OHIO VALLEY HISTORY

A Collaboration of The Filson Historical Society, Cincinnati Museum Center, and the University of Cincinnati.

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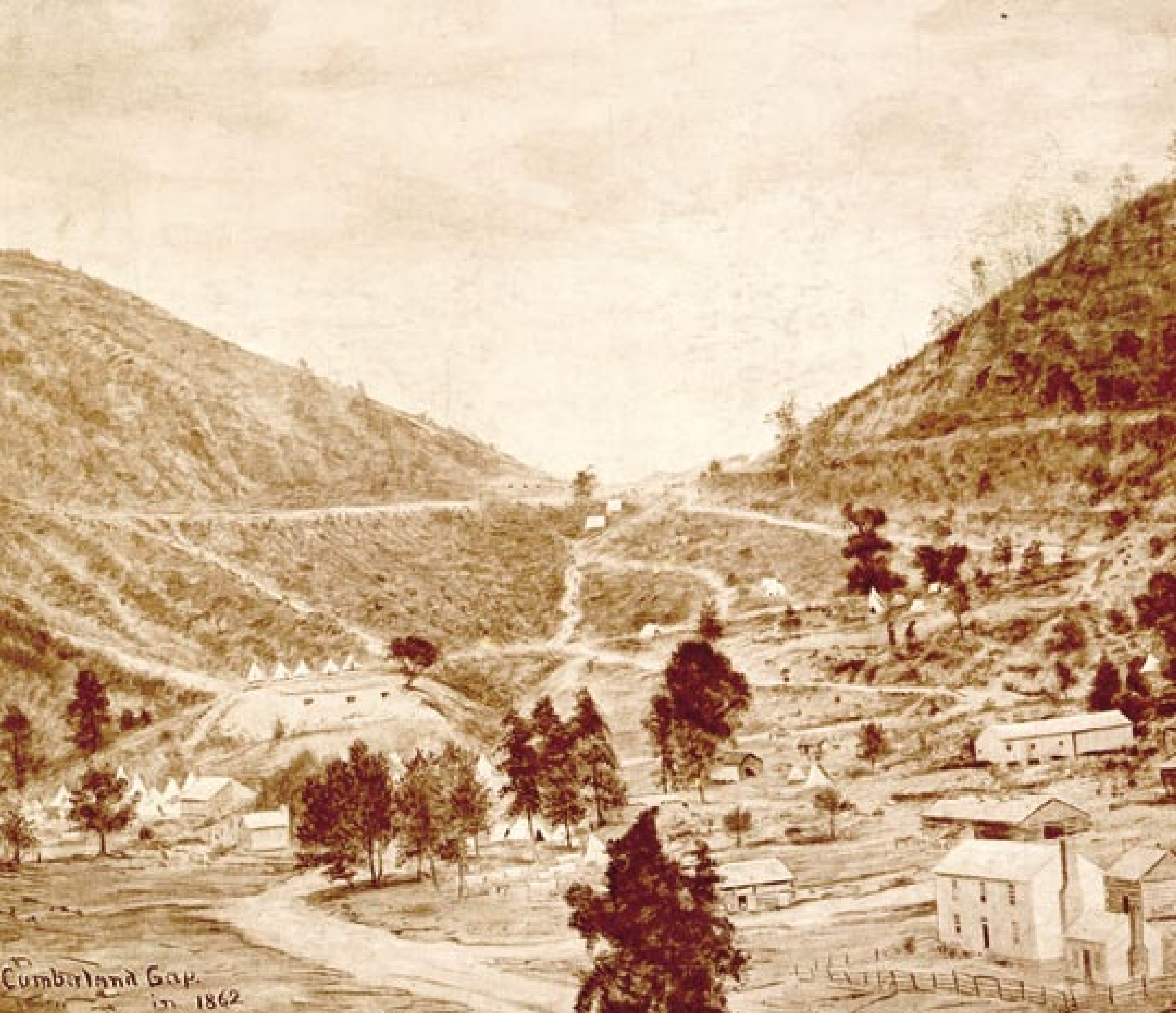
Cumberland Gap in 1862

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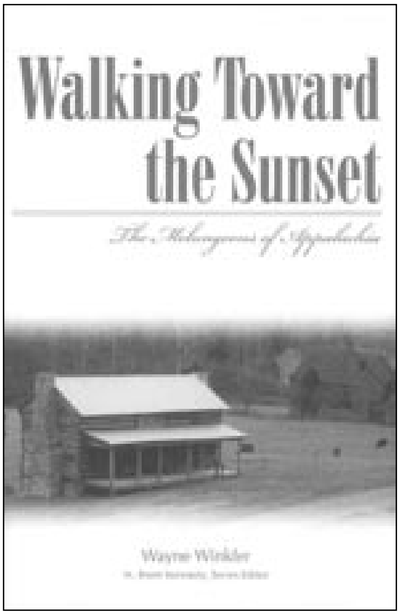
Cover: Cumberland Gap, ca. 1862. The Filson Historical Society

Book Reviews

Wayne Winkler. ***Walking Toward the Sunset: The Melungeons of Appalachia.*** Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 2004. 304 pp. ISBN: 0865549192 (cloth), $34.00.

Colonial America was born of the struggle between Native Americans who fought to retain the land, and Europeans who sought to conquer it. The emergence of slavery built upon African labor heightened concerns about racial control, and the practical necessity of being able to identify who was African embedded the "one drop" rule into American racial stratification. Alongside the conflict over the politics of domination, however, a significant degree of biological fusion also occurred between Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans. Scorned by the dominant society, and often by some within their own ethnic groups, tri-racial people often isolated themselves on the remote regions of the backcountry. Society identified them by unflattering names that the people themselves resented. Such is the case of the Melungeons who, for two hundred years, lived in the relative isolation of mountainous Hopkins County, Tennessee.



The origin of the term itself is lost in obscurity, as is the history of the people. Multiple theories of their origin have been propagated, some fanciful, others plausible but impossible to prove. Winkler thinks it is most likely that the Melungeons evolved from a merger of two groups, one composed of Europeans and possibly blacks, who mixed with the Monatan Indians of Virginia. The other tri-racial group was an admixture of Portuguese soldiers who garrisoned the Spanish forts in seventeenth-century South Carolina upcountry, their African slaves, and Native Americans. Not surprisingly, whites discriminated against them once society encroached on their isolation. Rather than accept the "Negro" designation, the Melungeons subsequently refused to attend segregated schools, and they used their various origin legends to "prove" to white authorities that they had no African "blood" in order to avoid discrimination. By the 1950s, the Melungeons joined their Appalachian neighbors by migrating to Midwestern industrial cities where they finally escaped the "stain" of race. Always insisting on their whiteness, the migrants' children often knew little or nothing about their ancestry. But their need to know their own heritage has spurred a new interest in establishing the real origins of the Melungeons.

The First Union, or gathering, of people of Melungeon heritage was held at Wise, Virginia, in 1997, and several have followed since. An organization and website has been established to facilitate research and share information. Current research into Melungeon origins has caused a significant controversy between amateur Melungeon researchers attempting to establish their own heritage and professional scholars less inclined to embrace legends as evidence. Recent Melungeon DNA samples have demonstrated that the group carried some of the genetic markers

found among Iberian, African, and Native American populations. To his credit, Winkler, who is himself of Melungeon ancestry, recognizes his African line of descent. He also acknowledges that, like most "white" African Americans who "pass" into mainstream society, Melungeons refused to recognize their African descent to avoid the social penalties of racism. Melungeons have always identified themselves as white, and generally married people society recognized as white. Consequently, as Winkler observes, over time "they became 'whiter'—but never white enough to completely avoid the hostility and suspicion of their Caucasian neighbors or the epithet 'Melungeon.'" (247)

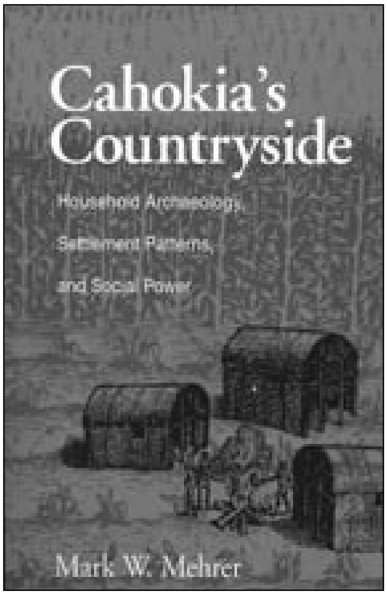
Although not a scholarly book, *Walking Toward the Sunset* is an excellent case study of how fiction, legend, genealogy, and history can be employed in the construction of a tri-racial identity in a racist society. Use of the extensive existing literature on race is weak in this book, and the author cites numerous web sources, the authority of which is open to question. On the whole, however, *Walking Toward the Sunset* is probably the most objective treatment available on the tri-racial group known as the Melungeons.

