians to recognize that race relations were a serious problem and to stop placing the responsibility on others, previous generations, or people outside the state. What would contribute to a solution, he said, was to recognize the dignity of all people created in God's image, which included extending common courtesies and niceties of human relationships to all blacks and whites in Mississippi. He asked that all Mississippians avoid being party to violence or supporting

[23] Ibid.

[24] Jo G. Prichard, *Making Things Work*, 124.

[25] Owen Cooper, "Address by Owen Cooper, Yazoo City, Mississippi at the Commencement Exercises, Mississippi Baptist Seminary, Jackson, Mississippi, May 31, 1963," Box 25, Folder 10a, Miscellaneous Articles, Owen Cooper Papers.

activities that could lead to violence.

Cooper believed it was important for Mississippians not to surrender to the leadership of outsiders because Mississippi's race problem "can best be solved among ourselves."[26] Like many of his white contemporaries, he believed outsiders coming into Mississippi were creating confrontations that served no useful purpose. He did not identify these individuals and organizations, but he probably was thinking about the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), among others. Years later, he was less certain about the negative role of outsiders, suggesting that without their militancy his conscience might not have been pricked.[27]

Cooper believed all the concerns he had identified in his speech were important, but the most fundamental one was the need for a crusade to change the hearts of people in "Mississippi and outside the state and throughout the world through the power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." This was the core of Cooper's belief that the sinful nature of man could only be transformed through the saving grace of God. As individual transformations occurred, he believed race relations in Mississippi would improve.

For Cooper, 1964 was another pivotal year. A revived Ku Klux Klan initiated a reign of terror and intimidation by burning black churches whose members supported voter registration drives and Freedom Schools that COFO had organized. He could not understand how people could undertake such dastardly actions, so he organized the Mississippi Religious Council that spoke out against the burnings. He also strongly supported the work of the Committee of Concern, led by the Reverend William P. Davis, a white Baptist preacher. Davis's organization raised more than $125,000 to rebuild forty-two churches.[28] Moreover, Cooper introduced a resolution at the Mississippi Baptist Convention that declared, "Serious racial problems now beset our state . . . It is our conviction that churches and Christians must lead the way in finding solutions to these problems." The resolution included the caveat that a "final and satisfactory solution" would not come through federal intervention and the actions of outsiders coming into the state.[29]

Events during and after the 1964 Southern Baptist Convention tem-

[26] Ibid., 6.

[27] "Oral History with Mr. Owen Cooper," 11.

[28] Mark Newman, "The Mississippi Baptist Convention and Desegregation, 1945, *Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol. 59 (Spring 1997), 14.

[29] *New York Times*, November 13, 1964.

porarily slowed the evolution of Cooper's views about race and Southern Baptists. In September he sent an angry letter to Foy Valentine in which he charged that the activities of the Christian Life Commission were dividing the SBC convention into two contending groups or into two conventions."[30] Owen's solution for preventing such a split was for the Christian Life Commission or a special committee composed of former presidents of the Southern Baptist Convention to submit a statement on race relations at the next convention that would be debated and possibly modified. After approval, it would be the established position of the convention for at least five years, thus removing acrimonious debate from proceedings that could split the convention. The notion that one convention could tie the hands of succeeding conventions for five years by removing race as an agenda item was naïve and impractical, and his proposal never gained traction.

After passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Cooper supported the Mississippi Economic Council's position that it was the law of the land and all Mississippians should obey it. Moreover, at hearings of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in Jackson in February 1965 he said, "Following passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many responsible citizens of Mississippi began an agonizing period of reappraisal in which we have recognized that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the law of the land . . . and the habits of yesteryear had to be cast aside."[31]

Cooper's strong support of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill was an implicit rejection of his earlier position that Mississippians were best able to solve race relations on their own without the intrusion of external forces. He went beyond this support by asking the MCC board of directors to approve a resolution that supported the goals of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and stated the company's intention to abide by it. This meant elimination of separate white and black restrooms and adherence to Title VI fair employment practices that prohibited discrimination in hiring, promotion, and terms of employment. Cooper was personally involved in meeting with company supervisors to ensure they understood and conformed to these practices. He acknowledged later that MCC had many black employees who worked in operations and maintenance

[30] Owen Cooper to Foy Valentine, September 17, 1964, Box 27, Folder 5, SBC Executive Committee Records, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[31] "Testimony of Owen Cooper," *Justice in Jackson, Mississippi, Hearings Held in Jackson, Miss., February 16-20, 1965. U.S. Civil Rights Commission*, Vol. II (New York: Arno Press & *The New York Times*, 1971), 377.

departments and "we didn't treat them right":

> Many of them were just as competent as the white mechanic but the black person was paid only as a helper. I don't know why I wasn't more conscious of that and of what we should have been doing, but for a long time I wasn't. And I'm sorry for it. After I began to catch on, there wasn't any problem making the transition.[32]

As Freedom Summer wound down in 1964, civil rights activists, leaders of the Delta Ministry, and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party began discussing how to build on their success. They decided to submit a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to fund a multi-county Head Start program for disadvantaged pre-school children. OEO funded the proposal that created the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) to administer the Head Start initiative that began in the summer of 1965. From the outset, the goal of CDGM was to expose disadvantaged pre-school children to an educational and health care environment that offered a better future than their parents had experienced while at the same time mobilizing poor blacks to organize politically and economically to work for equality and social justice. Mobilizing poor black adults to seek institutional changes that assured the full benefits of citizenship and a pathway out of poverty was a critical component of the CDGM Head Start initiative.

At first, white leaders in some counties ignored CDGM, but as its funding increased and it began to acquire local political muscle, state and local leaders became alarmed at the prospect of having little or no influence on how the funds were spent. Other established white leaders viewed CDGM as a wedge to promote integration, and they demanded that Senators John Stennis and James Eastland defund CDGM. As a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Stennis had influence over funding of federal programs, including OEO. Claiming there was widespread politicization of Head Start, he initiated an investigation of allegations that CDGM had mismanaged funds, ignored government regulations, and supported extremist groups. Eastland charged that some of the extremist civil rights groups "have definite connections with

[32] Jo G. Prichard, *Making Things Grow*, 69, 124-126.

Communist organizations."[33] Sargent Shriver, the head of OEO, wanted to continue Head Start programs in Mississippi, but he recognized he had to work out an arrangement that satisfied Senator Stennis. His solution was to defund CDGM and fund a second Head Start program headed by a biracial board of directors who had established track records of financial integrity and would ensure adherence to federal funding procedures.[34]

Shriver invited Hodding Carter III and Aaron Henry to come to Washington to meet with him to help jump start the program. Henry had tremendous visibility among blacks across the state as a stalwart supporter of civil rights. His involvement in the newly established program, Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), gave it a credibility that no other black leader in the state could provide.[35] Hodding Carter III was the editor of the Greenville *Delta Democrat-Times*, widely recognized as a progressive on social change, and played a prominent role in the Loyal Democratic Party of Mississippi. Recognizing that Owen Cooper was widely respected across the state, Carter and Henry recommended Shriver appoint Cooper as chairman of MAP's board of directors. Cooper, Carter, and Henry were authorized to select other directors that included two prominent blacks, Reverend R. L. T. Smith from Jackson and Charles Young from Meridian.[36] Cooper's decision to accept the appointment to MAP[37] and to serve as its unpaid chairman was not easy for him because he knew that his lifelong "aspirations for Governor would go out the window."[38]

The first challenge Cooper faced was the hostility of disgruntled CDGM supporters and local white opponents of Head Start. The former

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[33] *New York Times*, March 7, 1966.

[34] John Dittmer, *Local People, The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 375.

[35] Minion K. C. Morrison, *Aaron Henry of Mississippi, An Inside Agitator* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2015), 163. In *The Promised Land: The Great Migration and How It Changed America* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 326 Nicholas Lemann states that Henry's civil rights credentials "were so unassailable that no organization he lent his name to could be convincingly portrayed as a mere tool of the white power structure."

[36] This contradicts Emma J. Folwell's claim in *The War on Poverty in Mississippi: From Massive Resistance to New Conservatism* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2020), 132 that Harry McPherson, an aide to President Lyndon Johnson, recruited members of the MAP Board of Directors.

[37] Owen Cooper had a penchant for developing descriptions of projects that were distinctive and easy to remember, so he (with the assistance of his wife) created Mississippi Action for Progress that clearly identified it as a Mississippi project that focused on actions designed to bring progress to the state. Email from Spencer and Nancy Cooper Gilbert, August 1, 2018.

[38] "Oral History with Mr. Owen Cooper," 10.

threatened parents and children enrolled in a competing Head Start Program while the latter, including the Ku Klux Klan, believed it was a cover for integration. In one instance, a center was burned. In Wayne County local whites threatened the staff and parents of children attending the Head Start Center. Cooper requested Governor Paul Johnson Jr. to provide assurance that the personal safety of MAP staff, parents, and children in Wayne County would be protected.[39] The governor forwarded Cooper's letter to T. B. Birdsong, Commissioner of Public Safety, who informed Cooper that protecting individual citizens was not part of the mission of the state police. Local law officials, he wrote, were responsible for law and order, and he advised Cooper to work with them.[40] Cooper believed this would be futile in areas where white opposition to Head Start was strong. Nonetheless, he issued a press release in which he urged municipal, county, and state officials to "curb offenses against the personnel, property, and pupils at MAP projects."[41] Historian Emma Folwell describes Cooper's actions as "backing down,"[42] when the only "compliance lever" he had was to recommend OEO withhold funds to local Community Action Boards to pressure them to obtain the cooperation of law enforcement officials. Of course, withholding funds would have played into the hands of whites who opposed the Head Start program.

The second challenge he faced was to ensure that Senator Stennis and Governor Johnson did not view MAP as a revived CDGM. Quickly establishing the independence of MAP, Cooper declared it was not affiliated with, nor directly related to any organization, and "is not and will not become related to, subservient to or dependent upon any organization, be it political, social, economic, or sectarian."[43] Although he did not specify what groups he had in mind, it is likely he would have included COFO, SNCC, the Delta Ministry, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, advocates of black power, and some former staff members of the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

Recognizing that MAP lacked the resources to vet its 1,400 employees, Cooper asked the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission

[39] Owen Cooper to Governor Paul Johnson, February 17, 1967, SCR ID 2-42-0-33-1-1-1, Series 15, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records (Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi).

[40] Ibid., T. B. Birdsong to Owen Cooper, February 20, 1967, SCR ID 2-42-0-35-1-1-1.

[41] Press Release, Box 1, Folder 15, Patt Derian Papers, Mississippi State University Special Collections and Archives (Starkville, Mississippi).

[42] Emma Folwell, *The War on Poverty in Mississippi*, 93.

[43] Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, November 5, 1968.

to identify people who had politicized the anti-poverty program and therefore would be a liability as MAP employees.[44] According to Erle Johnston, executive director of the Sovereignty Commission, Cooper prefaced his request for assistance with the statement that he wanted to "weed out agitators and revolutionaries."[45] As recently as 1963 Cooper had publicly expressed concern about outside agitators, but he had never described them as "revolutionaries,"[46] so Johnston's attribution of "revolutionaries" to him was another instance of the Sovereignty Commission's embellishment to demonstrate that progressives like Cooper were on the same page with the commission. Nonetheless, Cooper's request served two purposes. First, it enabled MAP to block employment of anyone who would be a potential liability. Second, believing that Johnston was likely to share this request with Senator Stennis and Governor Johnson, Cooper could cleverly demonstrate due diligence in preventing the politicization of MAP.

Ensuring transparency and integrity in all MAP financial and personnel decisions was the third challenge Cooper faced. He declared that MAP must conform to OEO procedures, including one requiring the award of bids for local services to the lowest bidder, assuming comparable quality. His decision angered blacks in Port Gibson where the lowest bid was from a white-owned business that was the target of a community-wide black boycott to end discriminatory practices. In another instance, he declared MAP would not support a NAACP-sponsored economic boycott of white businesses in Greenwood because it would politicize MAP. [47]

The most controversial instance of Cooper's insistence on MAP compliance with OEO regulations and public transparency involved Helen Bass Williams, who succeeded Walter Smith as executive director of

[44] Jo G. Pritchard to Owen Cooper, October 5, 1967, Security Clearance. In Sovereignty Commission-MAP, Folder 8, Owen Cooper Papers.

