

etched with appropriate religious symbol" for each soldier. "Small matter though this may seem," Manseau observes, "its implications were less so. The symbols of other religious traditions followed, and now number close to fifty" (p. 365). His book demonstrates that American religious

diversity is no small matter and might be, at base, the most under-appreciated aspect of the nation's history.

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Clean and White: A History of Environmental Racism in the United States

By Carl A. Zimring

(New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. 288. Notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

Over the past thirty years, historians have made significant contributions to the body of academic literature on environmental racism. Most of this work employs a case-study method either to dissect the array of historical forces responsible for racially skewed geographies of waste or to document eco-justice activism. Carl Zimring's most recent monograph addresses both of these subjects but also charts new territory by ascribing the development of environmental inequalities to a cultural association between whiteness and cleanliness that intensified over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries throughout the United States.

To build his case, Zimring moves swiftly through two hundred years of US history, seeking points where the evolution of racial thought intersected with ideas about sanitation and hygiene. Pseudo-scientific justifications of slavery in the antebellum era marked people of African descent

as biologically inferior. Immutable racial traits acquired more menacing connotations after the Civil War as the scourge of epidemic disease made it imperative to distinguish between the pure and the defiled. Zimring employs a rhetorical analysis to demonstrate that the specter of contamination was fundamental to the rise and perpetuation of Jim Crow segregation. As long as immigrant populations lived and worked amid filth and squalor, they too were denied the privileges of whiteness. Only when "white ethnics" won admission to the pristine suburbs after World War II were they able to attain the full status of whiteness, thereby relegating African Americans and Latinos to polluted neighborhoods and waste-handling occupations.

Zimring's narrative synthesizes much of the recent scholarship on race and garbage. While students of these subjects will find much here that is familiar, the blending of heretofore

separate storylines yields fresh perspectives. In the context of evolving stereotypes, Booker T. Washington's "gospel of the toothbrush" veers closer to confrontation than acquiescence. And where Zimring supplements the existing literature with original research, the results are illuminating. Gilded Age soap advertisements clinch the argument that the dominant popular culture equated dark skin with dirt. Zimring's deep dive into census data quantifies the nation's reliance on non-white, and increasingly African American, workers to fill jobs involving cleaning and garbage disposal. Indeed, attention to labor relations and working conditions represents the book's greatest strength. Whereas much of the literature on environmental inequality focuses on residential settings, it is within the workplace where people of color have faced the most direct exposure to debilitating

hazards. This story of employment discrimination culminates with a powerful chapter on the Memphis garbage strike of 1968, when, for the first time, the relationship between waste and racial minority status was exposed as a civil rights issue.

Zimring supplies ample evidence to support his claim that over time, whiteness grew more firmly associated with cleanliness in the public mind. The degree to which this cultural association contributed to the skewed distribution of environmental hazards remains somewhat murky. At the very least, Zimring's provocative book will compel future historians to take the role of garbage and waste seriously when seeking to explain some of the most pernicious social injustices of our time.

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