

politicians like Lovejoy had to trim their sails in order to get elected, while black leaders unhesitatingly urged abolition and racial equality. Likewise, some women advocated for women's rights, while others demurred, considering abolitionism sufficiently radical. But all parts of the coalition labored in the trenches for decades. Black leaders like John Jones of Chicago organized Illinois' African American community to promote abolition and demand repeal of the infamous Black Laws. Female reformers contributed both behind-the-scenes and publicly to the intersecting movements for abolition, antislavery politics, black rights, and gender equality. Meanwhile, white clergy like Lovejoy worked in tandem with African Americans and women. Each group leaned on and learned from the others, and equality was the watchword. At the core was abolition, with ministers using their influence to promote antislavery politics, an initially controversial practice that became commonplace by the 1850s. By then the coalition had helped prepare the ground for the Republican Party, and Lovejoy's crowning work was passing abolitionist legislation during the Civil War, a task in keeping with his vow. When he died in 1864, Abraham Lincoln memorably wrote that Lovejoy would have a monument "in the hearts of those who love liberty, unselfishly, for all men" (CWAL, 7:367). He will also live on in the hearts of those who, like Jane Ann and William Moore, love equality, unselfishly, for all.

Hostile Heartland: Racism, Repression, and Resistance in the Midwest, by Brent M. S. Campney. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2019. vii, 240 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$27.95 paper.

Reviewer Ashley Howard is an assistant professor of African American history at the University of Iowa. Her research focuses on African Americans in the Midwest; the intersection of race, gender, and class; and the global history of racial violence.

Brent Campney's *Hostile Heartland: Racism, Repression, and Resistance in the Midwest* is an excellent and much needed historical account. While most Americans are comfortable with a narrative that imagines racist violence as a solely southern problem, Campney intervenes by challenging the "deep-rooted assumptions about the Midwest as a pastoral meritocracy antithetical to the systemic racist practices" (2). Beyond this regional intervention, he also broadens conceptions of lynching to include non-lethal forms of terrorism. As he writes "the study of *racist violence* should involve the entire spectrum of violence, encompassing

exceptional events like lynching and riots and more routine ones like homicides, beatings, floggings, sexual assaults, killings by police, and house burning" (emphasis original, 3). The delivery and depth of his investigation not only contribute greatly to the extant field, but also have larger implications for the regional consideration of racial violence today.

Campney, in eight tight chapters, successfully maneuvers between community and regional analysis over the broad temporal span of 1835 to 1945. By employing Bernard Bailyn's satellite metaphor, Campney documents multiple instances of racist violence from the microlevel, such as the terror exacted on the Godley family, to larger regional considerations of interstate collaboration to maintain sundown towns. While the focus on the Old Northwest (Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio) and lower midwestern states of Kansas and Missouri demonstrates these regional alliances, it is not a complete engagement with the Midwest. While undoubtedly a geographically and temporally expansive project to begin with, a deeper engagement with racist violence in other portions of the Midwest, namely the Great Plains, would provide additional regional complexity. In no way does this limit the efficacy of the book; rather, it demonstrates the need for more histories like this one.

In each chapter Campney makes significant interventions into the field demonstrating both the centrality and ubiquity of racial violence in the Midwest. The first two chapters challenge the temporality of lynching as a phenomenon, centering his story in the antebellum era and highlighting black resistance. In the next two chapters, Campney lays out the most innovative arguments of his book. Drawing from Charles Payne's concept of movement families, Chapter 3 argues that white supremacists disproportionately targeted certain black families, conspiring with local media and law enforcement to justify this violence. Chapter 4 demonstrates that midwestern mob members were "eager to foist their own racist sins on white southern scapegoats," maintaining their own delusions of superior race relations (68). The remaining chapters investigate how midwestern communities employed non-lethal lynching, sundown towns, and police to maintain racial control. The final chapter in particular conceptualizes a late lynching period in the region, advancing the concept of "underground lynchings," and that with the passing of anti-mob legislation, "police forces in such cities had developed their own methods of racial control, exercised under the auspices of the law by killing or otherwise abusing the blacks who they had sworn to protect" (175).

By expanding both the definition of lynching as well as the traditional temporal frames, Campney challenges scholars to think deeper

about how racial terrorism has influenced the Midwest, particularly its formation and identity. In so doing, he disrupts the neat narratives scholars and local people have come to rely on to exonerate the certainly guilty, demonstrating that “under the auspices of white supremacy . . . whites were motivated to act violently against blacks for very specific reasons, real or imagined” (189). Well-written and succinct, this book powerfully documents an oft-forgotten practice in the Midwest, decentering the South as the only region with a very long history with anti-black violence.

Slavery’s Reach: Southern Slaveholders in the North Star State, by Christopher P. Lehman. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2019. 244 pp. \$18.95 paperback.

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Slavery’s Reach is especially important at a time when Minnesotans and Americans everywhere work to end racial violence in the present while reckoning with midwestern racism in the past. Minnesota’s status as a territory and a state overlapped with less than two decades of legal slavery in the U.S., and bondage did not essentially define its development. But from its territorial beginnings through the Thirteenth Amendment’s passage, white Minnesotans knowingly embraced or unwittingly reaped slavery’s rewards. Postbellum generations then erased bondage from their past. Thanks to Christopher Lehman, however, we know that the “peculiar institution” was not so peculiar in Minnesota.

Lehman traces chronological and thematic arcs from the 1820s through the 1860s that reveal Minnesota’s widespread participation in slavery. Slaveholders of all stripes—French fur traders, U.S. officials, permanent southern transplants, and commuting or vacationing southerners—fill the book’s first five chapters. The sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters demonstrate how networks of Minnesotans, southerners, and southern institutions—congressmen, trade agents, plantation owners, banks, and insurance companies—advanced Minnesota’s growth. The ninth and tenth chapters address how slavery’s reach—into the tourism industry, for example—receded after Minnesota’s 1858 entrance into the Union as a free state and during the Civil War.

Slavery’s Reach joins a rich scholarship that follows the money—via wills, deeds, and probate records—to show bondage’s economic