Ronald L. Lewis
West Virginia University

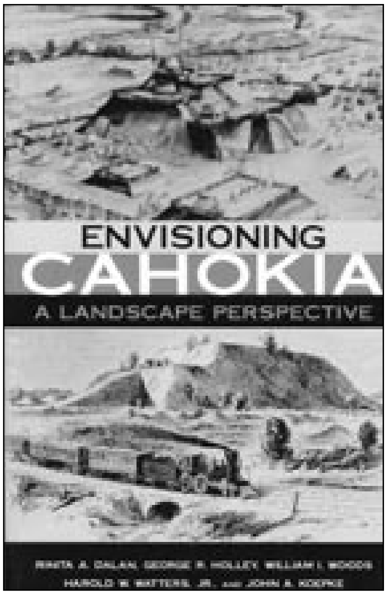
Mark W. Mehrer. ***Cahokia's Countryside: Household Archaeology, Settlement Patterns, and Social Power.*** Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995. 230 pp. ISBN: 0875805655 (paper), $32.00.

Rinita A. Dalan, George R. Holley, William I. Woods, Harold W. Watters, Jr., and John A. Koepke. ***Envisioning Cahokia: A Landscape Perspective.*** Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003. 251 pp. ISBN: 0875805949 (paper), $29.50.

Cahokia's Countryside and *Envisioning Cahokia* argue that landscape and the built environment should be considered critical components of Mississippian social and political development in the American Bottom region of Illinois. They differ, however, in how each develops a landscape point of view and employs it to understand Cahokia, the largest and most complex pre-Columbian polity in North America. Mississippian peoples were a farming society, known for building mound complexes, and are often described as having been chiefdoms. However, merely calling a polity a chiefdom says little about how complex a given society might have been. To preface this discussion, it should be noted that studies of the Cahokia region have been rife with factionalism, and researchers have come to no agreement about the complexity of the Cahokia polity. Scholars, in fact, have divided into two major camps, one often labeled minimalist, and another sometimes called exaggerationalist. The two volumes under review reflect this division. Mehrer's book has been claimed by the mini-


Cahokia's Countryside
Household Archaeology, Settlement Patterns, and Social Power
Mark W. Mehrer

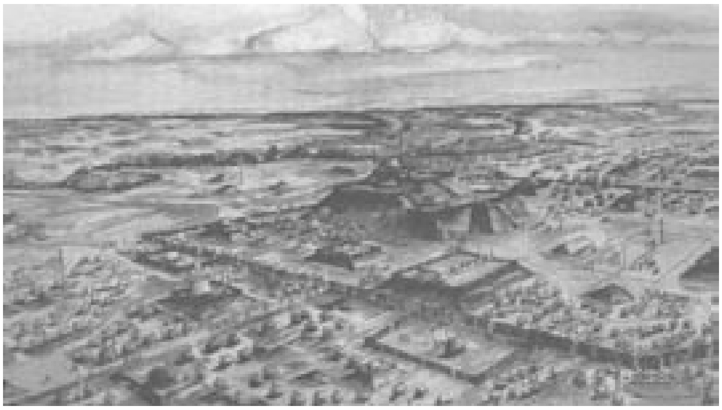
malists while the Dalan volume should find favor with those who seek to attribute greater complexity to the Cahokia polity. In both texts, the authors bring a wealth of data to the table in support of their arguments. However, differences emerge both in the evaluation of that data and in the theoretical positions taken by the authors.



In *Cahokia's Countryside* Mark Mehrer utilizes data from several FAI 270 excavations (federally funded excavations along a highway corridor) to build a model of Mississippian society, as he states, focusing especially on households as reflected in their material remains. Basically, he argues that increasing social complexity should be reflected in the built environment and in physical evidence of craft production. While Mehrer presents important data on changes in household storage through time, the volume was written over a decade ago, and excavations and publications since then have greatly changed many scholars' understandings of the rural landscape. New studies have also provided a more sophisticated landscape and spatial theories upon which to draw. For example, much of Mehrer's argument is predicated on the disappearance of village life outside mound centers during the rise of Cahokia. While this was state of the art knowledge at the time of publication, we now know that there were multiple villages in the hinterlands during the decades under discussion.

Mehrer's book opens with some background and history of previous investigations, moves to a chapter on the theoretical foundations of his research, and then presents data and conclusions at length. The strength of this book lies in the data itself, where Mehrer condenses and analyzes information derived from material remains located in storage pits. He suggests correlations with pit types, locations, and material remains that are suggestive of changing social conditions. I find more problematic the interpretation of these data, as well the problem in linking the data to the theoretical questions raised in the early part of the book, and in the conclusion. Of particular concern is Mehrer's assertion that since people living in rural farmsteads were (allegedly) self sufficient, they therefore possessed as much social power as those living in the mound centers. In so saying, he assumes that since storage became more private and less communal after the rise of Cahokia, farmers were therefore independent of the centers. It is not clear to me why private storage negates other possibilities, such as people tithing as a family group, or that people might have been actively hiding materials to avoid tithing. It is also somewhat troubling that all of the ethnographic analogies provided to bolster the analysis have been derived from societies that would all be considered less complex than the Cahokia polity. In short, *Cahokia's Countryside* should be appreciated as an early attempt to integrate landscape and spatial analysis into an archaeological analysis.

In the past decade, however, the use of landscape and spatial theory in archaeology has gained greater currency and seen much refinement. The basic notion that spatial organization reflects social organization has been tempered with more attention to recursive, active, and ever changing relationships between people and places—a point made in the volume by Rinita Dalan and her coauthors. *Envisioning Cahokia* provides a stronger theoretical foundation for the study of Cahokia through, as the authors state, investigating relationships between people and land. Utilizing remote sensing, geophysical techniques, and available excavation data, the authors examine the Cahokia site focusing especially on the construction and maintenance



of an ancient city. The authors then contextualize this information, utilizing a landscape point of view strongly informed by geographers, as well as including some much needed observations based on common sense. It should be pointed out that the authors do preface their discussion by pointing out the current ambiguities in claiming a landscape perspective.

Most striking in this volume is the sense the authors convey of the massive alterations made to the physical landscape by the people of Cahokia. While the size of Cahokia which is at least five times larger than any other pre-Columbian settlement in North America has always been a subject of interest among scholars, far too many researchers have failed to evaluate what this size differential would mean on a day to day basis. Dalan *et al.*, however, provide thoughtful analysis on the nature of size. For example, they point out that the sprawl of Cahokia meant that all people there would not interact on a day-to-day basis. Moreover, there are human limits to the ability to see and hear events in very large spaces. The authors then remind us that such things do matter, and alter the lived experience. Here, then, we have an evaluation of the lived environment that seeks to determine not only how people created landscape but also how the landscape shaped peoples' lives.

For more than a century, archeologists have waged a never-ending battle over "how complex" the Cahokia polity could have been. Dalan *et al.* do not explicitly answer this question, but rather let the data speak for themselves. The data presented here elegantly make the point that the construction of mounds and plazas was exceedingly complex, requiring advanced planning and intricate engineering knowledge. They also remind us that maintenance would have been a very salient issue, meaning that construction was never really complete. This is information that should profoundly alter future discussion and evaluations of Cahokia, as well as other Mississippian centers. Also welcome in this volume is the invitation extended to readers to not only see Cahokia, but to let ourselves fully experience Cahokia.

Susan M. Alt
University of Illinois, Urbana

L. Scott Philyaw. *Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion on an Early American Frontier.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004. 212 pp. ISBN: 1572333073 (cloth), $33.00.

"Once all the world was Virginia." So (in its T-shirt paraphrase, at least) wrote eighteenth-century Virginia planter William Byrd II. (ix) And so, most aptly, begins this slender volume on an immense topic—the "western visions" of early Virginia's leadership. The first royal charter had projected a Virginia stretching from "Sea to Sea" (xvii), an open-ended westward-looking formulation that would strike chords in Virginia's leaders from John Smith to Thomas Jefferson. And Philyaw's topic is as large in implications as in geography. "Examining western policies and the presumptions and attitudes" behind them gives us "a glimpse into [the] anticipated future." How Virginia's leaders "expected their society to evolve," in other words, can reveal the most central mechanisms both of early Virginian society and, given Virginia's ambitions and influence through the first decades of the republic, of early American society as well. (x)

Virginia's colonial leaders expected to replicate Tidewater-and-English culture as they extended settlement into that vast, unknown, but so promising interior. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, once the unsettled Chesapeake had stabilized enough to make a "realm of gentlemen" possible (1), this expectation was at first to a remarkable degree fulfilled. Even when Scots-Irish and German settlers poured into the Shenandoah Valley, attenuating Anglo-Tidewater cultural influence, eastern gentry leaders kept control by willingly extending Virginia's polity, county by new county. Mid-century brought new challenges, as Virginia's leadership struggled for imperial policies that would keep western lands safe for settlement and speculation. For a while the "paradise" of limitless Virginia rule and riches seemed "lost." (64) Indeed, the Proclamation of 1763 putting an imperial ban on further expansion is emblematic, but Virginia's speculator-policymakers also worried about the irrepressible masses of migrating squatter-settlers. The Revolution freed Virginia to press west again, rapidly establishing and surveying huge new counties. But at the same time, she ceded much of her unmanageably vast western land to the new United States, and "Virginia gentry willingly turned to the national government to address their frontier concerns." (119) This was a natural and favorable convergence, since the new national government was so strikingly manned by westward-looking Virginia gentry like Jefferson and Washington themselves.

