



Review: [Untitled]

Reviewed Work(s):

A Case of Black and White: Northern Volunteers and the Southern Freedom Summers, 1964-1965 by Mary Aickin Rothschild

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Brown, Nat Turner, and Abraham Lincoln, this biography resuscitates the image of a historical figure whose martyrdom had become embalmed in innocuous myth.

Oates's biography, hardly an exercise in deification, is nevertheless weakened by a subjective approach that prevents adequate discussion of King's limitations as a leader. Indeed, David L. Lewis's *King: A Biography* (1970, 1978), though not as well grounded in primary sources, remains a more balanced and objective account of King's relationship to the southern struggle. Oates never seriously addresses the criticism offered by other civil rights activists that King's reliance on dramatic appeals for federal intervention undermined the development of self-reliant local leadership and durable organizations. While suggesting that his critics were motivated by jealousy, Oates calls upon King's supporters to offer concluding judgments about debates within the civil rights movement. Thus, on the controversial decision to use children as protesters in the Birmingham campaign, Oates quotes Southern Christian Leadership Conference official David Abernathy (who once introduced King as a leader "conceived by God") as saying it "was an act of wisdom, divinely inspired."

Although Oates does not ignore King's political limitations or personal weaknesses, he does not separate himself enough from King's perspective to indicate the contradictions and ironies that King did not see. Instead, Oates offers restatements of King's world view and, at times, even retrospectively provides King with a defense against those who would criticize him. In handling the troublesome question of the extent of King's use of ghostwriters, for example, Oates facetiously asserts that one editor's changes were "corrections King himself would have made had he had the time." Noting King's extramarital affairs, Oates again offers the defense King might have used: "Lonely and troubled, gone from home so much of the time, he surrendered himself to his passionate nature and sought intimacy and reassurance in the arms of other women." King himself could not have said it better.

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CLAYBORNE CARSON

A Case of Black and White: Northern Volunteers and the Southern Freedom Summers, 1964-1965. By Mary Aickin Rothschild. (Westport: Greenwood, 1982. xiv + 213 pp. Tables, notes, bibliography, and index. \$29.95.)

In the mid-1960s no single event of the civil rights movement received more contemporaneous attention than the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964. The decision by several hundred white northern college students to devote a few months of their time to "the movement" captured the attention of the national press in a way that the lengthier and more intense commitments by southern black grass-roots movement workers never did.

Mary Aickin Rothschild has written a valuable and informative study of the volunteers who went south both that summer and the next. Relying on her own interviews with former volunteers, letters the volunteers wrote at the time, and the initial applications many of them submitted to the sponsoring organizations, Rothschild presents a comprehensive and empathic account of who the volunteers were, what motivated them to go south, and what they did and experienced once they were there.

An uneven introductory chapter puts the book off to a slow start. In succeeding chapters on the volunteers' backgrounds, their work in voter registration projects, and their efforts in movement-sponsored "freedom schools," Rothschild makes solid contributions. She finds "a remarkable underlying similarity among the people who went South," young adults who "thought the existing political institutions could accomplish their desire for a more just society" if enough Americans would put their beliefs into action.

Experiences in the South, however, changed many volunteers' attitudes. Violent harassment from southern whites was frightening but not surprising; lack of support from federal authorities was disappointing and disillusioning. For many, the rebuff given Mississippi's "Freedom Democrats" at the 1964 Democratic National Convention was a symptomatic watershed.

The volunteers also found painful tensions within the movement. The initial decision to recruit the volunteers had been based on the media attention and publicity they would attract to the movement's efforts, but within several months' time the emphasis changed from that national strategy, in which whites were valuable, to one of "community control of projects and the development of local leadership," where whites were superfluous or burdensome. If whites in general were unwanted by much of the southern movement by 1965, women volunteers faced special difficulties. Rothschild is at her best in discussing the serious sexual tensions that plagued the movement, tensions rooted in both the general "sexism that permeated the southern movement" and in the particular pressures placed on white female workers, who were "caught in a horrendous double bind: They could be sex objects or they could be labeled racists." That discussion, plus a chapter on the struggles of one pseudonymous volunteer in a Mississippi county, are the highlights of the volume.

Rothschild is restrained in drawing conclusions from her material, and further discussion of the summer projects' effects—on the local communities and on the volunteers' later lives—would have been desirable. Nonetheless, *A Case of Black and White* will be of value to all civil rights scholars.

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Southern Businessmen and Desegregation. Ed. by Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xi + 324 pp. Notes, bibliographical essay, and index. \$27.50.)

Elizabeth Jacoway and David R. Colburn have commissioned fresh analyses of the role of southern white business leaders during fourteen urban desegregation crises: Little Rock (Jacoway), Greensboro (William Chafe), Columbia, South Carolina (Paul Lofton), New Orleans (Morton Inger), Norfolk (Carl Abbott), Atlanta (Alton Hornsby), Dallas (William Brophy), Augusta (James Cobb), Birmingham (Robert Corley), Louisville (George Wright), Saint Augustine (Colburn), Jackson (Charles Sallis and John Quincy Adams), Tampa (Steven Lawson), and Memphis (Anne Trotter). I list them here not only to establish the considerable range of the sample and the interpreters but also to suggest why, not surprisingly, the essayists often draw opposing conclusions from similar phenomena.