

*The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland*, by James H. Madison. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2020. x, 249. Notes, timeline, bibliography, index, images. \$25.00, hardcover.

Reviewer Brent M. S. Campney is professor of history at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. He is the author of two books, *This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861–1927* (2015), and most recently, *Hostile Heartland: Racism, Repression, and Resistance in the Midwest* (2019).

“There can be no American history without a history of the Ku Klux Klan,” writes historian James H. Madison in *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland* (1). In this tightly packed and well-written volume focused mostly on the second Klan, Madison provides a fast-paced analysis of how the Invisible Empire spread across the Hoosier State in the 1920s, becoming a symbol of good, solid Americanism for its many adherents and a symbol of fear and hatred for its myriad victims while boasting a membership that claimed roughly a third of the state’s white Protestant men during its heyday. A “militantly Protestant” organization (16), the Klan took as its primary enemies Catholics and immigrants, and as its secondary enemies Jews, blacks, and white Protestants who did not share their beliefs. Alongside these enemy groups, the Klan railed against alcohol (“the work of the devil, pious Hoosiers firmly believed” (99)), and against what they viewed as sins, such as short skirts, profanity, and dancing. Madison also provides an excellent analysis of the rise and fall of the Indiana Grand Dragon D. C. Stephenson, the latter a drama that also portended the rapid decline of the state Klan. In the final two chapters, he explores the rebirth of yet another Klan—a more marginal and centrally anti-black Klan—in the 1960s and beyond, and the continuing shadow of the group over Indiana today.

Madison does a splendid job of pushing back against persistent myths about the second Klan, noting that its purpose, methods, and enemies differed dramatically from the first Klan, which was a violent terrorist group rooted in the post-Civil War South and was focused on keeping blacks down. The second Klan, he demonstrates, was a national organization that eschewed violence (the Indiana Klan perpetrated no lynchings or murders) and worked through boycotts, political pressure, and community organizing. “The organization’s zeal to conform to ideas of respectable Protestantism and patriotic citizenship created boundaries that in most communities kept harsh violence in check” (111). In addition, despite persistent claims that the Klan was composed of marginal bigots, Madison shows that most members came from the middle ranks of society. Furthermore, Klan members were not innocent hicks duped by charismatic leaders. “The men and women who pulled on their robes and hoods did so with knowledge and

pride," he writes. "They were not rubes. They were not manipulated" (5). Finally, with his focus on the Klan's loathing of Catholics and immigrants, and his assertions that most Klan victims were those whom readers would today regard as white, Madison combats the always prevalent belief that the 1920s northern Klan was principally anti-black.

*The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland* joins a handful of recent volumes that have reinvigorated the scholarship on the second Klan, including *Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s*, by Felix Harcourt (2017) and *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition*, by Linda Gordon (2017). Whereas those volumes explored the second Klan at a national level, the selling point of Madison's contribution—particularly for readers of the *Annals of Iowa*—is its direct focus on the development and meaning of the group in one midwestern state and on the delivery of a genuine statewide analysis. "The Ku Klux Klan is best understood at the regional, state, and local levels," Madison writes. "Although it was a national organization. . . most members joined, believed, and acted at lower levels" (3). In the view of this reader, Madison provides an outstanding model for the examination of the Klan in other midwestern states and beyond.

An important and welcome feature of the book is the two extensive galleries which include a wealth of images that is simply unheard of in recent decades. Gallery 1, for instance, spans 61 pages (23–84) and showcases a map of Klan chapters, photographs of burning crosses and marching Klanspersons, and images of Klan brochures, paraphernalia, and parades. Gallery 2, though a "mere" 19 pages (155–74), highlights images of later phases of the Klan in the post-World War II period as well as images of the African American victims and opponents of this later Klan. These well-selected images, particularly in such profusion, add emotional impact and, coupled with the clear and powerful prose, make *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland* a particularly valuable text for use with undergraduate students. The book deserves a wide readership.

*Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation*, by Kristen Kobes Du Mez. New York: Liveright, 2020. 356 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$28.95 hardcover.

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