Nevertheless, Virginia's western hegemony was on the wane. Her trans-Appalachian offshoots refused to replicate Tidewater ways, rejecting slavery (North of the Ohio), proving unsatisfactory as Indian-haters (French-settled Illinois country), and flirting with the Spanish government (Kentucky). And back in Virginia, ultra-traditional gentry leaders, who were finding even their own western neighbors unreliably Virginian, retrenched and redefined. Virginia must be a slave-owning, tobacco-growing commonwealth. And thus Virginia's grand western vision was lost.

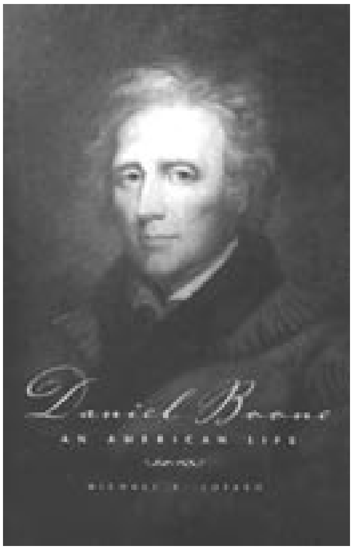
This little volume covers a great expanse of space and time, but its social territory is limited: "Virginia's western visions" are explicated from the point of view of the elite leadership (a source-dictated limitation regretted by the author). Also, as the title implies, the orientation of this work is one-way, running always from east to west. But these limitations have their advantages, too, allowing the author to construct a coherent and persuasive narrative screen onto which both present readers and future scholars can project other players with other views. I fall into visual imagery here, as Philyaw often does, too, but his text does not actually help us *envision* "Virginia's western visions." (An excellent visual complement to this volume would be David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly's *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*, a catalog for a Virginia Historical Society exhibit, republished in 2000.)

Often, in defining their fields of study, historians of early America have drawn their own Proclamation Line down the spine of the Appalachians, treating what went on east and west of the line as part of distinct historical traditions. Philyaw instead follows the western visions of his subjects, drawing and shifting boundaries only as they did. The result is a history that sheds new light both on Virginia backcountry studies and on early Virginia in general. In this sense, we haven't seen such a clear view since Thomas Perkins Abernethy's *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (1937). And for western readers (that is to say, Ohio Valley readers!), Philyaw offers a chance to contemplate their own histories afresh in larger contexts—colonial, continental, imperial, national—back when "all the world was Virginia."

Marion Nelson Winship
Virginia Commonwealth University

Michael A. Lofaro. ***Daniel Boone: An American Life.*** Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003. 216 pp. ISBN: 0813122783 (cloth), $25.00.

In John Ford's classic *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, gunslinger Tom Doniphon (John Wayne) shoots the outlaw in order that the educated and civilized lawyer Ransom Stoddard (Jimmy Stewart) can get the girl and become a U.S. Senator, bringing law and order to the West, if not American civilization as a whole. At its best, Michael Lofaro's *Daniel Boone: An American Life* develops a similar theme in the life of the frontiersman. Full of artfully woven vignettes, stories and anecdotes, the book seems to support a vague Turnerian notion of Boone as spearheading a civilizing process (echoed in the book's title) that eventually leads to his downfall. But while this material is lively and colorful, the book as a whole will be disappointing to academics. The author's immense efforts to reveal details of Boone's life result in satisfying stories, but the stories are overshadowed by a lack of consistent effort to explore the significance of that life in American history.



Lofaro begins by describing Boone's various roles in Kentucky during the Revolutionary Era—entrepreneur, explorer, army officer and elected representative. Occasionally we are provided a conclusion or hypothesis as to the meaning or significance of the events that unfold before us. For instance, the author writes: "Perhaps, the recent experience of the France and Indian War" made the people in Kentucky more prone to sharing. (36) More often, however, the author provides his reader with tidbits of information that have no clear link to an argument, – for example, when he dispels the myth of Boone's teetotalism by noting that he once purchased two quarts of rum (40), or that the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln "may have been in the party" that blazed the trail to Boonesborough in 1779. (109)

The tendency to offer anecdotes and information without an interpretive framework becomes most serious when the author writes long narratives of significant events, such as the kidnapping and subsequent return of a slave in 1782 (119), or Boone's own capture and escape from the Shawnee in 1798. (Ch. 7) These stories give Lofaro an opportunity to engage the slavery issue, or to discuss Native American cultural clashes with European American intruders, especially over use and misuse of the land. Other stories about Boone's wife or daughter also ought to raise questions about women and gender. In most cases, however, the author leaves to the reader the work of identifying the significance of events described in the book, but without the complete evidence available to the author.

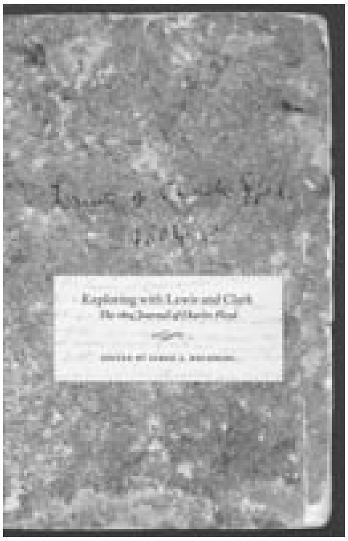
The persistent reader will find some rewards in the book's final four chapters in which Lofaro interprets Boone's life as Turnerian tragedy. The author argues that Boone's great knowledge of the frontier and his skill in cutting new trails, founding new towns, and brokering treaties with local Native Americans was matched by the frontiersman's own mistakes in surveying and his ineptitude in the courtroom. Eventually, the land into which he invested so much of his life was wrenched away from him through lawsuits. This irony is worth the wait, but the theme could be made much more explicit earlier in the book, perhaps foreshadowing the contrast with Boone's success in forest skills as a young man compared with his failure in formal education. (Ch. 1)

There are also problems with Lofaro's poorly conceived method of citing evidence. Endnotes are referenced only by the first phrase of the sentence rather than by a superscript number, requiring a great deal of effort on the part of a reader to track down quotations and sources of other information. The bibliography, in contrast, is organized and expansive, and in combination with the engaging prose makes this volume valuable for historians of Kentucky and the Trans-Appalachian frontier. Because the book lacks an argument, however, *Daniel Boone: An American Life* should be read in conjunction with other histories of the Kentucky frontier in order to better understand the period, the place and the man.

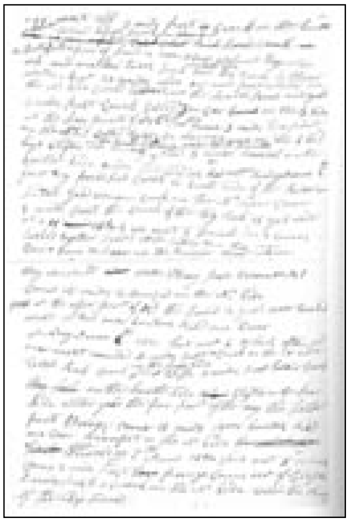
Corey Smith
Wartburg College

James J. Holmberg, editor. *Exploring with Lewis and Clark: The 1804 Journal of Charles Floyd.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. 105 pp. ISBN: 080613674x (cloth), $45.00.

The Hamilton Boulevard exit on I-29 in Sioux City, Iowa, leads to, among other attractions, the Sgt. Floyd River Museum and Welcome Center. Inside is a life-size mannequin of Sgt. Charles Floyd, the only member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to die on the journey. The bust is a forensic reconstruction completed shortly before Floyd's remains were buried for the fourth and final time. The sculptor worked from a plaster cast of Floyd's skull and jaw made in 1900 and from black and white photographs. Floyd's body today lies under the Sgt. Floyd Monument on Floyd's Bluff on Sioux City's south side. About 6' 2" tall and weighing between 180 and 200 pounds, Floyd was one of the "Nine young men from Kentucky." Handpicked primarily by Clark, these men were used to rugged living in harsh frontier conditions. One of the first permanent members of the Corps of Discovery, Floyd joined the Army at the Falls of the Ohio River on August 1, 1803. Ninety-nine days after setting out from Camp Dubois, he died on August 20, 1804, apparently of a ruptured appendix.