[45] Erle Johnston, "Memo To File," SCR ID 99-48-0-489-1-1-1, Series 15, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records.

[46] This assessment is based upon the author's review of the Owen Cooper Papers. Moreover, Cooper's daughter, Nancy Cooper Gilbert, recalls no instance when her father used "revolutionaries" to describe black activists. Email from Nancy Gilbert, October 11, 2018.

[47] Jackson *Daily News*, May 15, 1968, newspaper clipping in SCR ID 6-45-6-55-1-1-1, Series 15, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records.

MAP in June 1967.[48] A graduate of Southern Illinois University and holder of two graduate degrees, Williams had been on the faculty of Tougaloo College (1964-1966) and worked briefly for CDGM as a health consultant and as a consultant for OEO before being named executive director. She believed whites and blacks should learn about each other by solving common problems together,[49] which included participation of black parents in the anti-poverty program that she described as an "integrated approach."[50] Doubtless, her reputation as a bridge builder along with her connections to the black community made her an attractive candidate to the board of directors. However, she had no experience in managing a large organization, and she was sympathetic with those who expected MAP to continue the CDGM involvement to empower black political participation in local communities.

Shortly after her appointment, Cooper sent Williams a letter in which he described acceptable and unacceptable activity of local MAP staff in grassroots civil rights initiatives. Acceptable civil rights activity for MAP staff, he advised her, was to teach citizenship to parents and "tell the people who are eligible to vote, how to register, and where to register," but MAP staff should "not meet the same group the next morning and lead them to the place of registration." Moreover, anyone who did not share the goals of MAP or who was unwilling to adhere to the policy and guidelines of OEO and MAP should be terminated.[51] The message to Williams was clear; the primary role of MAP was to work with local communities in establishing a program for the growth and development of underprivileged children. Promotion of the empowerment of black adults to challenge their second-class citizenship status was unacceptable.

Erle Johnston viewed the appointment of Williams with suspicion and concern. He believed Aaron Henry had promoted her candidacy and under his influence she would ensure that MAP addressed civil rights issues. Furthermore, she had made public statements that implied she

[48] At the time of Smith's appointment, questions were raised about his lack of experience in managing a large organization such as MAP. Toward the end of his first year it was clear he did not have the administrative skills the job required, and he was reassigned to a non-administrative job. Eventually, he resigned from MAP. "Daily Report" (OEO), no date, Box 1, Folder 1, Patt Derian Papers (Mississippi State University Special Collections and Archives, Starkville, Mississippi).

[49] Mary O'Hara, "Let It Fly: The Legacy of Helen Bass Williams" (PhD diss., Southern Illinois University, 2004), 200.

[50] Ibid., 175.

[51] Owen Cooper, "Confidential Map File, June 13, 1967," Owen Cooper Papers, Box 76, Folder 5.

supported some aspects of the focus of CDGM. From the very beginning of her appointment, Johnston worked to discredit her and force the MAP Board of Directors to terminate her. He copied memos to file regarding his concerns and actions to Nathan Glazer, a special assistant to Governor Johnson, to undermine her leadership. He claimed he had documents that incriminated her, and he would turn them over to Senator Stennis if Williams was not terminated.[52] Williams was never terminated as executive director nor was she demoted.

By January 1968, Cooper and the board of directors had concluded that Williams was a micromanager whose decisions were creating severe programmatic and staff morale issues. Cooper recommended the board create an Administrative Committee, which he would chair, to investigate these issues and make recommendations to correct them. The Administrative Committee reviewed Williams's tenure as executive director and identified sixteen problem areas that required immediate correction.[53] Among the problem areas were her prohibition of MAP central staff communication with Head Start Centers, OEO officials in Atlanta, and MAP Board of Directors without her explicit approval, hiring six consultants without approval of the board of directors, ignoring OEO requirements for official position descriptions when hiring new employees,[54] and presenting incomplete and inaccurate reports to the board of directors. She had failed to follow employment and dismissal procedures, thereby exposing MAP to lawsuits, ignored directives issued by the board of directors, refused to delegate authority to the deputy directors of personnel and administration, and routinely used vulgar and demeaning language in dealing with staff. Except for the problem areas associated with the deputy director of administration, staff use of the WATS line, and incorrect reports, she did not directly challenge the remaining thirteen problem areas. She quickly drafted policies and

[52] Erle Johnston, SCR ID 6-2-30-0-71-1-1-1. SCR ID 2-13-59-1-1-1, SCR ID 6-45-6-35-1-1-1, SCR ID 6-45-21-1-1-1, SCR ID 48-0-182-1-1-1, SCR ID 99-48-0-185-1-1-1, SCR ID 99-0-45-0-453-1-1-1, and SCR ID 99-48-0-457-1-1-1.

[53] Owen Cooper to Mrs. Helen Bass Williams February 7, 1968, Box 86, MAP #4 Folder, Owen Cooper Papers.

[54] Williams's disregard for OEO regulations was evident when she hired six consultants and described their duties as "Report to the Executive Director." The MAP Finance Manager returned the contract to her with a note explaining that OEO regulations called for a more detailed explanation of the duties to be performed. Williams wrote on the memo in large letters "NUTS! The same as on all others." "Memorandum," Nat Thomas to Helen Bass Williams, October 6, 1967, Box 86, Map Folder #4, Owen Cooper Papers

procedures that addressed these areas and submitted them to the Administrative Committee for approval.[55] A few weeks later, she had a gall bladder attack and returned to Illinois for surgery. While recuperating from surgery she learned that Purdue University had created a new position as the academic advisor to black students that was of interest to her. Subsequently the university offered the position to her, which she readily accepted. On August 31, 1968, she resigned as executive director of MAP effective September 9, 1968.[56] Years later Patt Derian, a consultant hired by OEO to monitor the activities of MAP, recalled her impression of Owen Cooper and the board of directors, "I thought I was going to be dealing with a bunch of closet racists, and I found that wasn't true."[57] She had high praise for Cooper because, she said, he loved children and did not care what color they were and because he was committed to ensuring Head Start delivered the services it was supposed to deliver.[58]

Emma Folwell, however, has a radically different assessment of both Cooper and Williams in which Cooper was the aggressor and Williams was the victim.[59] Under Cooper's leadership MAP limited the progress of poor blacks by funding segregated Head Start Centers and allowing Community Action Boards to practice discrimination with impunity.[60] He deprived Williams of her authority by having the Administrative Committee of the board assume some of her responsibilities and demoted her to the position of deputy administrator for program and training.[61] Moreover, Cooper blocked Williams's promotion of meaningful poor black participation at the grassroots level, which further fractured the

[55] Helen Bass Williams to MAP Board of Directors, February 12, 1968, Executive Director to Staff, Board of Directors, MAP, February 12, 1968, Box 78, Most Current Folder, 4C, Owen Cooper Papers.

[56] Helen Bass Williams to Owen Cooper, August 31, 1968, Folder 2, Hodding Carter, III Papers, Mississippi State University Special Collections and Archives (Starkville, Mississippi). I am grateful to Jennifer McGillan, Coordinator of Manuscripts, Mississippi State University Libraries, for her assistance in retrieving documents from the Hodding Carter, III Papers.

[57] "Interview with Patt Derian," John C. Stennis Oral History Project, Mississippi State University, December 17, 1991, 21.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Emma Folwell, *The War on Poverty in Mississippi*, 127-144. Her interpretation is an extension of Joseph Crespino's argument in *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevoluion* that in the 1960s and 1970s massive resistance to integration in Mississippi morphed into a race neutral, nuanced political framework in which whites still controlled social, political and economic institutions.

[60] Ibid., 144.

[61] Ibid., 148.

class division between black members of the NAACP and poor blacks in the state. [62] His actions as chairman enabled whites to retain control of local social, economic, and political institutions, thereby ensuring continuation of the second-class citizenship of blacks. Her most damming indictment was that Erle Johnston duped and manipulated Owen Cooper to secure the resignation of Helen Bass Williams, thereby "forging Mississippi Action for Progress into a mechanism of white control." [63]

Folwell's portrayal of Cooper as an aggressor and Williams as a victim is dubious, given the previously referenced sixteen problem areas the Administrative Committee identified that required improvement and Williams's agreement to initiate immediate improvements. Equally dubious is Folwell's assertion that he supported MAP funding of segregated Head Start Centers and allowed Community Action Boards to discriminate on the basis of race with impunity. The primary reason why few poor white parents enrolled their children in Head Start Centers was because of their apprehension of being ostracized by neighbors, who believed that Head Start Centers were a cover for integration.[64] Aside from target areas where no whites lived, segregated Head Start Centers were largely the result of the decisions of poor white parents, not Cooper and MAP. The only leverage Cooper had was to recommend that OEO defund segregated Head Start Centers, which would have been counterproductive.

Folwell's claim that Cooper blocked meaningful participation of poor blacks in improving their lives and further fractured the class division between middle-class black members of the NAACP and poor black plantation workers, sharecroppers and domestic workers in the state is without merit. She does not define "meaningful participation," but if it is understood as activities that would have politicized MAP along the same lines as they politicalized CDGM, it is likely they would have had the same disastrous results for MAP. Even more important is historian Alan Draper's assessment that the fundamental conflict between MFDP- CDGM advocates and NAACP-MAP advocates was about power

[63] Ibid., 128, 149.

[64] "Interview with Patt Derian," 24.

[65] Alan Draper, "Class and Politics in the Mississippi Movement: An Analysis of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Delegation," *The Journal of Southern History*, LXXXII, No. 2 (May 2016), 297.

not principle: who would be hired at local Head Start Centers, who would benefit from Head Start Center expenditures in local economies, and ultimately who would speak for black Mississippians in the Loyal Mississippi Democratic Party.[65] These contentious issues were political and outside the parameters that Cooper had established for MAP.

Despite Johnston's stern warnings about the concerns of Senator Stennis and Governor Johnson if MAP did not remove Williams as executive director, Folwell's claim that Cooper demoted Williams to the position of deputy administrator for program and training is without merit.[66] Johnston had no influence on Williams's decision to accept a position at Purdue University, nor did he have any influence in the selection of her successor. It is clear that he greatly exaggerated his influence on MAP and Owen Cooper.[67] Finally, in August 1968, Williams negotiated a contract with a New York City-based Head Start consulting company and authorized an initial payment of $10,000, both of which violated OEO and MAP procedures. Doubtless, she did this knowing that she would resign shortly. Several weeks later the MAP Board of Directors canceled the contract.[68]

The board quickly named Dr. Aaron Shirley, a Mississippi native and Jackson pediatrician, as the successor to Helen Bass Williams.[69] He resigned a year later to organize an OEO-funded health program for black citizens in Hinds County. Succeeding Shirley was Morris K. Lewis, a former acting executive director of Systematic Training and Redevelopment (STAR). For the first time, MAP had an executive director with experience in managing an OEO-funded statewide anti-poverty program. Doubtless, by the time Cooper retired as Chairman of MAP in December 1975, he was pleased with the progress MAP had made. [70]

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[66] Emma Folwell, *The War on Poverty in Mississippi*, 64, 69.

[67] Johnston was so confident of his influence on Cooper and the MAP Board of Directors that he informed Governor Paul Johnson that Williams would be fired after a meeting of the MAP Board of Directors in January 1968. Erle Johnston to Herman Glazier, January 23, 1968, SCR ID 99-48-0-175-1-1-1, Series 15, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission records.

[68] "Minutes," Executive Committee, September 11, 1968, Box 76, Folder 46, Owen Cooper Papers.

