

The Dream Is Lost: Voting Rights and the Politics of Race in Richmond, Virginia. By Julian Maxwell Hayter. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017. x, 338 pp. \$60.00.)

Local studies of the civil rights movement have proliferated in recent years, in particular northern urban histories of the movement. The needed focus on southern urban areas makes Julian Maxwell Hayter's *The Dream Is Lost*, on Richmond, Virginia, a welcome addition to the historiography. Long a city better remembered for the Civil War, Richmond prided itself as a city of paternalist goodwill in race relations, unlike the crude white supremacy of the Deep South. But Hayter demonstrates that black Richmonders still resisted, despite never organizing a direct-action campaign in the 1950s like black residents elsewhere did.

The black communities focused on voter registration through the Richmond Civic Council, later the Crusade for Voters. These efforts led to the first black man, Oliver Hill, being elected to the Richmond City Council in 1948. Some political surprises revealed by Hayter include black support for at-large council elections in the 1940s, which goes against minority voters traditionally favoring ward voting to increase representation. And, despite the backlash of massive resistance after 1954, the crusade had increased its voting bloc to sixteen thousand by the late 1950s.

The passage of the Voting Rights Act (1965) triggered a new round of white resistance as black voters increased their council representation. Whites on the city council tried to annex suburbs to maintain a white majority, leading to a seven-year legal battle. The annexation was eventually upheld but was coupled with single-member districts, which led to a black majority on the council in 1977. Yet white resistance continued, with white council members waging a public relations war against the black mayor Henry Marsh. White council members eventually appointed a maverick black city councilman, Roy West, to the office of mayor, effectively fracturing the black majority. The black community further fragmented with the emergence of younger black activists, as well as from the pressures of sexism and classism within the black community. The latter issues helped West's defeat of Willie Dell,

a black woman who defied public expectations with her advocacy for the black working poor.

Hayter's book is timely and depressing, given the Supreme Court's gutting of the Voting Rights Act, and is a reminder of the limits of politics, as black poverty and segregation became worse in the city when black representation increased. He shows how the black community was split by class, gender, and generational issues. The chapter on voting rights litigation is arguably the best, as Hayter skillfully weaves Richmond's history with Supreme Court cases. However, elsewhere his narrative often jumps back and forth, such as in a section where he briefly covers the sit-in movement in Richmond. Hayter also limits himself to Matthew D. Lassiter's model in *The Silent Majority* (2006), comparing Richmond to Atlanta and Charlotte but not to other sun belt cities. Finally, for a book that covers black politics, it says little about black and black-supported candidates' various campaigns for office. Yet, despite these flaws, the book is a useful study of a major southern city often overlooked in civil rights historiography.

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Out in the Rural: A Mississippi Health Center and Its War on Poverty. By Thomas J. Ward Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. xviii, 189 pp. \$34.95.)

It has been over fifty years since President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964 declared "all-out war on human poverty and unemployment in these United States." Yet ideas and perceptions of LBJ's War on Poverty and the tumultuous decade in which it was launched continue in many ways to shape American social policy and political debate. Thomas J. Ward Jr.'s history of the Tufts-Delta Health Center in rural Mississippi is a significant contribution not only to academic scholarship but also to wider public debates on poverty, health care, and race.

To begin with, *Out in the Rural* complements and adds to the growing body of

research into the antipoverty programs in rural America. Traditionally, the focus of this historiography has been on urban metropolitan areas; overlooking the fact that the majority of War on Poverty funding went to rural and small-town America. And while a meticulously written and researched microhistory of Dr. Jack Geiger's efforts to bring community-based medical services to underserved citizens of the Mississippi Delta, Ward's account also effectively weaves in the national and state context, adding layers of texture to his story. For example, an elemental part of both the history of the Delta Health Center and the national antipoverty effort was the tension between the provision of antipoverty services and addressing other forms of social inequity. When the War on Poverty was first conceived, designed, and launched in the 1963–1964 period, the program was centered on the concepts of “community action” and “maximum feasible participation” of the poor. Yet neither were ever adequately defined and would end up meaning different things to different people. To some, community action was simply a management vehicle, a way of coordinating disparate and overlapping antipoverty programs within the federal, state, and local bureaucracies. But to others, it translated into direct political empowerment—a way of forcefully confronting political and economic power structures. In the South this tension was particularly combustible. Predictably, initiatives such as Tufts–Delta Health Center were viewed by local and state politicians, as Ward describes it, as “little more than a front for civil rights activism, run by communists” (p. 61). More surprising—both nationally and in the Deep South—was the sharp criticism the antipoverty programs often received from their targeted population. One of the great tragedies of the Johnson administration's antipoverty effort is that instead of inspiring unity it led to division and a sense of national disillusion and failure.

Yet, despite years of heavy criticism—from the Right that the War on Poverty failed to eliminate poverty and from the Left that the antipoverty programs did too little for the poor—the idea of local community-based programs such as the Tufts–Delta Health Center have endured and continue to survive. As *Out in the Rural* shows, instead of being public pol-

icy failures these programs and the ideas behind them have evolved and become an integral part of the fabric of the American welfare state.

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Truman, Franco's Spain, and the Cold War. By Wayne H. Bowen. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2017. viii, 197 pp. \$50.00.)

In this interesting study, Wayne H. Bowen, a professor of history at Southeast Missouri State University, examines the evolution of the policies of President Harry S. Truman regarding Francisco Franco's Spain. Among other things, he demonstrates that the Cold War acted as the catalyst that prompted this “anti-Spanish president” to grudgingly forge an alliance in 1951–1952 with the authoritarian regime of the *caudillo*, which officially materialized early in the Eisenhower administration through a 1953 defense agreement (p. 15). Without hesitation, the author, who based his research on a vast array of Spanish and American primary sources (including the papers of Truman and ambassador to Spain Stanton Griffis, the *Congressional Record*, and memoirs of Carlton Hayes, the U.S. ambassador to Spain during World War II), characterizes the president's reluctant turnabout as “remarkable,” given that Truman, “as a Freemason, Baptist, and pro-union Democrat, . . . represented much of what the early Spanish government of . . . Franco opposed” (pp. 100, 99). Facing the international realities of the late 1940s, the Korean conflict, increasing pressure from White House advisers, the State Department, the military establishment, Catholic leaders, and others for a normalized relationship with Spain, Truman was able to overcome his personal resentment toward Franco, a fiery anticommunist, “to strengthen the American position in the Cold War” (p. 100).

That said, Bowen's book has some flaws. To begin with, the insinuation that the Missourian was a “conservative” Democrat while serving in the U.S. Senate (1935–1945) de-