Lewis and Clark weren't the only ones who kept diaries on the expedition. A few enlisted men did, upon direction of the expedition's co-leaders, and Floyd was one of them. Likely his journal accompanied the returning party in the spring of 1805 and somehow found its way to Floyd's relatives in Kentucky. Reuben Gold Thwaites discovered it in 1893 among the papers of Dr. Lyman C. Draper at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, where it resides today. Versions of the journal were published in 1894 (Butler edition, 1905 (Thwaites edition), and most recently in 1995 (Moulton edition). Now comes another rendition of Floyd's journal, edited by James Holmberg. This one, however, includes a fascinating first—a facsimile of the individual pages of the sergeant's diary. This feature allows the reader to see Floyd's handwriting and to follow along with Holmberg's transcription. According to Moulton (vol. 9, p. xvii), Floyd filled most of his small notebook by the time of his death. The notebook had marbled paper over the covers that has been brilliantly repro-



duced in this facsimile edition.

The book is laid out in two sections, a lengthy introduction titled "The Life, Death, and Monument of Charles Floyd" and "The Journal of Sergeant Charles Floyd." An expanded updating of Holmberg's article that originally appeared in the August 1996 edition of *We Proceeded On*, the scholarly introduction includes a brief biography of Floyd prior to the Kentuckian's enlistment, an overview of his duties and experiences on the expedition, his death, as well as the development of a lasting monument to Floyd in Sioux City. As for the journal pages themselves, they are printed on the left-hand page with Holmberg's transcription and extensive annotations printed on the right-hand page.

Floyd's entries are short and factual. In comparing Holmberg's with Moulton's transcriptions, one notices slight differences, primarily in editorial style. For example, in the first line that Floyd wrote, Holmberg chose to capitalize "Monday," whereas Moulton did not. Here I would defer to Moulton. A few lines later, Holmberg transcribed the primary watercraft as "Batteow" whereas Moulton read it as "Batteaw." In reading Floyd's script, it is plain that both spellings are equally valid. Those readers who have access to the different versions of Floyd's journal will no doubt succumb to the temptation to compare transcriptions. At times, Floyd crossed out a word, words or a phrase that he had just penned. In producing as literal a transcription as possible, Holmberg uses "strike throughs" to replicate Floyd's practice. Moulton indicates these deleted words or phrases with brackets. But again, nothing is lost in these editorial differences.

I read Floyd's entries with a view to determining whether I could notice any deterioration in the sergeant's handwriting from the initial entry on May 14, 1804, to the final one on August 17. There appears to be a little deterioration on the last two days, days that included the return, trial, and punishment of Private Moses Reed for desertion. Except for entries on these two days, I did not notice any decline. From just a close look at his writing style, Charles Floyd strikes me as an American soldier who fulfilled his duty throughout. Perhaps this facsimile edition is as much of a lasting monument to this "young man of much merit" as is the one hundred foot stone obelisk in Sioux City.

George D. Berndt
Missouri National Recreational River

Herbert Woodward Martin and Ronald Primeau, eds. *In His Own Voice: The Dramatic and Other Uncollected Works of Paul Laurence Dunbar.* Foreword by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002. 315 pp. ISBN: 082141422-4 (paper), $22.95.

During the past twenty-five years numerous volumes have been published on the writings and legacy of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the first African American poet to achieve both national and worldwide acclaim. In 1971, for example, Addison Gayle's *Oak and Ivy* and Dudley Randall's *The Black Poet* cast Dunbar as a forerunner of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and the Black Arts movement of the 1960s. A decade later, both Tony Gentry, in *Paul Laurence Dunbar*, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr, in *The Signifying Monkey*, echoed similar characteristics about Dunbar. Even many of today's contemporary African American poets and writers, such as Maya Angelou, Nikki Giovanni, Etheridge Knight, Toni Morrison, and Alice Walker, have noted that they were greatly influenced by the works of Dunbar. In one aspect, the volume under review here is a testimony to that fact.

In His Own Voice editors Herbert Woodward Martin and Ronald Primeau enable us to experience the more complex, subtle, and witty side of Dunbar as a "dramatist" through numerous previously inaccessible literary works. (xxiv) More specifically, the editors proclaim that this volume rests on the notion that Dunbar, if nothing else, was a great "short-story writer and essayist." (xxiv) Martin and Primeau's volume is divided both chronologically and thematically into four distinctive sections. In part one, the editors place Dunbar's writings in the context of his life. Here we see how Dunbar's abilities to produce plays and songs such as "Herrick," "The Gambler's Wife," "Dream Lovers," and "In Dahomey" underscore his exceptional command of the literary concepts of "irony and nuance." (3) In part two, the editors showcase fifteen previously unknown essays by Dunbar including "Dickens and Thackey," "England as Seen by a Black Man," "The Tuskegee Meeting," and "The Leader of His Race." These essays criticize the "double-standards" of the United States' criminal justice system and emerging class divisions in the African American community with the rise of Booker T. Washington, as well as various other issues that shaped the lives of many Black Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Here Martin and Primeau conclude that these works "provide even more evidence of Dunbar's life-long commitment to the politics, religion, art, and customs of the African American community over a hundred years ago." (165) Finally, parts three and four contain numerous previously published essays, articles, short stories, and poems written by Dunbar but not published in book form. According to Martin and Primeau, these works powerfully illustrate Dunbar's "own distinctive artistic Vision." (215)

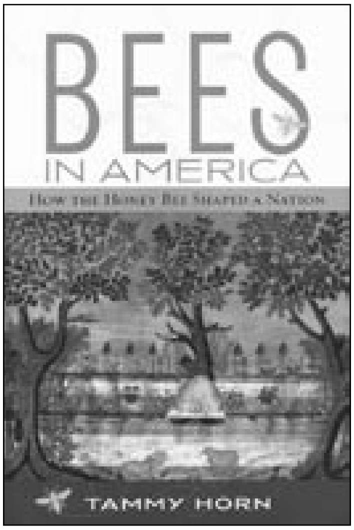
Martin and Primeau's *In His Own Voice* is an exceptional collection that succinctly captures the passion, potency, and impact of the works of Paul Laurence Dunbar. The editors use both previously known and newly discovered literary pieces to highlight various dimensions of Dunbar's work that most people have failed to recognize. Without question, the authors should be commended for such a meticulously researched and carefully crafted volume. Nevertheless, there are some shortcomings. One weakness is that the different sections of the volume are unevenly organized in length. Secondly, the movement from a chronological to thematic approach, at times, is confusing to the reader. Despite these minor shortcomings, however, this volume adds much to and deepens our understanding of Dunbar as the greatest African American poet prior to the Harlem Renaissance Era.

Eric Jackson
Northern Kentucky University

Tammy Horn. ***Bees in America: How the Honey Bee Shaped a Nation.*** Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005. 352 pp. ISBN: 081312350x (cloth), $27.50.

So much depends on the tiny but industrious honey bee. In California, for instance, the $1.5 billion almond industry could not survive without the pollination services provided by the state's 500,000 bee colonies. Indeed, to produce California's enormous almond crop, growers must call upon the assistance of Montana and Dakota beekeepers who truck in another 500,000 colonies every February and March. At the height of the annual almond bloom, fully two-thirds of America's commercial bee colonies are deployed throughout California's 500,000 acres of almond orchards.

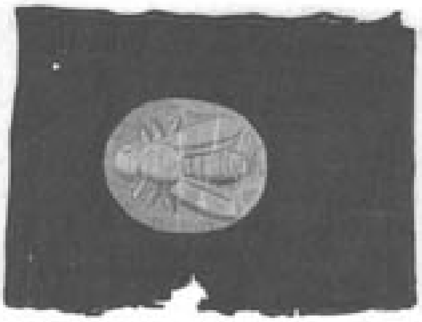
While the almond provides the most dramatic example, it is not the only farm product that requires the aid of the honey bee to achieve commercial yields. Across the nation, bees pollinate over one



hundred crops that generate a combined annual value of up to $15 billion. This essential work is not done for free. Farmers have to rent the services of the bees, and the insects' human keepers often earn more from such rentals than they do from honey or beeswax production. Apiculturists in California, America's top honey producer, grossed nearly $62 million from pollination rentals in 2002, compared to $52 million from honey and beeswax, and another $5.5 million from the sales of queens and bulk bees to fellow beekeepers. As these figures indicate, apiculture has evolved into a big business whose industrial-sized scale dwarfs anything imagined back in 1621, when English colonists in Virginia imported the first bees into North America.