[69] Shirley had served as a medical consultant to MAP and was widely known to Mississippi blacks for his conspicuous support for poor blacks and his willingness to challenge whites who refused to relinquish any political power to blacks. Doubtless, his visibility among blacks in Mississippi made him a strong candidate but this was offset by his willingness to support economic boycotts of some white businesses, which surely must have troubled Cooper, who disdained confrontations, instead preferring for people to talk through issues.

[70] *The Baptist Record*, January 1, 1976.

During the turmoil over Helen Bass Williams's tenure as executive director in the spring of 1968, Cooper was also a member of the Southern Baptist Convention Executive Committee. The committee was struggling with how to address the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy and riots in large cities across the nation. Executives of Southern Baptist Convention agencies, the executive secretaries of state conventions, and Baptist newspaper editors reviewed and recommended that the 1968 Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Houston, Texas, approve the "Statement Concerning Our National Crisis." It declared that the voices of hate and violence and the elevation of cultural values over Christian values deprived millions of black Americans and other minorities of equality in education, employment, citizenship, and housing. This deprivation had created a climate of racism that should be unacceptable to Christians. Because Southern Baptists are one of the largest denominations in the nation, "we have come far short in our privilege in Christian brotherhood." The statement affirmed that as individuals we "will respect every individual as a person possessing inherent dignity and worth growing out of his creation in the image of God, defend people against injustice," and will not be "party to any movement that favors racism or violence or mob violence." Moreover, the statement declared, "We will personally accept every Christian as a brother beloved in the Lord and welcome to the fellowship of faith and worship every person irrespective of race or class."[71]

During the debate, Cooper spoke against an amendment that declared Communist infiltration of the race movement had destroyed hope for racial peace and harmony. He urged the convention to reject the amendment because the reference to "Communist infiltration" ignored other societal forces and undermined the legitimacy of efforts of blacks to achieve their rights as citizens.[72] After rejecting this amendment, the convention approved the statement, which represented a new direction for Southern Baptists.

Notwithstanding Cooper's opposition to the above amendment, Emmanuel McCall, director of National Baptist Work for the Home Mission

[71] *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention 1968*, 67-69, available at http://media2.sbhla.org.s3.amazonaws.com/annuals/SBC_Annual_1968.pdf.

[72] I am grateful to Bill Sumners, retired director of the Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, for locating the audio tape containing a recording of the discussion and vote on the amendment.

Board, believed Cooper opposed "Concerning Our National Crisis."[73] This opposition seems unlikely because Cooper strongly supported his pastor, Reverend James Yates, who delivered a sermon shortly after the convention in which he discussed the statement and suggested ways his church could begin to implement its call for action.[74] Under Reverend Yates's leadership and with the support of Cooper, the First Baptist Church of Yazoo City adopted an Open Door Policy that welcomed all who came to worship without regard to race, religion, or dress.

Recognizing that some Southern Baptist churches probably would remove pastors who supported the statement and wanted to implement its recommendations, Cooper called for greater involvement of Baptist laymen in championing social justice. With the assistance of Emmanuel McCall, he and William P. Davis invited black and white Mississippi Baptist laymen to attend a conference in February 1969 to discuss ways they could champion social justice for blacks and support pastors who accepted "Concerning Our National Crisis" and its recommendations. During the 1970 Southern Baptist Convention, Cooper introduced a resolution on race, which the convention approved commending the growing number of Baptist churches where "people of other races are welcomed in all areas of church life and fellowship."[75]

In 1973 as president of the Southern Baptist Convention, Cooper hosted a dinner in Jackson for a black pastor, L. Venachael Booth, president of the Progressive Baptist Convention. Cooper told his dinner guests, "Twenty years ago I wouldn't have had a part in this," and added, "If I can change anybody can change." He attributed this to the "grace of God, the changes of time," and the influence of his family.[76]

In 1978 Broadman Press published *Not Our Kind of Folks?*, which includes essays and sermons by five Baptist preachers (one black) and one Baptist layman, Owen Cooper, in which they bared their souls about race prejudice. Cooper's article, "My Pilgrimage from Racism to Equality," reviewed the evolution of his views about race, explaining that he grew up in a religious value system that touted the brotherhood of man without ever applying this value system to civil rights. Gradually,

[73] Emanuel McCall, *When All God's Children Get Together* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2007), 73-75.

[74] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me*, 50.

[75] *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention 1970*, 80, available at http://media2.sbhla.org.s3.amazonaws.com/annuals/SBC_Annual_1970.pdf.

[76] *Baptist Press*, September 7, 1973.

he began realizing he had been "proof texting" his views on race and started examining the works and teaching of Jesus in their entirety. He explained, "When I considered the cumulative impact of his teachings and ministry in the light of my then existing attitude toward race, I concluded I was wrong."[77]

In addition to the evolution in his beliefs about race, Cooper had a growing humanitarian vision of improving the life and well-being of people around the world. In 1965 the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) asked MCC to host a team of leaders from India who wanted to discuss how southern farmers had helped themselves through construction of a farmer-owned chemical plant. During the meeting Cooper learned of the poverty and starvation of children in India, and it spurred his imagination.[78] He persuaded the heads of three American farm fertilizer cooperatives to support the construction of a farmer-owned chemical plant in India. Moreover, the MCC board of directors agreed to donate $300,000 to the project and to send two staff members to oversee construction of the plant. USAID agreed to pay a substantial portion of the estimated construction cost of $150 million. In 1967 Cooper traveled to India to persuade government officials and farmers to form the Indian Farmers Fertilizer Cooperative that would manage the plant once it was completed. He made several other trips to India to help solve critical issues. It was clear to everyone that Cooper held the project together until completion of the plant in 1973. The plant was so successful that a second plant was built.

In June 1972, Cooper was elected president of the Southern Baptist Convention, the fourth layman to serve in this capacity. Cooper's successful career as president of Mississippi Chemical Corporation and his work, in his local church, the Mississippi Baptist Convention, and as a member of the executive committee of the convention, had made him a strong candidate. During his tenure as president (1972-1974), he was a strong promoter of evangelism, world missions, and improved race relations.

Cooper's retirement in 1973 as CEO from Mississippi Chemical Corporation allowed him time to promote his vision for helping India that always included more than a chemical plant. He wanted to promote Christianity in India. There were few Southern Baptist mission-

[77] Jo G. Prichard *Making Things Grow*, 128.

[78] Ibid., 125-129.

aries in India because the Indian government would only issue visas to missionaries sent by the Foreign Mission Board if they had a skill that met India's physical needs. Cooper developed a concept he called Universal Concern that employed local Indian evangelists as church planters, typically at a greatly reduced cost compared with that of Southern Baptist missionaries. Pooling together his resources along with contributions from others, Universal Concern was able to employ eighteen Indians as church planters, whose success caused the Foreign Mission Board to gradually take over the Universal Concern initiative, beginning in 1980.[79]

Based on his travels to India, Cooper believed there was a great need for books in English. Learning that many U.S. publishers had books left over from promotions and had unsold stock in warehouses, he invited them to send their unsold books to MCC where they would be stored in a warehouse and shipped at no cost to India and other developing countries by Books for the World, an entity he created. By the early 1990s, Books for the World was shipping more than one million volumes each year. Another new project, Book-Link, which involved shipping used books dealing with religious topics to India, began as an initiative to support the work of church planters employed by Universal Concern by making biblical commentaries and other religious books available to them. The used books came from libraries of retired preachers and religious educators and were made available at no cost to church planters. Later Book-Link was expanded to encompass indigenous religious leaders in other developing nations.[80]

Owen Cooper's last hurrah for the state of Mississippi came in 1986 after the legislature adjourned without funding the State Highway Department for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1986. The prospect of 3,000 state highway staff losing their jobs along with cancellation of highway construction projects already underway galvanized supporters of Mississippi highways to urge Governor Bill Allain to convene a special session of the legislature to fund the Highway Department. One of these supporters was Sam Waggoner, Central District Highway Commissioner, who was in Yazoo City in early April to dedicate a section of Highway 49E as Jerry Clower Boulevard. At this event Waggoner saw Cooper

[79] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me,* 93.
[80] Ibid., 173-175.

and mentioned his concern about the Highway Department.[81] Cooper asked him if he could help, and Waggoner suggested that Cooper could form a committee of prominent business and industry leaders across the state to ask the governor to convene a special session of the legislature to fund the Highway Department. This committee met on May 7 and issued a strong public statement that urged Governor Allain to convene the legislature to address the problem.[82] In late May, the legislature in a special session approved a highway appropriation bill that Governor Allain signed into law.

Believing the time was right for bold action, supporters of expanded highway construction asked Waggoner to prepare a highway map that identified the number of miles that could be built using the department's existing bond authority but without new taxes. He prepared this map and shared it with Cooper at a meeting in early June. Cooper liked the map but suggested that the number of miles could be increased. Six weeks later, after returning from an overseas trip, Cooper convened a meeting with about seventy-five business and industry leaders, whose enthusiastic support for Waggoner's map prompted Cooper to request a new highway map that would put every citizen within thirty to forty minutes of a four-lane highway.[83]

Cooper proposed creation of a steering committee to manage a strategy to build statewide support for the four-lane highway expansion. The steering committee adopted the name, Advocating Highways for Economic Advancement and Development (AHEAD) and advocated a five-cent-per-gallon vehicle fuel tax to fund construction giving birth to the motto, "A Nickle Will Do It."[84] Buoyed by this solid base of grassroots support, Cooper advised Governor Allain that it was time for Mississippi to undertake a major four-lane highway construction program funded by a gasoline tax. Turning his attention to obtaining legislative support for AHEAD, he began discussions with legislative leaders. He rejected suggestions that this was not the time to raise taxes, saying that the favorable momentum for AHEAD must be maintained.[85]

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[81] William M. Cash and R. Daryl Lewis, *AHEAD: From Grassroots Movement to Four-Lane Highway System in Mississippi* (Brandon, MS: Quail Ridge Press,1998), 29.

[82] Ibid., 32.

[83] Jere Nash and Andy Taggart, *Mississippi Politics: A Struggle for Power, 1976-200*6 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006), 188.

[84] Ibid., 188-189.

[85] William M. Cash and Daryl Lewis, *AHEAD*, 40.

Then seventy-eight-years old, Cooper had complained of not feeling well during the summer, but medical exams disclosed no significant health issues. On October 18 while in Peoria, Illinois, on a speaking engagement he became ill. His daughter, Nancy Gilbert, met him at the airport and took him immediately to the Emergency Room at the Baptist Hospital in Jackson. Exploratory surgery revealed his stomach was filled with inoperable cancer.[86] On November 6, 1986, he died peacefully.

Shortly before his death, Cooper told Gene Triggs, his trusted colleague at MCC and one of the founders of AHEAD, "Mississippi needs that highway program so give all you've got."[87] Triggs and other AHEAD leaders did just that. By the end of January 1987, the legislature had approved the highway bill, and then overrode Governor Allain's veto with just one vote to spare in the House. The AHEAD vision was now a reality. Over the next fourteen years, 1,077 miles of four-lane highways would be built at a cost of $1.6 billion.[88]

Throughout his adult life Cooper had viewed himself as a successful businessman whose Christian values permeated his business dealings. He was most comfortable with the Southern Baptist expression of Christian values, which included evangelism as witnessing to Jesus Christ as his savior. His forthright profession of faith thrust him into positions of leadership as a deacon in his own church, president of the Mississippi Baptist Convention, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and president of the Baptist World Alliance. LeRoy Percy, a good friend and business associate who did not share Cooper's religious beliefs, once said, "Business wise if you add up all of the things that Owen envisioned and put into being, you're talking about billions of dollars of activity in this state. And you're talking about providing jobs for thousands of people." He added, "I hope that any biography of Owen Cooper won't picture him only as a big religious leader."[89]

Percy was right that Cooper's legacy included billions of dollars of investment in Mississippi that created thousands of jobs. The crown jewel of his economic legacy, Mississippi Chemical Corporation, was sold in the early 2000s, but operates today as CF Industries. In addition, also

[86] Email message from Nancy Gilbert to Charles Dollar, June 5, 2019.

