

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and the Vietnam War afforded new opportunities. Presented as a moral issue, the ERA stood as a referendum on the role of women, and the right-wing women who believed in a gender hierarchy defined by God crafted the debate as one about sex, sexuality, and homemaking. Vietnam, which Benowitz acknowledges as the most complex of the issues, is a topic that seems ripe for further exploration. A desire to defeat communism, as Benowitz explains, continued to guide these women, but in a fascinating opportunity to broaden their appeal, the women found an additional, effective way to communicate their message. Instead of presenting a pro-war argument, they drew others to their cause through a message of supporting the troops with care packages, and similar gift-giving campaigns.

Communism and the fear of conspiracy served as essential components for all of these issues and provided a vehicle for the transition

from an Old to New Right, and to the present. The collapse of communist nations “made it difficult for those believing in foreign-based communist conspiracies and allowed for the growth of the New Right and an emphasis on other issues” (p. 214)—issues that women in the New Right had been fostering for over a decade by using communism as a vehicle to focus on government intrusion, morality, and family values. Benowitz’s book is an important contribution to the study of this moment of political change, and shows just how significant a role women in the grassroots have played and continue to play.

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## *One Nation, Under Gods: A New American History*

By Peter Manseau

(New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2015. Pp. 469. Notes, index. Clothbound, \$28.00; paperbound, \$17.99.)

If controversial and beloved historian Howard Zinn had plied his historical method on American religious history, the product might read something like Peter Manseau’s book, *One Nation, Under Gods*. My association of Manseau with Zinn is both a compli-

ment and a criticism. Zinn famously provided an alternative narrative of the United States, relating hundreds of stories of injustice and resistance to dismantle the triumphalist view of America. Manseau, working in a similar vein, uses a series of well-crafted

vignettes to demonstrate “attempts by the powerless to exert control over their lives” (p. 116). That particular quote comes in reference to his chapter on Tituba, the slightly mysterious Salem slave of witch trial fame who, Manseau argues, should be seen as a trailblazing religious transgressor. “The practices we might call witchcraft today, carried out by the English and by the native peoples of the Americas before them,” he explains, “can be thought of as a kind of spiritual equalizer, providing religious authority outside social structures that were inevitably defined at the time by class and gender” (p. 114). While there are many valid historical reasons to look into the American origins of Wicca or conjuring, Manseau’s reinterpretation of the Salem witch trials as a site of resistance for transgressive religious practices performs a kind of historical nearsightedness. In an attempt to see Tituba anew, Manseau has lost sight of the rich history (and lost lives) that surrounded her.

But one example does not undermine Manseau’s larger project. The target that inspires his corrective is the ubiquitous but poorly understood notion that America is “the city upon a hill.” Anyone who has actually read John Winthrop’s sermon “A Model of Christian Charity,” will find little triumphant about it. To Manseau, though, the problem is one of perception: “So long as the call to build Winthrop’s city endures...we [will] continue to image ourselves under spiritual siege and in need of a ‘bul-

wark’ against whichever current peril must be kept at bay” (p. 410).

Indeed, chapter upon chapter, Manseau recounts how American Muslims, Iroquois, atheists, Jews, Hindus, Mormons, Buddhists, Sikhs, and even hippies “collectively remind us that religious outliers are usually not outliers for long” (p. 413). Manseau makes a significant contribution by treating non-Christians in a way that does not relegate them to counterpoints of American history. In other words, the people he profiles do not exist merely as non-Christians but as historical actors shaping a nation that is decidedly not Christian.

Manseau provides a wonderful illustration of that point in a chapter entitled “War Prayers.” His subject is the irony of honoring Americans of Japanese descent who suffered abject injustice at the hands of the same nation for which they, as American soldiers, died. All who fought and died in World War II received religious recognition by being assigned a letter on their dog tags, as well as on their graves: “Catholic soldiers had a ‘C’, Protestants a ‘P’, and Jews had an ‘H’, for Hebrew. All the rest were ‘O’ for ‘Other’” (p. 359). Manseau concludes this story by discussing a debate that took place in 1947 over how the federal government should honor those buried at the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific—up to that point, the default procedure was to plant crosses. Ultimately, the military resolved the issue by issuing stone markers “featuring a medallion

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