The fascinating story of beekeeping's rise from its very modest beginnings is well told in Tammy Horn's *Bees in America*. Divided into six chronologically arranged chapters, Horn's book traces the long evolution of American apiculture and focuses upon the key personalities who shaped and promoted the industry. Chief among these was Lorenzo Langstroth (1810-1895) of Ohio, a Congregationalist minister, educator, and pioneer apiarist known today as the "Father of Modern Beekeeping." In 1851, Langstroth's astute observations led to his invention of an improved moveable frame hive. Unlike the primitive "bee gums" and straw skeps that they rapidly replaced, Langstroth's rectangular bee boxes with removable internal frames allowed beekeepers to extract honey and wax combs without actually destroying the hives and losing the bees. Langstroth's ingenious design made large-scale and continuous production possible and thereby triggered a technological revolution. In rapid succession, apiculturists in America and Europe developed the wax comb foundation (1857), the centrifugal honey extractor (1865), and the bellows bee-smoker (1873). As Horn succinctly observes, "These four inventions—essentially unchanged—remain the pillars that support the beekeeping industry." (124)

As long as Horn sticks to the history of beekeeping, *Bees in America* remains a clearly written, well researched, and sharply focused work. Unfortunately, Horn has larger ambitions that are never precisely defined. According to her subtitle, Horn wants to move beyond the history of apiculture to explain "how the honey bee shaped a nation." Her introduction declares, "This book is about how the honey bee has been perceived in America and how those perceptions have changed as the country developed through the centuries." (17) Indeed, sometimes she seems primarily interested in looking at how the bee and the beehive have been variously employed in art, literature, and politics as metaphors designed to symbolize and promote social values such as thrift and productive labor (though oddly she never mentions cooperation). While occasionally interesting, Horn's frequent forays into cultural history greatly detract from the quality of her book. Each time she leaves the *terra firma* of beekeeping, Horn loses focus as she breathlessly strives to record every mention ever made about bees, no matter how minor or insignificant. Consequently, her prose often dissolves into rambling



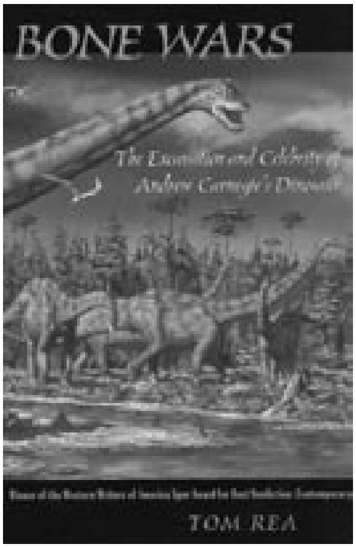
and confused outpourings of disconnected trivia. Abrupt transitions, non sequiturs, and repeated sentences abound. So too do the factual errors that mar her efforts to place apiculture within the larger contexts of American history.

Although Horn displays a great deal of obvious enthusiasm for her subject, *Bees in America* too often reads like a rough draft that cries out for rigorous editing. A narrower focus on the history of beekeeping would have produced a much better book.

Michael Magliari
California State University, Chico

Tom Rea. ***Bone Wars: The Excavation and Celebrity of Andrew Carnegie's Dinosaur.*** Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. 288 pp. ISBN: 0822958465 (paper), $16.00.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the international public became captivated by discoveries of dinosaurs, the largest beasts that ever roamed the earth. Some of the most important discoveries of fossilized dinosaur bones were made in the American West, although Tom Rea's lively account of the "dinosaur business" includes chapters on finds in Patagonia, Antarctica, and elsewhere in the world. This book, however, focuses primarily on the critical role played by Pittsburgh-based millionaire Andrew Carnegie in furthering scholarship on dinosaurs. Carnegie had another motive for supporting such research besides an increase in knowledge. He wanted to have casts made of the largest of the dinosaurs and give them to world leaders. In all, nine casts were made of the biggest dinosaur, found in south-central Wyoming and named Diplodocus carnegii, in the donor's honor. Casts of the original, kept in the Carnegie-financed museum in Pittsburgh, went to the British Museum, as well as museums in Germany, France, Spain, and even Argentina.



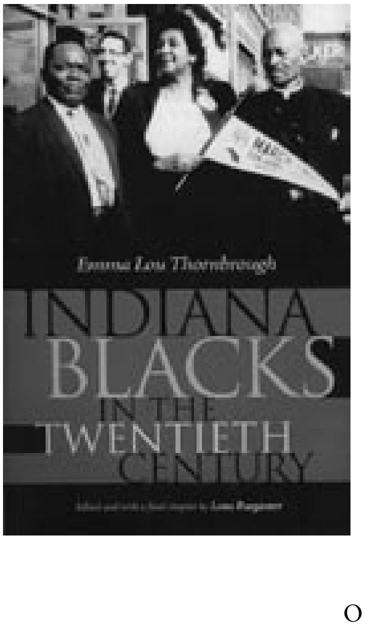
An important figure throughout the book is William J. Holland, Carnegie's trusted curator of his dinosaur museum and overall director of various expeditions sent to dig up fossilized remains. As Rea depicts him, Holland is a complex figure who developed a world-wide reputation in paleontology even though it was not his academic specialty. Holland feuded with competing dinosaur scholars and took on the trustees of the University of Wyoming who sought to keep dinosaurs found in their own backyard from being exported to distant museums. His creative efforts at using public land laws benefited Carnegie's cause. His relations with subordinates also often proved difficult. A succession of scholars, including the self-taught William Reed who left the University of Wyoming to go to work for Holland and the Carnegie Museum, left after power struggles with Holland, or perhaps after finally suffering enough from personal slights Holland administered, seemingly without realizing it. But Holland's importance to the dinosaur work continued. He outlived Carnegie and continued his boss' wishes when it came to developing the dinosaur collections.

One fascinating theme running throughout the book is the intense academic rivalry among the various scientists intent on establishing claims to prime dinosaur digs. Also interesting are their efforts to theorize on how the dinosaurs once lived, often in opposition to the assumptions made by skeptical fellow academics. As Rea describes it, the dinosaur-hunting business created intense competition among American universities and museums. Rea's book does an excellent job of identifying the key players and explaining their motivations.

While the sub-title implies that the book is about just one dinosaur—Andrew Carnegie's giant Diplodocus, it is far more. Rea has written a gripping account of the early evolution of dinosaur study. It is a readable, fascinating account of scientists making discoveries and theorizing, but also participating in intricate games of politics and even intrigue. Not only will the book be of interest to western history readers, but also to those interested in scientific discovery and the enduring attraction of dinosaurs to the public.

Phil Roberts
University of Wyoming

Emma Lou Thornbrough. *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century.* Edited and with a final chapter by Lana Ruegamer. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000. 290 pp. ISBN: 0253337992 (cloth), 27.95.



Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century is an excellent work of state history. Focusing on urban centers in Indiana, it illustrates the economic, social, and political treatment of African Americans in this time period. This book discusses accommodation, rural African Americans' competition and assimilation with urban African Americans, adjustment to urbanization, depression, the Klan, uplift, and political apathy. The book's most interesting chapter focuses on African American political apathy. It shows how the focus of many African Americans on economic survival limited their opposition to the Klan. The chapter also documents attempts by the Klan to fan African American antipathy to immigrants as a way to facilitate a Klan takeover of the Indiana Republican Party and the state government. Most authors writing about this period focus on Stephenson and the Klan's corruption, making African Americans passive or irrelevant. What this book does differently is to analyze African American actions, and to effectively underline the tragedy of apathy and the Republican Party's dismissal of African Americans.

The African American struggle with immigrants, unions, and housing also illuminates larger struggles nationwide. The author especially focuses on the nuances of this economic wrestling match, including the role of block busting and other tactics that favored immigrants over African American, documenting an environment in which African American strivers were constantly pushed back while immigrants became "assimilated." These strivers kept fighting to find both employment and dignity, usually by identifying with "white" values, decrying "underclass" behavior, and utilizing a combination of education and non-competition.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this work is Thornbrough's description of the convoluted process involved in school segregation. Administrators did not systematically segregate urban and rural schools. Instead, they created a complex patchwork of segregation by school and within schools, or segregation by training only. The author gives a detailed and sophisticated analysis of how progressivism, Booker T. Washington's industrial education movement, accommodation, economic discrimination, and fear shaped haphazard segregation patterns, and determined the type of education African Americans found available to them in Indiana school systems. This chapter should be prescribed reading in schools of education, and also in entry-level African American studies classes. In short, a mix of "elevating" immigrants, business concerns, competition, and pseudo-scientific ideas about race combined to limit African American educational opportunities. In this Indiana was not unique. Other northern state civil rights leaders ran into the same problems and resistance in school desegregation.

In this book, Thornbrough is particularly good at dealing with the delicate dance of negotiation, accommodation, and striving that characterize the middle class African American community through the 1950s. She grasps how the subtle complexities of human interaction, personality, and perception influence institutions. But a few weaknesses mar the work. Rural African Americans receive much less notice in this work, because of the lack of sources and numbers. The work also has very few details about the lives of individual working class African Americans. While discrimination among draft boards and home front support are discussed, the impact of National Guard and other military experiences on Indiana African Americans receives rather superficial attention. This is probably because the work itself is a survey, and this is an area in history that has received very little attention. Also, the author's style is very formal. A little more oral history from working class individuals would have made for a more interesting book. The last chapter, written posthumously by Lana Ruegamer, Thornbrough's editor, is very different in tone, detail, and analysis from the rest of the book. This reviewer can't complain too much about the difference, because finishing a book for someone else is a truly difficult enterprise.