[87] "Transcript of Oral History Interview with Gene Triggs (2004)," Jere Nash and Andy Taggart Collection, University of Mississippi Special Collections and Archives.

[88] Jere Nash and Andy Taggart, *Mississippi Politics, 193.*

[89] Don McGregor, "Owen Cooper: Chemical Corporation CEO and Bi-vocation Missionary," Vol. 29 (January 1994), *Baptist History & Heritage Journal*, 26.

going strong today are Mississippi Blue Cross and Blue Shield and Farm Bureau Insurance, which are multimillion dollar businesses. Mississippi Action for Progress, which Cooper helped create and led for nine years, has persisted for more than five decades and touched the lives of more than 200,000 preschool children through Head Start Centers across the state. Equally as impressive was his leadership in establishing AHEAD, which eventually built an extensive network of four-lane highways that on a day-to-day basis dramatically improved the lives of Mississippians.

One of Owen Cooper's great strengths as a business leader was his bold vision of a future that could be achieved through a careful analysis of problems and designing solutions in accordance with legal requirements and high ethical/moral standards. His passion for and confidence in success enabled him to persuade skeptics who believed a project could not succeed because "it has never been done before" or "it won't work because it is too complicated." Ultimately, the success of most of his projects can be attributed to his low-key approach of building a consensus on a solution or set of solutions. He was neither a cajoler nor a fist pounder in getting people to agree to cooperate. Speaking with clarity, conciliation, and confidence, he encouraged people to focus on a higher value and vision that would benefit many people. This approach was not always successful, especially when dealing with segregationists on Community Action Boards and assertive advocates of poor blacks. Nonetheless, Cooper persisted in trying to work with all sorts of people to improve race relations.

Owen Cooper enjoyed a full life and received numerous honors recognizing his contributions to the state and people of Mississippi. In an obituary after Cooper's death, Mississippi political columnist Bill Minor described him as "having made the progression from a success-oriented businessman with conservative views to a highly successful businessman who cared about human rights and racial justice."[90] A more nuanced assessment of Owen Cooper would have described him as a devout Baptist layman and widely acknowledged successful businessman whose evolving views on social justice and civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s inspired other Mississippians to follow his example. His friend and business associate, LeRoy Percy confirmed this, explaining "I think more than any other Protestant layman that I knew, Owen . . . [made]

[90] Jackson *Daily News*, November 11, 1986.

whites realize that their position needed to be changed."[91]

[91] Don McGregor, *The Thought Occurred to Me*, 114.

Nullification in Mississippi

By Joel Sturgeon

On January 9, 1861, Mississippi followed South Carolina's example and became the second state to secede from the Union. This was not the first time Mississippi had responded to a secession crisis. The first was nearly thirty years earlier. In 1832 resentment towards the Tariff of 1828, as well as the recently passed Tariff of 1832, prompted South Carolina to create the Ordinance of Nullification. The ordinance proclaimed that the state had the right to overrule federal legislation or nullify any law within the borders of South Carolina. The ensuing Nullification Crisis resulted in some of the first serious secession talks in American history and laid the political groundwork for the eventual American Civil War.[1]

The Nullification Crisis, however, was different from the sectional crisis twenty-eight years later in one very significant way—it failed to gain support. Whereas Mississippi and other southern states quickly came to South Carolina's aid in 1861, South Carolina stood alone in 1832 and 1833. In fact, Mississippi and other southern states united to support President Andrew Jackson's staunch opposition to secession. Many southern states, including Mississippi, endorsed Jackson's Force Bill of 1833, which allowed the president to use "whatever force necessary" to suppress insurrections.[2]

This unionist attitude on the part of Mississippians was in marked contrast with attitudes in 1861 when Mississippi eagerly followed South Carolina into secession and war.[3] A combination of factors contributed to Mississippi's stance in the winter of 1832 and 1833. Mississippi's population was relatively small, and it lacked the trademark sense of

[1] William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). Freehling's work on the Nullification Crisis, the definitive source on the subject, established the narrative still largely used when discussing the conflict's role in American historiography.

[2] Richard E. Ellis, *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights, and the Nullification Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 24-26, 50-51. Ellis expands on Freehling's thesis a bit by touching on some of the broader implications of the Nullification Crisis outside South Carolina.

[3] Michael B. Ballard, *The Civil War in Mississippi: Major Campaigns and Battles* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), 4-6.

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state identity that characterized it decades later. It was in the midst of an economic boom commonly referred to as the "Flush Times," and the seemingly radical nature of South Carolina's call to action alienated planters, most of whom did not see the tariff as an insurmountable obstacle. As a fairly new state, Mississippi showed resolute patriotism, which was particularly fervent because of the state's ardent loyalty to President Andrew Jackson. Though Jackson did not pioneer many of the policies that his supporters so closely linked to his presidency, such as inclusive democracy for white men, they still saw him as the embodiment of the common man and egalitarian principles. Mississippi's love for President Jackson was particularly fervent because of his military accomplishments in the Creek War and the War of 1812, both of which held vast implications for the Mississippi Territory.[4] Andrew Jackson's role in preventing further crises cannot be emphasized enough, and, in the words of historian Wallace Hettle, "The Age of Jackson seems appropriate even to historians skeptical of the notion that great men shape history."[5] For these reasons, Mississippi ultimately refused to back South Carolina in 1833. But the state was still conflicted, and, in the wake of the Nullification Crisis, Mississippi's nullifiers, such as John A. Quitman, gained more prominence and solidified states' rights rhetoric in the Magnolia State's political identity.

Understanding why Mississippi chose not to follow South Carolina and its subsequent drift towards South Carolina's way of thinking is essential to understanding the Nullification Crisis and the significant part it played in promoting states' rights and the coming of the Civil War. Though the crisis failed to bring about disunion, it was more than merely a false alarm between South Carolina and the federal government. It was a definitive political event in the South and throughout the Union. Understanding the full implications of the Nullification Crisis is vital to understanding the entire historiographical narrative of the United States because the crisis first framed the question of eternal Union that was answered by the American Civil War thirty years later. It raised the ultimate question of state versus federal authority that defined national

[4] Edwin Arthur Miles, *Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1960). Discussion of Mississippi's early years of statehood throughout. Christopher J. Olsen, *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor, and the Antiparty Tradition, 1830-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[5] Wallace Hettle, *The Peculiar Democracy: Politics and Ideology of the Southern Democrats in Secession and Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 54-66.

political arguments for decades to come. It could be said that the crisis planted the seeds that would eventually blossom into full-scale rebellion thirty years later by generating the national dialogue that fed into the political discourse over the next generation.

Though the Nullification Crisis reached a peaceful conclusion by compromise, it failed to answer any of the important questions it raised. It, therefore, established a precedent with broad implications. From that point forward, the idea of "perpetual Union" was ever in question, and most states, including Mississippi, came to see secession as a viable option of last resort. Though Mississippi hesitated to follow South Carolina into disunion in 1833, the state's inner political conflict initiated a gradual change in its perspective. In the wake of the Nullification Crisis, a breed of "John Tyler Whigs" rose throughout Mississippi and their close adherence to states' rights defined the political conflict within the state. Though the Whig Party is often construed as the conciliatory party during the Jacksonian and Antebellum eras, it championed the cause of states' rights in Mississippi in a time when most Jacksonian Democrats quickly denounced state opposition to federal measures.[6] With the election of Abraham Lincoln decades later, a generation of Mississippi statesmen who cut their teeth in a post-Nullification Crisis nation, quickly saw secession as a practical option. The downward spiral toward disunion began after the Nullification Crisis.[7]

Renowned historian William Freehling's 1966 work *Prelude to Civil War* established the historical narrative about the Nullification Crisis that is still commonly used today. Freehling contended that the crisis applied mostly to the state of South Carolina and that there was not enough support in the political atmosphere of 1832 and 1833 to instigate widescale sectional hostilities. A closer examination of other states, including Mississippi, reveals that the crisis brought sectional enmity to the brink in many southern states and served as a transitional moment for state politics. Freehling also argues that slavery was always at the heart of nullification, and that South Carolina merely used the tariff issue as a means to create a national silver bullet to protect slavery from

[6] Lawrence Frederick Kohl, *The Politics of Individualism: Parties and the American Character in the Jacksonian Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[7] David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis: 1848-1861* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1976). For more on the coming of the Civil War and the political discussions that separated the nation in the 1850s, see Potter's work on the subject.

the burgeoning abolitionist movement.[8] Though this use of nullification was true for South Carolina, most nullifiers outside of the Palmetto State were motivated by issues including but not limited to the tariff and Indian Removal. By focusing almost exclusively on South Carolina and tying nullification as a whole to the slave question, Freehling's work misses some significant historical nuances.[9]

Though the slavery issue often took a back seat to other political matters between the Missouri Compromise in 1820 and the Mail Crisis in 1835, politicians frequently expressed their concerns that any given dispute could result in national collapse. As noted by historian Elizabeth Varon, commitment to eternal Union was never set in stone. Politicians and ordinary citizens frequently expressed their anxieties concerning the young nation's longevity. Additionally, influential figures threatened disunion, not only as a response to anti-slavery sentiments, but every time a contentious issue presented itself.[10] Thomas Jefferson called the Missouri Crisis a fire bell in the night, and that event exposed the Union's vulnerability along slave lines. However, what is often not recognized is that the Union never stopped being vulnerable and, though other political issues overshadowed slavery in the years immediately following the Missouri Compromise, Americans lived in fear that the young republic could collapse at any time. The young republic was fragile, and not only because of divisions regarding slavery.[11]

To understand the Nullification Crisis's importance in Mississippi and its impact on the state's political landscape going forward, one can focus on Mississippi's prominent newspapers and influential political figures. Newspapers are limited as a source in that they cannot be used

[8] Freehling, *Prelude,* Introduction 1-6. Freehling focuses specifically on South Carolina's political strategies and their implications.

[9] John Mills Thornton, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 21-25. For example, Alabama Representative Dixon Hall Lewis was a devout nullifier and states' rights supporter but, unlike his colleagues in South Carolina, his main issue was Indian Removal. Lewis believed that individual states, not the federal government, should supervise Indian relations, and he supported nullification because he believed Alabama should have the last word on the topic.

[10] Elizabeth R. Varon, *Disunion!: The Coming of the American Civil War, 1789-1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), Introduction.

[11] Matthew W. Hall, *Dividing the Union: Jesse Burgess Thomas and the Making of the Missouri Compromise* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2016). Lacy K. Ford, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Slavery Question in the Old South, 1787-1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). Ford's excellent examination of southern politics during the early years of the republic analyzes the relationship between southern politics and slavery.

as exact indicators of how the majority of citizens thought about certain issues, nor do they reflect any sort of polling or broad consensus. However, they do serve to show the issues that mattered to their reading base and give the historian a bit of insight into the types of arguments people encountered. Newspaper editors were opinion-makers, and so a close examination of Mississippi's leading publications is most revealing of the way people thought. Another lens through which one can examine the Nullification Crisis in Mississippi is that of prominent political figures, in this case, the ones who endorsed nullification. Though men such as John A. Quitman and George Poindexter did not speak for most Mississippians in the early 1830s, they did initiate a great deal of the political dialogue that permeated throughout the state and trickled down to the next generation. These men pioneered the Whig Party in Mississippi, and the Nullification Crisis was the event that ignited their movement. But to understand Mississippi in the 1830s, one must first understand the state's early development.