This work would be good for an upper division or graduate class in history, or for serious researchers. It is not accessible enough, in writing style or lexicon, for most general readers. For someone knowledgeable in African American history, this would be an excellent addition to a historical collection. Overall, Thornbrough's well-written, dense account of the African American urban experience in Indiana in the twentieth century should be considered a good contribution to the field.

Selika M. Ducksworth-Lawton
University of Wisconsin—Eau Claire

Thomas E. Wagner and Phillip J. Obermiller. ***African American Miners and Migrants: The Eastern Kentucky Social Club.*** **Afterword by William H. Turner.** Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. 158 pp. ISBN: 0252071646 (paper), $20.00.

With a bold magisterial stroke, *African American Miners and Migrants* has enhanced our understanding of African American everyday living and black community-building efforts in coal mining towns in the twentieth century. In a thoroughly researched and elegantly written book about the struggles of black Appalachian migrants in the towns of Benham and Lynch between 1910 and 1970, Thomas E. Wagner and Phillip J. Obermiller examine the creation and development of the Eastern Kentucky Social Club. In doing so, the authors raise some provocative questions regarding construction of model coal towns in the Appalachian region, the inner workings of black coal mining communities, and the struggle to preserve collective memory in similar industrial settings.

Focusing on the commemorative activities of black Kentucky migrants who hailed from Harlan County, Wagner and Obermiller contend, "The members of the Eastern Kentucky Social Club have chosen not to disown their roots in Harlan County but to celebrate them." (2) Indeed, slavery, the creation of Appalachian coal towns, recruitment of African American newcomers to Benham and Lynch, and the all-encompassing influence of the coal companies in the Black Mountain communities provide the context for the opening chapters dealing with African American strategies of self-empowerment and institution building in Eastern Kentucky. According to the authors, corporations like International Harvester and United States Steel developed company towns in Harlan County out of necessity rather than as a carefully planned metropolitan area. The towns were also created as a way of maintaining paternalistic control over every aspect of black life from the provision of housing, utilities, and company stores, to the creation of social institutions. By the 1930s, mine operators in Harlan County had adjusted their strategies of control from paternalism to welfare capitalism in order to meet challenges wrought by fundamental changes in the American economy, as well as to stave off a threat posed by class conscious workers and trade unions in the coalfields. All the while, relations between black and white miners in these towns fluctuated in tandem with struggles between coal operators and organized labor in the region. However, as Wagner and Obermiller point out, African Americans were by no means passive in this process, employing a vast repertoire of survival strategies that range from adopting pragmatic stances toward company town life, to union organizing, to finally migrating from the Black Mountain area to urban communities when the economies of the coal towns began to spiral downward.

By challenging the conventional characterizations of black life in coal towns during the period, Wagner and Obermiller complicate and extend our knowledge of the Appalachian region, especially when they explain how black mining families and communities shaped the parameters of their experiences in Benham and Lynch. For example, although International Harvester and United States Steel employed welfare capitalism not for "the betterment of workers and their families" but to advance their own cause, black mining families and communities in the area took advantage of the modern infrastructure produced by welfare capitalists to provide a better way of life for their offspring. And, in turn, better housing and health care, company stores, schools and churches, and recreational facilities in the towns formed the social foundations for Eastern Kentucky Social Club members who reached young adulthood between 1940 and 1960. Indeed, it was the vitality of a cohesive community and the collective will to pass its memory on to successive generations that impelled young African American migrants like Armelia Moss, Della and Willie Watts, Andrea Massey and Gean Austin who left the Appalachian region for midwestern and northeastern cities to seek each other's company in 1967. Reflecting on the club's significance, the authors compare the development of Benham and Lynch as model towns with recently formed company cities and conclude that "the Eastern Kentucky members were important participants in an evolutionary process of corporate social and physical planning that can be traced from Harlan County in the early twentieth century to Scott County in Kentucky in the early twenty-first century." (116)

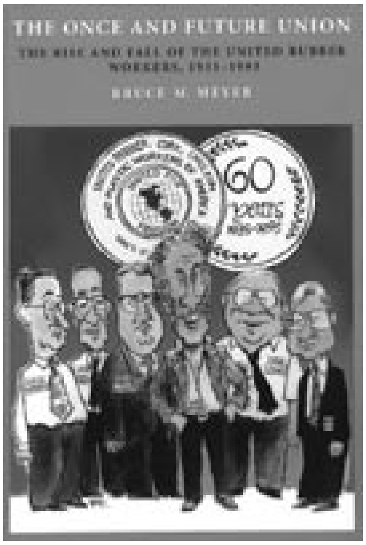
Overall, this study has considerable strengths but it also invites criticism as well as a host of intriguing questions. Perhaps Wagner and Obermiller's thesis would have been more persuasive had they fully considered how class-consciousness and gender relations in Benham and Lynch framed the recollections of Eastern Kentucky Social Club members. For instance, how did intra-racial class cleavages in the company towns shape the collective memories of club members? Or, to what extent did gender conventions in Benham and Lynch inform the memories of EKSC members? These are minor quibbles, however. *African American Miners and Migrants* is a valuable addition to the fields of African American history, labor studies, and oral history.

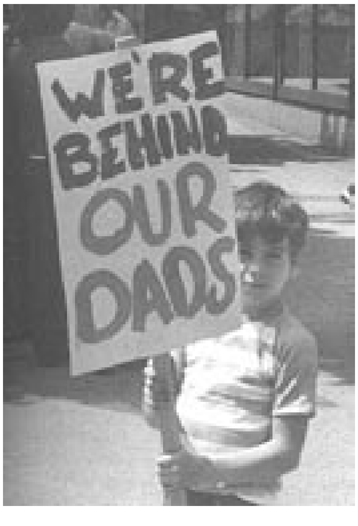
Robert F. Jefferson
Xavier University

Bruce M. Meyer. ***The Once and Future Union: The Rise and Fall of the United Rubber Workers, 1935-1995.*** Akron: University of Akron Press, 2002. 450 pp. ISBN: 18844836852 (paper), $27.95.

Akron is to rubber and tires what Detroit is to the American automobile industry. Or perhaps we should say Akron *once* was to rubber and tires what Detroit *once* was to the American automobile industry—the creative and command center, as well as the location of the major assembly lines that put the United States on wheels. In the process, the automotive industry and its vital suppliers, such as the tire companies of Akron, became—*and remain*—the most important production industry of the United States. A study of workers in America's rubber industry then should be considered a valuable, even vital, element in our understanding of the saga and struggles of the auto industry, so dynamic and often so turbulent. Indeed, Meyer's study should fascinate readers on two levels. The first is its textual thesis, an excellent and detailed narrative of the human drama involved in the creation of the United Rubber Workers Union (URW), and its sixty-year struggle to insure rubber workers a reasonable share of the fruits of their labor. On a second level, there is a very powerful subtextual thesis. Meyer's data and narrative reveal a deep crisis in the structure of industry in the United States that, along with agriculture, did so much to democratize American prosperity—although, in the perspective of this reviewer, Meyer did not set out with this secondary goal in mind.

The democratization of prosperity is the dream and justification for labor unions, such as the United Rubber Workers. Meyer characterizes the URW as a democratic union in its inception and throughout its history, with a consistently strong and healthy interplay between line workers and leadership. Thus he describes the URW as often battling on two fronts. On the one side, he finds the union in conflict with the tire and rubber companies, and on the other, he chronicles an ongoing battle for democracy within the union itself. Meyer narrates these struggles clearly, sometimes dramatically, skillfully weaving personal interviews with almost seventy of the labor and industry participants in URW history into his story. It is doubtful there will be another work on the URW that utilizes the personal dimension as well as this one does.





In times of prosperity, this duality in focus and experience proved a great, perhaps decisive, strength in URW external struggles. But in the period of auto and rubber industry decline from roughly 1980 onward, it caused faltering and uncertainty during some critical negotiations with tire and rubber companies, such as Bridgestone/Firestone. This leads us to the second, more subtle, aspect of this work. The subtext this reviewer discerns in Meyer's work shows how globalization has thrown not only the economy, but also the overall enterprise of economic democracy into turbulence. This new form of economic chaos bears an uncanny resemblance to the conservative economist Joseph Schumpeter's classic formulation of the renewal of capitalism as "creative destruction." Unfortunately, the destruction has been far more evident than any new industrial creation.