Mississippi's early history revolved around the city of Natchez, which was well established as a regional hub in colonial times long before Mississippi became a state in 1817. By the 1810s, Natchez was a stable community inhabited by planter families, many of whom were already wealthy profiteers of slave labor. Beginning in the 1810s, people from other southern states began to move into the largely uncleared expanse of wilderness outside of Natchez, which was almost exclusively inhabited by Native Americans.[12] These new settlers gradually grew to challenge the political domination of the old Natchez aristocracy. The competition between the old gentry and the new yeomanry defined early Mississippi politics.[13] The established residents generally favored policies such as land requirements for suffrage and a careful check on the number of slaves admitted into the state. The new settlers favored more lenient suffrage rights and considered slave importation and Indian removal to be the most important issues. As even more settlers poured into the state throughout the 1820s, the Natchez aristocracy found itself fighting

[12] DuVal, Kathleen, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2016). Native Americans had a presence in the lower Mississippi Valley, and conflicts between white settlers and Native Americans reached back generations. By the 1820s, most settlers saw Indian Removal as the natural conclusion to these conflicts and Andrew Jackson cloaked his removal rhetoric in humanitarian prose.

[13] Thomas D. Clark, and John D. W. Guise, *The Old Southwest, 1795-1830: Frontiers in Conflict* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 180-196.

a losing battle against an ever-growing yeomanry who found political representation in the towering figure of Andrew Jackson.[14]

Mississippi settlers already admired Jackson for his military accomplishments in the War of 1812, which took place very near their new home.[15] He was also a great champion of Indian removal, which made him, if possible, even more popular in the newly-settled parts of Mississippi, which enthusiastically supported his three presidential campaigns. The Jackson administration rewarded their support with a series of Indian removal treaties beginning with the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 and followed by the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek in 1832. These treaties forced Choctaw and Chickasaw tribesmen to cede territory to the United States and compelled many of them to leave their land entirely. Because of Jackson's harsh policies, Mississippi settlers in the newly-settled region become fervent Democrats for generations to come. Natchez and the established river communities, however, swelled with John Quincy Adams supporters, many of whom became dedicated Whigs. These well-established Mississippi planters viewed Jackson as an illiterate, unsophisticated commoner unqualified for the executive office.

By 1830, the political culture was divided between Jacksonian settlers who supported Indian removal and feared federal centralization and the established river gentry who supported Adams, the Bank of the United States, and Henry Clay's American System. As Indian removal treaties made land available in other parts of the state, Natchez gradually lost power, and, ultimately, a robust Jacksonian majority won control in state and national politics. Jacksonian strongholds, such as Woodville, gained influence during these years.[16]

Before Mississippi became a state in 1817, the Tariff of 1816 passed Congress with a bipartisan and cross-sectional majority. However, in the wake of the Panic of 1819, which desolated millions of farmers, particularly in the South, the proposed successor Tariff of 1824 became a much more contentious issue. South Carolinian George McDuffie's "40 Bale Theory" asserted that forty percent tariffs cost southern planters

[14] Clayton D. James. *Antebellum Natchez* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 90-94, 112-116, 278.

[15] Henry Eugene Sterkx and Brooks Thompson, "Philemon Thomas and the West Florida Revolution," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 39 no. 4 (April 1961): 378-386. It is also worth noting that many Natchezians took part in the West Florida Rebellion, though the city itself did not fall under the short-lived republic's tentative jurisdiction.

[16] Christopher J. Olsen, *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor, and the Antiparty Tradition,* 1830-1860 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 6-9, 20-31.

forty percent of their profits. Economist John A. James conducted a study and calculated that the actual losses were closer to twenty percent.[17] At the time, however, it was impossible to economically prove the impact of the tariff one way or the other. The tariff's dubious nature as a tax is probably why it was the federal government's main source of revenue throughout the nineteenth century. No one could say definitively how much harm it caused. Despite its uncertain status, by the mid-1820s, many southern planters and northern merchants developed a strong aversion to the tariff.[18] Though the Missouri Crisis of 1820 clearly displayed the young nation's fragility along slave lines, the Tariff of 1824 certainly exacerbated the rise of sectionalism.[19]

Though southern states opposed the tariff in the 1820s, it was not an especially controversial issue in Mississippi where small towns like Woodville generally focused on other political discussions. Woodville was not an old river town like Natchez, but it was a stable community by 1828 when the tariff debate reemerged on the national stage. The locally-published *Woodville Republican's* editors disagreed on which candidate to support between then-President John Quincy Adams and his opponent Andrew Jackson.[20] Consequently, the *Republican* was a surprisingly bipartisan periodical which, in a few instances, referred to Adams as a "corrupt tyrant" and Jackson as an "illiterate barbarian."[21]

With regard to the impending tariff vote, the *Republican* showed little preference either way.[22] In 1828 the political hostility toward the tariff was minimal at most. The indifference with which the *Republican* treated the Tariff in 1828 suggests that it was not an issue of great

[17] John A. James, "Public Debt Management Policy and Nineteenth Century American Economic Growth," *Explorations in Economic History,* 21, no. 2 (April 1984).

[18] Sydney Nathans, *Daniel Webster and Jacksonian Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). Nathans argues that Daniel Webster, through clever political maneuvering, redirected the discussion around the tariff toward a discussion concerning South Carolina's loyalty. He first identified nullification as an act of sedition and borderline treachery.

[19] Daniel Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815-1840*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 58-60, 169-172, 184-187. William K. Bolt, *Tariff Wars and the Politics of Jacksonian America* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2017). Donald Ratcliffe, "The Nullification Crisis, Southern Discontents, and the American Political Process" *American Nineteenth Century History*, 1, no. 2 (2000).

[20] Lynda Lasswell Crist, *" 'Useful in His Day and Generation': James Alexander Ventress, 1805-1867"* (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1980), 83.

[21] *The Woodville Republican,* April 15, 1828.

[22] Ibid. In addressing the tariff, the editor of the *Republican* reflected, "The Tariff, in the language of the intelligencer, drags heavily. Nothing decisive has been done yet."

importance to readers at the time. By March 20, the paper stopped discussing the tariff altogether and instead focused primarily on the issue of private land titles.[23] This diminished discussion of the tariff indicated that people were aware of the political battle surrounding the tariff, but that it was not yet a subject of much interest in southwest Mississippi. Perhaps the most revealing indication of the tariff's status as a non-issue came on May 6, 1828, only thirteen days before the new tariff passed Congress. The editors wrote, "There is hardly anything from Washington sufficiently interesting to give our readers."[24] Evidently, people living in Woodville's sphere of influence were uninterested in the tariff prior to its passage in 1828. It is possible that they did not understand the financial implications of the question at this time, or that they did not perceive it as favoritism to another region. Even ardent complaints from their congressman did not appear to stir much interest in the tariff.

One week after its observation that nothing interesting was happening in Washington, the *Republican* printed a speech from Jacksonian representative and Woodville resident William Haile in which the frustrated congressman ranted:

> The people cannot be blind to the fact that Congress is daily exercising powers not delegated to them in the Constitution . . . What are all the laws for promotion of domestic manufacturers but violations of both the letter and spirit of that sacred instrument? . . . These acts can be viewed in no other light than a device to rob the pockets of the inhabitants of the South, for the purpose of creating and giving permanence to monopolies to impair the interests of our state by curtailing foreign commerce and thereby diminishing the value of our staple product.

This speech was the first of many in which Haile spoke out against what he believed to be sectional favoritism inherent in the tariff. Haile feared that the tariff could lead to the growth of cotton in other parts of the world, such as Egypt and India, which would allow the British to stifle the burgeoning southern economy. He further complained that

[23] *The Woodville Republican,* March 20, 1828. Eventually, tariff news dwindled down to tedious excerpts that read, "Mr. Smith of South Carolina presented several petitions from the state against further protecting duties."

[24] *The Woodville Republican,* May 6, 1828.

the new tariff bill should protect southern crops. But his proposal to add indigo and castor oil to the list of protected goods fell on deaf ears.[25] Most Mississippi citizens did not share Haile's views in 1828. The *Republican* quietly acknowledged the passage of the tariff bill shortly thereafter.[26] Although the paper did not speak out against Haile, he lost his ensuing reelection bid to Thomas Hinds. He even lost his home county of Wilkinson by sixteen votes. The constituents from his district town did not appear to be impressed by his bold opposition to the tariff. Haile, however, proved to be ahead of his time. In the subsequent months and years, hostility to the tariff became far more popular in the newly-settled region. The Natchez District, however, remained firmly pro-tariff.

Most Mississippians were pro-Jackson in the 1820s, but wealthy, influential Adams supporters made their voices heard from the affluent stronghold in Natchez. Though Natchez voted for Jackson in 1824 and 1828 by narrow margins, many of the wealthy planter families were devout Adams supporters. Adams County was named for John Quincy's father, John Adams, whom Natchezians admired a generation earlier. Though only mildly financially successful, *the Natchez Ariel*, a widely-circulated newspaper first published in 1825, was unapologetically pro-Adams.[27] Adams, who stated in a speech reprinted by the *Ariel* in 1828 that he had a keen interest in promoting gradual emancipation and contributing to colonization societies, seemed like an odd favorite for Natchez planters. By 1828, Natchez was well on its way to becoming one of the wealthiest slaveholding cities in America. Despite his opposition to slavery, which the *Ariel* never attempted to sugarcoat, Adams had a passionate following among the Natchez aristocracy, partly because of his interest in internal improvements.

Though unapologetic slave owners, wealthy Natchezians embraced many of the ideas about social transformation and structural innovation envisioned by Adams and his National Republican supporters. Firm believers in education, achievement for the greater good, internal improvements, and a central banking system to pay for them, the *Ariel* even

[25] *The Woodville Republican*, May 13, 1828. Though most Mississippians did not grow indigo in 1828, Haile believed that the crop could make a comeback if the tariff could stave off competition from foreign markets.

[26] *The Woodville Republican,* May 27, 1828. After the tariff passed, the Republican casually observed, "We are informed by Mr. Haile, our Representative, that the tariff bill passed the Senate but with some alterations and amendments from its shape in the lower house."

[27] James, 101-107.

dedicated an entire section of its paper to women's development called the *Ladies' Parterre*.[28] Naturally, the paper also favored the tariff in its early days because of its association with internal improvements.[29] At first glance, such fervent support for an anti-slavery president who sought to strengthen the federal government seems out of place for wealthy slave owners. Upon closer examination, however, it makes sense because wealthy slave owners had much to gain from the transportation networks facilitated by internal improvements. Thus, most wealthy Natchez slave owners remained loyal to Adams, even when the president freed the famous "Prince Among Slaves" Abdull Rahman Ibrahima by executive order.[30]

The call for internal improvements in Mississippi was understandable, but more surprising was the *Ariel's* genuine desire to assist manufacturers in other parts of the nation even when the legislation had nothing to do with Mississippi's interests.[31] Early Mississippi newspapers were defined by national patriotism, and most showed pride in being a part of the United States. Mississippians who supported Adams, Clay, and the tariff were patriotic to the extent that they were willing to make sacrifices to help other Americans in distant sections of the country.[32] Jacksonian and anti-tariff Mississippians were not content with everything going on in Congress. Still, they were proud to be a part of a new state where men considered citizenship a great privilege

[28] Joshua D. Rothman, *Reforming America, 1815-1860* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), Introduction, 24-28. Rothman discusses the development of American intellectual, spiritual, and political ideas at great length.

[29] *The Ariel*, February 16, 1828. In its article, the editor explained, "No man can deny that a good road is a benefit to the community or that a canal facilitates commerce, therefore, no man can at heart be opposed to internal improvements; for they consist mainly of making or bettering roads and canals."

[30] Terry Alford, *Prince Among Slaves: The True Story of an African Prince Sold into Slavery in the American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[31] *The Ariel*, May 14, 1828. An example of this apparent selflessness can be seen in this post by an anonymous citizen that elaborates, "Without the protection of the tariff, the new manufactories could not be established . . . it does seem to be a cold and heartless objection when it rests upon the chance of reduction of price. Would we refuse fire or water to a neighbor? Or let him perish from cold and hunger that there may be one mouth less to keep up the price of provisions? Is there no moral obligation to assist the efforts of each other even when it must be done at some sacrifice? Much more when the boon asked for is little more than a mere courtesy."