Meyer clearly describes the impact of globalization on the tire and rubber industry. On the positive side, the influence of foreign companies such as Michelin accelerated the introduction of radial tires to American automobiles, making the traditional bias-ply tires and the factories producing them obsolete. So far we have some creative destruction. But globalization has also brought about a surrender to foreign capital and companies, especially Japanese (Bridgestone) and French (Michelin) of all but two of the American companies which introduced and led the rubber tire industry for so long. The result has been that American labor no longer negotiates with American industry for American jobs and American prosperity. American tire and rubber plants now operate mostly as pawns on a chessboard where foreign managers, shareholders, and governments control the major moves. This brings us to the deep question lurking in Meyer's narrative: If unions exist for the democratization of American prosperity, can unions or the American companies whose products they make, survive continued globalization as presently exercised? Or will globalization "democratize deprivation and exploitation?" The evidence Meyer adduces is suggestive and troubling, but not conclusive, and this comment is no criticism.

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The book is not without its flaws. Surprisingly, there is no discussion whatever of the importance and long-range influence of the Taft-Hartley Act in blocking and undermining of union advancement. Also, there is almost no discussion of the highly disruptive influence of the Vietnam War on U.S. industry in general and labor-management relations in particular. Finally, the author has little to say about the non-creative destruction wrought in the 1970s by inflation—averaging over seven per cent *per year* for the decade—that created havoc in U.S. industry, and gave foreign enterprise a huge competitive advantage in many areas. Meyer's account would have been better contextualized with explicit consideration of these factors. All in all, however, this is a readable, sometimes deeply moving account of the history of the URW. It will be difficult to surpass.

James R. Anderson
Michigan State University

Richard G. Zimmerman. ***Call Me Mike: A Political Biography of Michael V. DiSalle.***
Kent: Kent State University Press, 2003.
322 pp. ISBN: 0873387554 (cloth),
$32.00.

This brisk biography of Ohio's sixtieth governor, by a veteran chronicler of the Statehouse and U.S. Capitol, helps explain the adage that Ohio's voters elect Democrats as adds to governor to do those things GOP governors fail to do—then, after one term, irately retire said Democrats. DiSalle, son of Italian immigrants, only the second Catholic to hold "supreme executive power" in Ohio, was governor from 1959 to 1963. He moved into the Governor's Mansion after a long apprenticeship in Toledo municipal politics and a brief, thankless, but made-the-best-of-it career as a federal price regulator for President Truman during the Korean War.

DiSalle's parents haled from the mid-Italy province of Abruzzi. They emigrated separately to New York, and after marrying, they moved to Toledo. The DiSalles' exertion and thrift, Latinate echoes of Horatio Alger, meant son Michael obtained legal training at Georgetown University in an era when even old-stock Americans seldom attained such schooling. In Washington, Michael DiSalle met his future wife, Myrtle England, a fellow Catholic, whose roots were in Louisiana. By the time DiSalle's governorship ended in 1963, the marriage, Zimmerman records, had deteriorated into a kind of cold war. Michael and Myrtle DiSalle permanently separated soon after, seemingly not because of specific conduct—DiSalle's zesty womanizing surfaced only after the separation—but because Mrs. DiSalle may have tired of the role of political spouse.

After mid-Depression service in the Ohio House of Representatives, Michael DiSalle landed a Toledo City Council berth and eventually a mostly ceremonial role as mayor. (Toledo had a city manager.) Zimmerman argues the mayoralty pushed DiSalle into the spotlight. But even before that DiSalle had come to the public's attention when as a city councilman in 1945 he organized a Labor-Management-Citizens Committee that aimed to lessen labor-capital rancor in a rollicking CIO town. Zimmerman also suggests that backing by Toledo's newspapers—then, as now, owned by the Block family—played a role in making the mayoralty more prominent than its powers justified. After DiSalle failed to capture a congressional seat in 1946 or a U.S. Senate nomination in1950, he bravely accepted Harry Truman's invitation to become federal price controller. Failed Senate (1952) and gubernatorial (1956) bids followed.

In 1958, Republican blunders in Columbus ushered DiSalle (and the first Democrat-run Ohio General Assembly since 1949-1950) into the Statehouse. Lunatic rightists—even then the bane of Ohio's GOP—pushed an anti-union open-shop ("right to work") initiative onto the state's 1958 ballot. The resulting labor mobilization, Ohio's biggest since the 1930s, spurred voters to replace a dithering Republican governor, C. William O'Neill, with DiSalle. DiSalle then sought to rewrite Ohio's utility rate-making law, taking on the state's electric and telephone companies (along with insurers, the most rapacious lobbies in Columbus). The utilities bested the governor. DiSalle was more successful in fattening state revenues to improve, if only slightly, woeful state services.

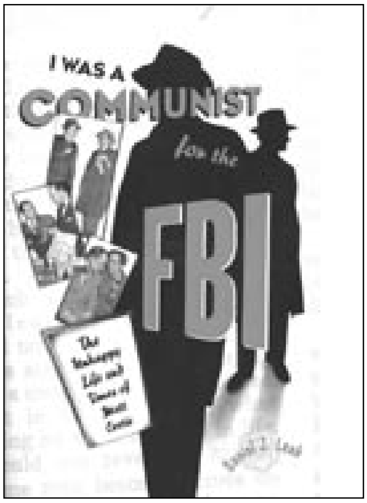
According to Zimmerman, DiSalle's tender conscience about the death penalty turned voters against him. Though Ohio executed six convicts on DiSalle's watch, six others eluded the electric chair (not imprisonment) because of his mercy. DiSalle's reservations about capital punishment may be more salient than ever: Early in 1963, DiSalle's GOP successor, James A. Rhodes, permitted only two executions, not one, as Zimmerman asserts, and Ohio didn't execute another prisoner until 1999. But an Ohio majority still surely supports the penalty. In the end, tax increases, legislative wrangling and splits within the Ohio Democratic ticket probably did more to doom DiSalle's re-election than Death Row clemency. An incumbent governor who wins renomination by barely fifty percent of his party's primary vote, as DiSalle did in 1962, is likely destined for defeat in November. Moreover, then as now, Ohio voters are often won over by Republican "low tax" rhetoric and concomitant, if unvoiced, low-service results. Predictably, Rhodes, after clubbing DiSalle for tax-increases, didn't repeal any of them.

Zimmerman's book fills a yawning gap in the literature. It also suggests other profitable explorations, such as the perceived clout of Ohio newspaper publishers with governors and legislators. Zimmerman's study is an enterprising, enthusiastic and telling tale of a governorship that manifested many political dilemmas that bedevil Ohio yet today, and to a certain extent helps explain those dilemmas.

Thomas Suddes
Ohio University

Daniel J. Leab. ***I Was a Communist for the FBI: The Unhappy Life and Times of Matt Cvetic.*** University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. 184 pp. ISBN: 0271020539 (cloth), $30.95.

In his 1956 work *The Crucial Decade*—a "first draft of history" that still holds up well—Eric Goldman noted that the McCarthy years were a time when "on all levels of society, the ill-tempered, the mean, the vicious in human beings pushed to the fore." That observation explains about as well as possible why an odious creature like Matt Cvetic was able to attain, however briefly, celebrity status in America and with it the power to destroy people's lives. Cvetic, Daniel Leab concludes, "was very much a man of his time," and Leab's slim but meticulous examination of both the man and the time makes plain that the postwar Red Scare commonly dubbed McCarthyism catapulted Cvetic from his proper obscurity to a position of wholly undeserved prominence. (57)



In a different era, Matt Cvetic never would have commanded respect and applause from the American media and Washington's elite. Even among the disreputable crew of professional anti-communists who named names for congressional committees and security agencies in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Cvetic cut an unimpressive figure. He lacked Whittaker Chambers's gravitas, Elizabeth Bentley's idealism, Louis Budenz's industry, and above all Harvey Matusow's self-reproach. Unlike Matusow, who recanted his testimony and apologized for the suffering he caused, Cvetic never experienced any pangs of conscience. His only regret, often voiced, was that he had not "taken better care of Matt"—that to say, obtained greater financial reward for his service as an FBI informant and subsequent career as a government witness. (95)

The Cvetic who emerges from this book lacks any redeeming features. Leab depicts him as a liar, philanderer, deadbeat dad, and alcoholic who once pummeled his sister-in-law badly enough to hospitalize her and who suffered recurrent bouts of mental illness. The foundation upon which Cvetic built his fleeting stardom—seven years of work for the FBI during which time he infiltrated Pittsburgh's Communist Party—was largely a sham. Leab reveals that Cvetic found out little about the purported secret activities of American communists and that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover fired him because of his erratic behavior in early 1950. Hoover did, however, arrange for Cvetic to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and, as Leab puts it, "otherwise to cash in on his years of undercover work." (27) In the event, Cvetic cashed in more handsomely than the Bureau had anticipated. He made dozens of appearances before various committees and fingered about three hundred people as communists, attracting massive press attention. The *Saturday Evening Post* ran a three-part series detailing Cvetic's (mostly fictional) exploits; Warner Brothers bought the film rights and in 1951 released "I Was a Communist for the FBI" which portrayed Cvetic as single-handedly saving Pittsburgh from the Red Menace; and the Ziv Company produced a radio series with the same title that ran for seventy-eight episodes and enjoyed one of the biggest budgets of its day. Cvetic earned hefty lecture fees, made numerous radio broadcasts, and even managed a respectable run for Congress. From 1951 to 1955, he was one of the most admired men in America.