[32] Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). It is worth noting here that Natchez was close to Louisiana, the only state in the Deep South to fervently support the tariff. As noted by Ferrer, Spanish monopolization of the Cuban sugar trade made competition difficult for Louisiana sugar planters. They relied on stiff federal protection for sugar. Natchez's close relationship to Louisiana may have influenced its opinion of the tariff.

rather than an arbitrary birthright. Though they clearly self-identified as Mississippians, residents had a strong national identity before they developed a strong state or regionally southern identity. This lack of state distinctiveness partly explains why Mississippians of 1828 did not identify with South Carolinians when that state introduced nullification into the political discourse.[33]

The *Ariel* strenuously opposed Jackson's bid for the presidency in 1828, a fact that surely enraged the candidate's devout followers all around Natchez and probably spurred the creation of many Jacksonian newspapers in the early 1830s.[34] One of the main questions the *Ariel* raised during the election of 1828 was the query of where exactly Andrew Jackson stood on any political issue.[35] A cunning politician, Jackson carefully played both sides of the tariff issue by hinting to both sides that he supported them. Though the *Ariel* was pro-tariff and pro-internal improvements, they were eager to destroy Jackson's reputation in Mississippi. The paper's editor pointed out that though Jackson was generally considered to be anti-tariff, his statements in 1824 reflected that he was in favor of the tariff.[36] The *Ariel's* use of the tariff, which they supported in 1828, as a tool to discredit Jackson indicated that its opposition to Jackson overshadowed its support for the tariff.

Another early Natchez publication, the *Southern Galaxy,* printed weekly political pieces and pledged "to be neutral between Adams and Jackson." The *Galaxy*, however, quickly abandoned this promise and proclaimed support for the Adams administration and a belief in the stability that could be provided by "a strong federal government."[37]

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[33] James, 283-284.

[34] *The Ariel,* March 29-April 5, 1828. The editor repeatedly referred to Jackson as illiterate and lacking the mental capacities to govern the nation. He scrutinized every aspect of Jackson's private life in order to find character flaws and harm his reputation. The most surprising articles were those that attacked Jackson's military record and competence as a general, an act that could have resulted in a duel under the right circumstances.

[35] *The Ariel*, April 5, 1828. The editor delved into Jackson's politics and asked, "Has he any fixed principles on national policy? If he has, who knows them? In Pennsylvania, he is supported as devoted to the Tariff and Internal Improvements . . . In the South, he is understood to be determined to support these plans no further than they have already been advanced."

[36] *The Ariel*, April 12, 1828. Another example of the *Ariel's* use of the tariff issue reads, "The reply of the General was evidently an attempt to wind himself along to the presidency through both the tariff and the anti-tariff parties . . . and therefore his friends in the manufacturing states, particularly Pennsylvania, cried him up as being in favor of the tariff; and those in southern states, especially in Virginia, to take up the General Jackson cause and do away with the policy of the current administration."

[37] *The Southern Galaxy*, May 22, 1828.

Though the *Galaxy* insisted upon neutrality, it was possibly even more pro-Adams than the *Ariel*. Concerning the tariff, the *Galaxy* immediately adopted a proactive stance and condemned South Carolina for its early measures to oppose the tariff in 1828. It subsequently mocked South Carolina's "idle threats" in an article that referenced previous American seditious movements. The *Galaxy* lampooned:

> In organizing their army, we would advise them to beat up for recruits up north. Shay's men are not all yet dead we believe they would make grand soldiers. As for officers, send to Pennsylvania. What could equal the spirit of the ringleaders of the whiskey insurrection? But if these cool and deliberate South Carolinians truly wish to fight without quarreling, and legislate these measures out of existence, we would move for a convention to be called forthwith and that the atmosphere of Connecticut, say Hartford, would offer a congenial temperature for their patriotic labors.[38]

Here, the *Galaxy* cited three prior acts of insurrection in Shay's Rebellion, the Whiskey Rebellion, and the Hartford Convention in order to condemn South Carolina's approach, which already hinted at nullification.[39]

In 1828, the *Galaxy* fervently supported the American System and the tariff that sustained it. But the *Galaxy's* view of the tariff took a sharp turn in 1830 when it realized certain economic realities. In an article detailing cotton's economic future, the *Galaxy* determined that the tariff would result in "nine millions of dollars taken from the people."[40] The *Galaxy's* change of heart about the tariff coincided with similar turns all around Mississippi. As South Carolina's sectional complaints trickled down to Mississippi, once strong Adams supporters and Jacksonians alike began to subscribe to the notion that the tariff harmed

[38] Ibid., June 5, 1828.

[39] William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 257-259.

[40] *The Southern Galaxy*, February 2, 1830. In a reversal of its previous position, the *Galaxy* asserted, "There is no cloth, cassimere, flannel, or baize now worn in the United States, foreign or domestic, for which we must not pay three dollars for two dollars' worth . . . Even supposing this calculation to be overrated, which we do not admit, the warmest admirers of the tariff must acknowledge that the woolen imitators take a pretty large pinch out of the public snuff box"

the southern economy.[41] Though most papers and political figures took the tariff more seriously after 1828, they still scoffed at South Carolina's proposed solutions. The *Galaxy* eventually adopted an anti-tariff position in 1830, but it continued to scorn South Carolina and John C. Calhoun, whom it accused of using political strife to propel his own career.[42] Mississippi publications certainly did not perceive Calhoun as a great champion of the slave states, nor did they draw connections between the tariff and slavery.

Though slavery was never a non-issue in Mississippi's political sphere, it was briefly overtaken by other issues, including the tariff, the Bank of the United States, and Indian removal. Nationally, the institution of slavery was more secure in the 1820s and early 1830s than it was in any prior or subsequent decades, and though newspaper editors were defensive about slavery, they did not perceive abolitionist sentiment as a significant threat. While it is true that slavery was always a principal issue to Mississippi politicians and newspaper editors, it was never their *only* political concern. Thus, when newspapers complained about issues such as the tariff and Indian removal, their complaints were sincerely directed at *the tariff* and *Indian removal*. They did not carry a hidden agenda, nor was fervent opposition to the tariff a mask for real intentions to protect slavery from future abolitionist threats.[43]

By 1832, virtually all Mississippi newspapers, besides a few poorly-circulated papers in Natchez, opposed the tariff. In Woodville, where the tariff was of minor significance in 1828, the tariff became the second most discussed issue behind Indian removal. The *Southern Planter* emerged in 1832 as a short-lived competitor to the *Woodville Republican* and immediately began to publish articles attacking the tariff.[44] Two weeks later, the *Planter* fully acknowledged the threat of

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[41] Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 396-397.

[42] *The Southern Galaxy*, February 2, 1830, Olsen, 31-33; James, 101-106. The Natchez "Junto" emerged as a pro-Jackson wing in Natchez. Despite their best efforts, Natchez retained its reputation as an elitist stronghold.

[43] Lucie Robertson Bridgeforth, "Mississippi's Response to Nullification, 1833," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XLV, no. 1 (February 1983): 3, 17-21.

[44] *The Southern Planter,* January 24, 1830, February 2, 1832. One article explained, "There is no species of injury to which the people of the country are more alive than unjust, unequal and unnecessary taxation . . . if a farmer, mechanic or manufacturer were convinced that all his working tools, machinery and agricultural implements were taxed twenty, thirty or even fifty percent merely to promote the interests of a few hundred wealthy iron masters, would he not complain of the tax?"

secession:

> It must be obvious to any statesman in our Union who possesses any degree of political foresight that unless the tariff laws are speedily modified or repealed, some of the southern states will inevitably secede. If but one state secedes, our political chord is broken and the constitution will be dissolved. Other states from more slight and trivial pretexts will seek to follow the example until our consistency as a government will be entirely destroyed and converted into general mass discord.[45]

Though the *Planter* reflected a sectional consciousness as it related to the tariff, it never identified Mississippi as a secessionist state and remained strictly unionist. A consistent theme in Mississippi and other southern states is that the tariff threatened the Union and could lead to secession *somewhere else*. Mississippians refused to paint a target on their backs by admitting that their state could be the one to leave. The *Planter* fiercely opposed the tariff but consistently condemned nullification and all perceived measures of disunion. It also accused John C. Calhoun of using nullification to further his own political ambition to become president and remained fervently loyal to Andrew Jackson.[46] In May 1832, the Planter explained:

> The people of this state have already . . . repeatedly remonstrated and protested against the protective tariff system and declared their interminable hostility to it. While the feelings of our people have been strong and urgent on this subject they have nevertheless exercised a spirit of moderation and forbearance under the prospect of relief being afforded, before endurance would become intolerable . . . our hopes have been strengthened and encouraged from the patriotic and independent course which has been pursued by the present Executive of the United States.[47]

[45] Ibid., April 21, 1832.

[46] Ibid., January 12, 1832, April 14, 1832.

[47] Ibid., May 19, 1832.

Here the *Planter* resolved to fight the tariff but also pledged to seek the path of moderation because that was what Jackson advised. The *Planter's* attitude demonstrated that sectional hostilities were on the rise due largely to differences over the tariff and the American System. Opposition to Andrew Jackson, however, remained downright unthinkable.

In the bustling city of Vicksburg, born from the economic boom of the early 1830s, even ardent Clay supporters opposed the tariff.[48] Though Clay was a virtual non-entity in Mississippi and did not so much as appear on the ballot in 1832, one would have never known it after reading the *Vicksburg Advocate and Register* (*VAR*), which supported him with great enthusiasm.[49] Although the *VAR* supported Henry Clay for president, it did not find it contradictory to also oppose the tariff. In September 1832, the *VAR* published an elaborate article that detailed the events of the "Anti-Tariff Meeting" in Philadelphia. The *VAR* approvingly outlined the parts played by the state's U.S. senators, Powhatan Ellis and George Poindexter, and noted that many in the anti-tariff meeting were ardent Clay and American System supporters who only opposed the tariff on the grounds that it was harmful to free trade.[50] The *VAR's* stance reflected that most Mississippi politicians who opposed the tariff made a point to distance themselves from South Carolina and nullification. Because the word "nullification" carried such a negative connotation and because anti-tariff views could be misconstrued as being anti-Clay, the *VAR* chose to use the term "free trade supporter." By advocating free trade, the *VAR* could oppose the tariff without directly opposing Henry Clay.[51]

By 1830, the *Natchez,* the successor to the *Ariel*, was one of the few papers that still favored the tariff. Following Andrew Jackson's statement in which he spoke favorably of the tariff, the *Natchez* decreed:

> This chops down our state-right and anti-tariff folk of the South . . . why did not the manufacturers also send

[48] Rothman, 157-161, 181.

[49] Bridgeforth, 12. *The Vicksburg Advocate and Register*, September 3, 1831. The editor opined, "If we could have our free choice for the next President, it would assuredly be Henry Clay. . . But we would not hesitate for a moment to sacrifice these predilections even for him upon the alter of our country's welfare if satisfied of its necessity . . . to see Jackson replaced in office."

[50] *The Vicksburg Advocate and Register*, September 11, 1831.

[51] Ibid., March 22, 1832.

> him a scalping knife? It would have been an excellent accompaniment. If the President goes on at this rate, we will certainly rally around his standard. And why not? He supports the tariff. [52]

A hint of sarcasm could have been detected in this statement, but the *Natchez* clearly clung to the ideal of the tariff as a means to fund internal improvements, even as other publications changed sides.[53]

The *Natchez,* however, was the last newspaper advocate for tariff support in Mississippi. Gradually, more and more Mississippi citizens, both Jacksonians and national Republicans, came to loathe the tariff. By 1832, a tutor from Connecticut, Julius A. Reed, said of Natchez, "I hear so much slang about the tariff and so much vile slander heaped upon men for whom I entertain profound respect that I am ready to consent that the South should cut loose from the Union."[54] Many among the wealthy planter class, who originally supported the tariff, soon became its most vigorous opponents. The *Natchez*, however, persisted in supporting the tariff, until it went out of business.

To the Vicksburg-based *Mississippian*, the tariff was a more important issue even than Indian removal by 1832. Earlier that year, Secretary of the Treasury Louis McLane negotiated what many northerners and southerners believed to be an adequate compromise bill that favored gradual reduction in tariff rates.[55] In response to the report published by the Department of the Treasury, the newspaper referred to the tariff as "most oppressive." However, it maintained, "The world was not made in a day and perhaps it was somewhat unreasonable to indulge the expectation of completely removing at once an evil which has been continually accumulating for many years past." Loyalty to Jackson played a part in this attitude of compromise, and the *Mississippian* continued, "Our venerable President . . . that the plan of compromise may be met with the spirit of compromise and that the patriotic efforts of the administration to avert the danger of disunion may be crowned

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[52] *The Natchez*, March 29, 1830.

[53] Ellis, 24-25. *The Natchez*, May 26, 1830. Oddly enough, the *Natchez* was correct in calling Jackson a supporter of internal improvements. In spite of his opposition to Henry Clay and the American system, the federal government spent more money on internal improvements under President Jackson than under all previous administrations combined.

[54] James, 142.

[55] Freehling, *Prelude,* 247-248.

with complete success . . . We style the Hero of New Orleans the savior of his country." These statements confirmed that the *Mississippian* stood with Jackson first and foremost. The newspaper also favored U.S. Representative Franklin Plummer, whom it supported as the champion of their cause. The editor of the *Mississippian* condemned Martin Van Buren for his involvement in the Tariff of 1828 but agreed to endorse him because Jackson supported him. Though the editors never failed to back Jackson, they occasionally published the belligerent misgivings of local citizens who hinted at supporting states' rights. One article authored by "a southerner" elaborated:

> Shall not the states of Alabama and Mississippi, with their virgin soil richer than the Nile, be heard in loud revoke of this system . . . which is destroying millions in their wealth? . . . Should the great constitutional principles of liberty and free trade be crushed under the weight of northern power? . . . This is probably the last grand struggle for southern rights and, I fear, for human liberty.[56]

Though they detested the tariff, their approval of Andrew Jackson and the decisions of his administration kept the publishers satisfied. As with many Mississippi newspapers, it could be said that the *Mississippian* loved Andrew Jackson more than it hated the tariff.

The Woodville Republican expressed nonpartisan disinterest in the tariff in 1828, but by 1833, it had come to fully denounce the tariff.[57] Where the *Republican* thought little of South Carolina's complaints in 1828, it viewed them sympathetically in 1832. It praised the Ordinance of Nullification as a document by stating:

> The paper before us remarks upon the eloquence of the documents emanating from the nullifiers . . . they are written in a vein of real feeling and energy which is calculated to make men pause and ponder. There is

[56] Ibid., March 3, 1832.

[57] *The Woodville Republican*, January 12, 1833. In an article with the title "Good News," *The Republican* gleefully announced, "We have a letter from a member of Congress . . . which states on the highest authority that the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives have digested their tariff bill. That the act of 1816 is taken as a base to which the duties are to come down."

> a boldness and vigor about them far different from the tone and temper of official documents generally . . . We speak thus with regard to the literary merits of these documents – but we hold another opinion concerning the doctrines which they avow.

Here the *Republican* editor confirmed that he identified with the complaints listed in the Ordinance of Nullification but did not approve of its revolutionary suggestions. The *Republican* had come to oppose the tariff and sympathized with South Carolina, but it did not support nullification as a solution. Its attitude was due, at least in part, to its admiration for Andrew Jackson and his policies.[58]

Unlike other Mississippi papers, most of which hailed the Compromise of 1833 as a victory, the *Republican* believed that it was unsatisfactory. An article it reprinted from the *New York Evening Post* complained:

> Either the protective principle must be utterly abandoned by the next session of Congress or the Union will be at an end . . . The northern people will not submit to further delay on this matter . . . We cannot perceive any good reason why all the states except South Carolina which are oppressed by the tariff . . . should continue to be content simply because South Carolina was a bit hasty and unorthodox in its methods . . . It is not the southern states alone which are aggravated by the tariff . . . No state is fully for the tariff . . . Not even New Jersey and Pennsylvania where it is most supported . . . The reduction now proposed will appease the South . . . But is this half way justice worth the price of our Union?[59]

This article reflected more animosity toward the tariff and more

[58] *The Woodville Republican*, February 2, 1833. The Question shows . . . differences of opinion in Wilkinson County . . . I will begin with the nullifiers. A small party composed of worthy and intelligent persons . . . A majority are friendly to the Senator (Poindexter) . . . If the wishes of the state of Mississippi are to be degraded–nullified–merely to accommodate the Clay and Adams Party in Wilkinson County and to gratify the personal friends, very few, of Mr. Poindexter then the practical operations of the representative Democracy are very different from what every patriot has supposed.

[59] *The Woodville Republican*, March 6, 1833.

approval for the possibility of disunion than almost any article written in Mississippi throughout the crisis. Though the *Republican* used this extract, its own editors never embraced anything approaching the possibility of supporting disunion. Almost all citizens of Mississippi were too content in 1832 and 1833 to consider the possibility of secession.

By 1833, Natchez ceased to be a haven for obscure, pro-tariff support.[60] Soon, Natchez fell in line behind the rest of the state in opposing the tariff. *The Natchez Courier and Adams, Franklin and Jefferson Advertiser* relied upon multiple extracts that supported the cause of states' rights, something other newspapers hesitated to do. The *Courier* carried its hostility against the president to an extreme greater than that of other papers. Concerning states' rights, it used an extract from *the Banner of the Constitution* that denounced individual states' rights but supported other southern states rallying to South Carolina by announcing:

> As far as the North is concerned, the question of state rights is irrevocably settled . . . In favor of the President . . . If the southern states should be equally unanimous in reference to the opposite side of the question, then we have arrived at the fearful moment apprehended by Washington at which a geographical line has commenced to divide parties. Henceforth the North will be arrayed against the South and the South against the North . . . in this relation their connection cannot long subsist . . . Which must terminate in the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, or what is far more probable when the relative strength of the parties are considered, in a southern submission to a government of unlimited powers . . . And should this catastrophe occur . . . The victims have only themselves to blame. Had they put forth their moral strength in a common struggle for state rights instead of splitting hairs about individual state remedies? Had Virginia not been denouncing the doctrines of South Carolina in 1832 whilst she professed adherence to her own of 1798 . . . Then we say the existing posture of affairs could not have occurred . . . It has been nothing but the belief entertained in the North

[60] *The Natchez Courier and Adams, Franklin and Jefferson Advertiser*, January 8, 1833.

> that South Carolina stood alone that . . . prepared the public's mind for a favorable reception to the President's proclamation.[61]

This intriguing bit of foreshadowing showed that these sectionalist attitudes existed in Mississippi long before secession in 1861. While most viewed South Carolinians as fanatics, some believed that the South should unite and demand states' rights as a section lest they be forced into secession, war, and ultimate submission.[62]

Amid the tariff debates, the *Courier* featured one of the first examples of northern abolition registering in the minds of slave owners. An extract from the *Mobile Times* criticized the North not only for the tariff but for northern attacks upon the South's three-fifths representation of slaves. It also quoted, with some derision, New Haven, Connecticut Reverend Joslyn, "The true cause of nullification is slavery. In order to strike a clear blow at nullification, slavery must be put down." The *Mobile Times* rejected this notion and claimed that this statement was a northern ploy to further attack the South. It responded, "The same consciousness that leads you to believe that a tariff is just also leads you to believe that attacking our institutions is just." This opposition to the threat of abolitionism was one of the few examples of Mississippi newspapers linking nullification to slavery in any way, and it was an extract from the Mobile newspaper that was written in response to a northerner's comment. There was nothing printed on the possibility of using nullification to perpetuate slavery. However, this hostile response reflected that white male southerners were often paranoid about slavery and always prepared to defend the institution at the slightest sign of opposition.[63]

Though most Mississippians remained loyal to Jackson during the

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[61] Ibid., February 15, 1833.

[62] Ibid., February 22, 1833.

[63] Ibid., March 8, 1833. South Carolina ought to be spurned with indignation . . . South Carolina has valued the existence of the Union by dollars and cents . . . However, much the South may be disposed to condemn South Carolina . . . Will the South not expostulate the North? Will she not say repeal the tariff and adopt one that is equal . . . Right or wrong, we cannot consent to force this tariff upon South Carolina . . . Let us put an end to this war that disturbs the harmony of this Union . . . If you (northern tariff supporters) value the Union more than you value a tariff, offer it a free and willing sacrifice upon the alter of public patriotism . . . The people of Mississippi call for a repeal of the tariff, they will not consent to the use of force, they will not join to compel South Carolina into submitting to a law they themselves deem unconstitutional.

Nullification Crisis, John A. Quitman and George Poindexter were notable outliers. Quitman was a transplant from New York who moved to Natchez in the 1820s and quickly worked his way up in the ranks of elite slaveholders. A supporter of the Bank of the United States and the tariff to a lesser extent, Quitman was also an outspoken supporter of nullification, a position that made him the target of much enmity during Jackson's presidency.[64] Complex and controversial George Poindexter shared Quitman's views. Though appointed to the United States Senate as a Jacksonian in 1830, Poindexter engaged in what many Mississippians characterized as betrayal when he condemned Jackson's Force Bill and became an outspoken Calhoun advocate. His unpredictability prompted President Jackson to refer to him as "that damned rascal Poindexter."[65] Quitman and Poindexter united to support nullification in Mississippi, and Mississippians disillusioned by Jacksonians and national Republicans alike flocked to support them.[66]

While Poindexter fought on behalf of nullification in Washington, Quitman supported it on the ground in Mississippi. Though Poindexter persuaded Senator John Black as well as Representative Franklin Plummer to oppose Jackson's Force Bill, he could not convince any Mississippi congressmen to support Calhoun outright. Plummer explained, "Though I agree with the nullifiers in principle, I find it inexpedient to follow them to the brink of dissolution." As noted by historian Donald Ratcliffe, most representatives from the South, including Plummer, actually voted for the Tariff of 1832, which decreased tariff duties. The fact that many southerners viewed the Tariff of 1832 itself as a reasonable compromise left them less sympathetic to South Carolina's call for nullification the following winter.[67]

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[64] Robert E. May, *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1985), 2-3, 19. May, 23-24, 29. Olsen, 31-32.

[65] Miles, 54-59, 64. *The Natchez Gazette*, November 22, 1831. Former Poindexter supporters in the Mississippi General Assembly, who once voted for him under the impression that he was pro-Jackson, denounced him as early as 1831. That year, the Jacksonian *Natchez Gazette* published an article titled "The Cat is Out of the Bag," in which the editor systematically attacked George Poindexter and called him "no true friend of the President." Robert J. Bailey, "George Poindexter" *Journal of Mississippi History*, XXXV, no. 3 (August 1973), 227-247. So great was Jackson's animosity for George Poindexter that he accused Poindexter of hiring Richard Lawrence to assassinate him after Lawrence misfired in the first ever attempted presidential assassination.

[66] Ellis, 24-26, 50-51.

[67] Ratcliffe contends that the 1820s saw many close calls that nearly led to outright rebellion, but that the Jackson administration took important steps to alleviate southern discontent, including pursuing a lower tariff in 1832.