Herein lies for Leab the true tragedy of the Cvetic story—"that the standards of American society had become so twisted that a Cvetic becomes a hero." (135) Cvetic won renown at a time when carnage in Korea, Soviet H-bomb tests, and seemingly daily crises over "hot spots" like Berlin and Taiwan lashed American anti-communism into a fury and fueled the hunt for subversives throughout the country. By the mid-1950s, however, the panic of the early cold war years had receded and Cvetic found it difficult to stay in the spotlight. His former boss, Hoover—fed up with Cvetic's increasingly bizarre testimony—put a stop to his appearances before HUAC and other committees. Cvetic faded from the headlines, tried unsuccessfully to launch a comeback by shilling for Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, and died in 1962, his fifteen minutes of fame a reminder of the irrationality that pervaded the United States at midcentury. Leab's treatment of this sad, seedy figure, while unsparing, is fair, and enhances our understanding of what Richard Fried has unimprovably termed America's nightmare in Red.

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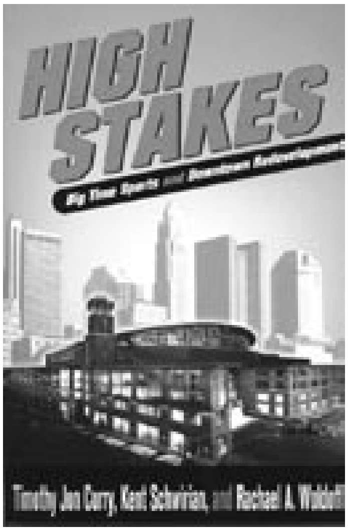
Timothy John Curry, Kent Schwirian, and Rachel A. Woldoff. ***High Stakes: Big Time Sports and Downtown Redevelopment.*** Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2004. 199 pp. ISBN: 0814251250 (paper), $22.95

Sports stadiums have become a cure-all for the ills of the American city. In recent years, an almost symbiotic relationship has developed between professional sports team owners and city politicians, with teams promising jobs, urban revitalization and tourist dollars in exchange for free (*i.e.*, taxpayer-funded) stadiums costing hundreds of millions of dollars. The clamor for such stadiums has drowned out the voices of economists who almost universally insist that stadiums are an unwise and unprofitable use of public funds.

High Stakes: Big Time Sports and Downtown Redevelopment is a study of the arrival of professional sports in Columbus, Ohio, and the sequence of events that led to the construction of two sports arenas in that city's downtown. In the mid-1990s, Columbus' political and business elite (known collectively in the city as "the Titans") campaigned for a new publicly-funded downtown arena to attract a National Hockey League team, as well as a soccer stadium to keep the fledgling Columbus Crew, a Major League Soccer franchise, in town. Besides bringing Columbus increased media attention and prestige, the Titans also hoped that these professional sports facilities would revitalize a dilapidated section of downtown. The proposal for a sales tax increase to fund the development was opposed by a diverse coalition of fiscally conservative Republicans, Libertarians, liberal Democrats, preservationists, and NIMBY-minded urban residents.


HIGH STAKES
Big Time Sports and Downtown Redevelopment
Timothy Jon Curry, Kent Schwirian, and Rachael A. Woldoff

Despite a multi-million dollar advertising campaign by the Titans, Columbus voters soundly defeated the issue. Surprisingly, this did not signal the end of the city's professional sports aspirations. With the dream of being a major-league city quickly vanishing, Nationwide Insurance, long a major player in Columbus downtown development, issued a proposal to build the $125 million arena without any direct public expense. The soccer team owners also managed to find private investment for their stadium. When the Columbus Blue Jackets hockey team opened their first season in the fall of 2000, the authors assert that the city's arenas were a "win-win" for all involved. The teams played to sold-out crowds, the city leaders got a revitalized Arena District, and taxpayers carried none of the financial burden. The authors suggest that this could serve as a model for other cities seeking the revitalization and prestige of professional sports stadiums without draining public coffers. In the closing chapter, they contrast the Columbus experience with recent publicly-funded stadium developments in Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.

Curry, Schwirian, and Woldoff deftly maneuver through the complex mix of municipal politics, entrepreneurship, investment, marketing and public relations that all play a part in a massive urban redevelopment project. The reader gains a clear understanding of the power players in Columbus, as well as the tactics and motivations of their opposition. Newspaper accounts provide the bulk of the credited source material for the book, though the authors note in the appendix that they also utilized official documents and personal interviews to get the "inside story" on the Columbus arena project. This personal connection to the actors, however, proves to be both a strength and a weakness, as the narrative sometimes becomes overly detailed. Also, a more thorough treatment of the historical connection between sports and the American city would have been helpful here, and would have placed the Columbus experience in a broader historical context. Furthermore, while the authors assert that they desire to reach a broad audience, a significant portion of this work is devoted to academic theory. They interpret the events in Columbus through an "ecology of games" theoretical model, which may be of interest to scholars of sociology but is largely unnecessary for the non-specialist.

Curry, Schwirian and Woldoff effectively argue for an alternative to the current trend of building stadiums at taxpayer expense, and criticize the extensive power that professional sports teams increasingly hold in cities' public dialogue. They also warn that stadium redevelopment projects, however they are funded, can seldom deliver on all that they promise. Though the Nationwide Arena and Columbus's new soccer stadium brought new development to areas directly adjacent to them, they failed to produce the revitalization of the entire downtown that advocates had envisioned. *High Stakes* is thus both a success story and a cautionary tale. Urban planners and concerned citizens everywhere would do well to consider its arguments.

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Mary Ann Wynkoop. ***Dissent in the Heartland: The Sixties at Indiana University.***
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. 232 pp. ISBN: 0253341183 (cloth), $49.95.

In *Dissent in the Heartland*, Mary Ann Wynkoop argues that the protest movement of the 1960s was not solely driven by elites from campuses on the east and west coasts. Rather, she suggests that the movement evolved as a groundswell throughout the nation, including the heartland. Basing her research primarily on newspaper accounts and personal interviews with student activists and university administrators, Wynkoop effectively supplements her work with documentation from FBI files showing the government's response to protests at Indiana University. The result is a detailed story of how IU students pushed for change on issues ranging from campus rules to wages for university maintenance workers to American policy in Vietnam.

Wynkoop organizes the first four chapters chronologically to describe the events at IU through the 1960s and punctuates the book with an epilogue explaining how the sixties movement carried over into the early 1970s. The book also includes topical chapters on civil rights, women's issues, and the counterculture. Wynkoop notes that IU activism really came alive between 1965 and 1967 when both liberal and conservative student organizations successfully rolled back *in loco parentis* rules on campus curfews and dress codes. Since many of

these rules applied particularly to females, women's rights were at the heart of campus activism. Such dissent grew into protests regarding the Vietnam War between 1967 and 1969 as IU students confronted campus recruiters for government and corporations associated with the war. IU faculty members got into the act as well, forming an antiwar group and pressing for the addition to the curriculum of African American ethnic studies and for more female professors.

One example (of many) of IU students initiating dissent—found in the opening chapter—describes protests regarding the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, an event not normally associated with 1960s activism. Wynkoop uses this episode to point out that the movement was not limited to those with liberal views, noting that it helped IU become the birthplace of the Young Americans for Freedom, a conservative student group. Nevertheless, this issue led IU students opposing Cold War policy in Cuba to carry their message across the country. Occurring well before the free speech protest at the University of California-Berkeley campus, this event effectively supports Wynkoop's thesis that protest did indeed spring directly from the heartland.

While the book richly describes what happened at IU in the sixties, the author's analysis of some of the events seems sketchy. One theme worth exploring in more depth would be the flexibility of IU administrators. While the university's authorities did not immediately give dissidents all of the rules changes they demanded in 1966, by 1968 they had at least abolished curfews for female students and restrictions on male visitors in women's dorms. Wynkoop points out that IU administrators and students managed to avoid *violent* confrontations seen elsewhere in the country, and it would have been interesting to explore why this was the case. Could the violent confrontations elsewhere in the country have created the opposite effect at IU?

The splintering of the movement presented another opportunity for additional examination. Why did so many groups form, and could they have accomplished more had they worked together more effectively? Describing how the New University Conference (NUC) became popular when the Students for a Democratic Society collapsed in hopeless factionalism in 1969, Wynkoop says the NUC "addressed the needs of more mature students and professionals who were becoming increasing disillusioned with . . . the revolutionary rhetoric of younger radicals." (148) This raises an intriguing issue. How did the maturity of the participants (or lack thereof) affect the proliferation of causes and organizations and their ability to unite? While these are difficult questions to answer, the author's insights would have been interesting, given the amount of research she did on the topic. All in all, however, *Dissent in the Heartland* is well-researched, rich in detail, and supports its thesis quite successfully.

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