Quitman had no more success on the state level. In 1832, Governor Gerard C. Brandon proclaimed, "I oppose the Tariff of Abominations, but it is not a power delegated to an individual state to declare any act of congress unconstitutional." In response to Quitman, prominent Natchezians led by Robert J. Walker met to reaffirm their commitment to the Union. Samuel Gwin of Clinton, for instance, declared, "You may rest assured South Carolina has our sympathies, but we cannot support her in her mad career of separation."[68] Finally, even the legislature of Mississippi officially denounced South Carolina and nullification.[69]

Though many aristocratic Natchezians considered the tariff to be the state's most important issue in the early 1830s, most Mississippians saw Indian removal as more important. Andrew Jackson's Treaty of Pontotoc Creek persuaded most citizens of Mississippi that the federal government had addressed the most pressing issue.[70] With Native Americans removed, settlers from other states began pouring into the newly-available land, and with them came a tremendous amount of capital, which generated a flourishing credit system in the early 1830s. The land and slave investments, often supported by credit loans, quickly generated enormous cotton crops and even more capital. This era was the beginning of the "Flush Times" in Mississippi, and the early 1830s were a high-water mark for white male economic prosperity. In this atmosphere of progress, the tariff failed to generate widescale complaint. This prosperous atmosphere contrasted greatly with South Carolina in the 1830s.[71]

In South Carolina, the economy still suffered due to the fallout from the Panic of 1819. John C. Calhoun had emerged as the face of the state's dissatisfaction, and he successfully brought his constituents' complaints to the political forefront during Jackson's presidency. Calhoun, however, did not inspire mass appeal in most southern, anti-tariff states, including Mississippi, because these states did not face South Carolina's same economic and political downturn. "The hero" Andrew Jackson served as the nation's executive, and economic opportunity gen-

[68] James, 283.

[69] John Mason Williams, *Nullification and Compromise a Retrospective View* (New York: Francis & Loutrel, 1863), 14.

[70] Olsen, 30.

[71] Rothman, 5-9, 27-32.

erated feelings of optimism in the minds of most voters in Mississippi.[72] Andrew Jackson was too popular and the atmosphere was too sanguine for nullification to get off the ground in 1833 in any other part of the state besides Natchez.[73] Even in Natchez, future senator Robert Walker staged pro-Union, anti-nullification rallies.[74] If Mississippi had possessed similar suffrage laws to South Carolina, where only the wealthy held sway, then the political situation might have played out differently. As it was, Quitman, Poindexter, and the other members of the elitist states' rights aristocracy found themselves marginalized. Their fringe status, however, did not stop them from taking action.[75]

In January 1833, following Andrew Jackson's proclamation denouncing nullification and subsequent proposal of the Force Bill, Mississippi's top nullifiers came together to form the States' Rights Party of Mississippi. John A. Quitman, Senator George Poindexter, Judge William Sharkey, Judge Cotesworth Pinckney Smith, George Winchester, Isaac Caldwell, and John I. Guion founded the party on May 19, 1833. As its first statement, the States' Rights Party announced, "The Legislature's support for Andrew Jackson had been unrepresentative of the public opinion in Mississippi . . . Mississippians would have rushed to South Carolina's rescue had Jackson dared use force to butcher her citizenry." This development echoed similar calls to arms in Georgia and Virginia, where many citizens proclaimed that Jackson would march on South Carolina only over their dead bodies.[76] The States' Rights Party recruited disillusioned Jacksonians and former Adams supporters. It gained momentum as a viable third party in early 1833 but soon lost steam. The Compromise Tariff of 1833 appeased many Mississippians, and shortly thereafter, the South Carolina legislature repealed its Ordinance of Nullification. When South Carolina made peace with the federal government, the States' Rights Party of Mississippi no longer had a central ally.[77]

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[72] See Miles, *Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi* for an excellent discussion of Mississippi politics during this era.

[73] Miles, 64-66.

[74] Bridgeforth, "Nullification, 1833," 8.

[75] James, 284.

[76] Ellis, 70-72, 110-112, 135-137.

[77] Freehling, *Disunion*, 271-281.

Poindexter and Quitman continued to promote the party. But the Panic of 1837 killed the States' Rights Party once and for all. The emergent Whig Party appeared and presented a viable alternative to Jackson's Democratic Party.[78] Mississippi's Whigs shared little with their eastern and northern counterparts who adored Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. If these southern Whigs had a leader, it was John Tyler who changed parties in 1833 after he refused to endorse Jackson's Force Bill. This particular breed of southern Whig opposed Jacksonian populism and supported states' rights, but never favored the tariff or the American System.[79] Judge Sharkey, Senator Black, and eventually even Senator Poindexter left the States' Rights Party and joined the Whig Party in 1834. Quitman held out the longest, but eventually, a letter from Senator Black persuaded him that the Whig Party was the only hope for defeating the Democrats and that the States' Rights Party would only distract from the anti-Jacksonian movement. Quitman, however, was an unenthusiastic supporter. In the years that followed, he crossed political streams from Whig to Democrat and back again on multiple occasions. States' rights was always more important than party loyalty to Quitman.[80]

Quitman was early to see nullification as a way to repel future threats against slavery. His early support could have been because he identified abolition as a viable threat years before slavery became the nation's most divisive issue. A native New Yorker, he frequently returned to his birth state to visit friends and relatives. In the 1830s, Quitman encountered early supporters of the abolitionist movement. On a visit to Rhinebeck, New York, in 1831, Quitman expressed distress upon witnessing evangelical Christian revivals, many of which featured people who spoke out against Indian removal and slavery. He denounced northern opposition to slavery and stated, "I am heartily tired of the North and, except parting from my relations, shall be happy when I set my face homeward." He watched the abolitionist movement develop in the early 1830s and carried his paranoia back to Mississippi. The abolitionist movement was in its early stages at this time. William Lloyd Garrison first published his abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator,* in January of

[78] Feller, *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815-1840,* 169-172, 184-187.

[79] Kohl, *The Politics of Individualism: Parties and the American Character in the Jacksonian Era*. For further reading on Whig identity, Kohl's work is enlightening.

[80] May, 61-63.

1831 only a month before Quitman's visit to the North.[81] Shortly after his return to Mississippi, Quitman became a states' rights advocate, a position he retained for the rest of his life. Quitman, however, was ahead of his time. Most Mississippians did not detect a threat against slavery growing in the North in the early 1830s. Almost all anti-tariff arguments revolved around the sectional inequality of the tariff and insisted upon the use of constitutional means to fight it. Though most opposed the tariff, only Quitman and a small group of significant allies advocated the use of nullification to defeat it. The vast majority of Mississippians supported slavery, yet newspapers and correspondents never expressed interest in using nullification to perpetuate it. Moreover, the founding members of the States' Rights Party of Mississippi never openly advocated nullification for any reason other than to combat the tariff.[82]

In 1832 and 1833, white male Mississippians had every reason for optimism. The economy was improving, Indian removal treaties had opened land for growth, the state's hero was serving as the nation's executive, status as a new state translated into fervent patriotism, a new state constitution created satisfaction with a majority of white males, and the population of 80,000 was relatively manageable. The future looked even brighter from the perspective of white males. The tariff was the one obstacle in an otherwise blissful time. This position is in marked contrast to that of South Carolina's in 1832. The state of affairs for white male landowners in antebellum South Carolina was on the decline. The recession had weakened the economy. Only those with wealth and land had a voice in the government. Andrew Jackson was widely ridiculed. Allegiance was more to state and less to nation, and the state's overall influence was declining.[83] To South Carolina, the tariff was a problem stacked on top of many other problems. Mississippi and South Carolina were not compatible allies in 1832 and 1833 because the only complaint they shared was their disapproval of the tariff.

Though the Nullification Crisis failed to divide the nation, its legacy played a substantial part in the sectional conflict that grew in the next decades. Andrew Jackson's anointed successor, Martin Van Buren, barely won the state of Mississippi in 1836 due partly to the role he once played in constructing the Tariff of 1828. Though Jacksonians in the legislature were quick to vote George Poindexter out of office in 1836,

[81] Freehling, *Disunion*. 273.

[82] May, 47-49.

[83] Ellis, 68-72, 165, 194-198.

by the late 1830s, Mississippi had a Whig governor, a Whig senator, and Van Buren lost to William Henry Harrison in Mississippi in the election of 1840. Uncompromising support for the Union died in Mississippi when Andrew Jackson left office.[84]

John Quitman never apologized for his pro-nullification views. Not one to surrender his convictions for political expedience, Quitman stuck to his guns concerning nullification, which temporarily hindered his career. Years later when he visited the barbershop of William Johnson, the famous black entrepreneur and slave owner, a Natchez man harassed Quitman and called him "a damn nullifier."[85] His convictions, however, paid political dividends in the 1840s and 1850s when his states' rights ideas gained popularity in the South. He spent the rest of his career bouncing back and forth between Democrat and Whig parties, always choosing the party that best represented states' rights. In 1851, Henry Foote referred to nullification in Mississippi as "Quitmanism." Ultimately, Quitman served as Mississippi's governor twice and briefly as military governor of Mexico City after Mexico's surrender in 1848.[86]

Many other men who became Whigs in order to support states' rights in the 1830s switched to the Democratic Party as it became its chief proponent in the 1840s and 1850s. Their loyalty was never to the political party but, rather, to states' rights, and they frequently swapped parties. Mississippi was anything but solid before the Civil War, but the Nullification Crisis laid the foundation for secession. L. Q. C. Lamar, Confederate statesman and the author of Mississippi's Ordinance of Secession, clearly identified Mississippi's cause with slavery. Still, he also acknowledged that many problems that had lain dormant in times of peace were now surfacing to create conflict and surmised, "The tendency of all such struggles as this, is to throw to the surface those moral disorders which, in quiet times, lie concealed in the bosom of society."[87]

According to a retrospective account of the Nullification Crisis written by John Mason Williams during the Civil War in 1863, the federal government's use of appeasement in 1833 gave legitimacy to the idea that secession could be used as a threat to achieve political goals. Indeed, South Carolina's use of nullification during the crisis set an example for

[84] Olsen.

[85] William Ransom Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis, eds., *William Johnson's Natchez: The Ante-Bellum Diary of a Free Negro* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000).

[86] May, Conclusion.

[87] Hettle, 4.

other states that began to see secession as an option of last resort.[88] This political realization yielded harrowing results decades later by fueling secession and Civil War.

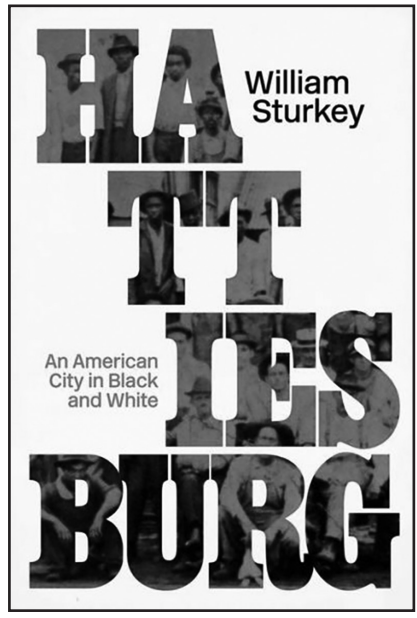
[88] Williams, 15-19.

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 Americans 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.

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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.

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Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy. By Elizabeth Gillespie McRae. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, 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
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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.

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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 nonviolent 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 outage. 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 judgement 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 within 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 understandings 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.

Ryan Kline
Auburn University

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.

James N. McAllister
Florida State University

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
Purdue University

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 homogenous, 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.

Marco Robinson
Prairie View A&M University

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.

Chase Tomlin
Louisiana State University

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. Holme*s, *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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The Chicago Manual of Style (latest edition) should be followed, with some exceptions (primarily dates: the *Journal* prefers "December 1, 1866," to Chicago's "1 December 1866").

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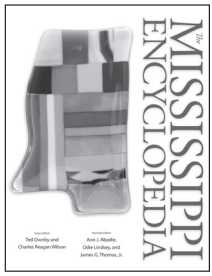

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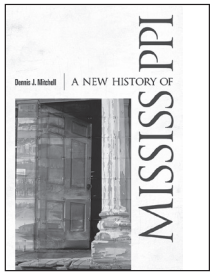

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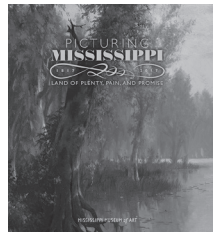

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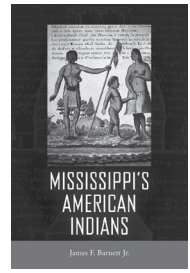

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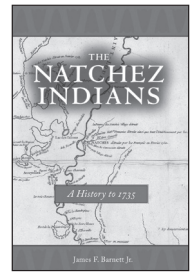

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