

statehood. However, Americans were scandalized by Church control of all things political, by polygamy, and by Mormon Indian policy. They saw the Mormons as a threat to liberty that must be checked. The governing Democratic party believed in popular sovereignty, but the Mormons held that their choice to be governed by church leaders was, in fact, popular sovereignty. Americans saw this as antirepublican and subversive, which meant that the federal government must not only eliminate polygamy but also establish genuine republican government in Utah. Also, since Utah was strategically located on a major route to California, including the projected route for the transcontinental railroad, the government had to curb Mormon power to solidify federal control of these routes.

Rogers's handling of the multiple issues involved is superb, especially as he integrates what happened in Utah with broader American territorial history. Among the issues were the periodic quartering of military contingents in Utah, which antagonized the Mormons in several ways; the competing philosophies between Mormons and federal agents over Indian policy; plural marriage; and the Utah War and its consequences. The Utah expedition of 1857 was designed to help solidify federal control, eliminate theocratic government, create true popular sovereignty, and wrestle Indian affairs from the Mormons. In addition, the troops were to facilitate transportation, commerce, and communication. Relating this to the larger scene, Rogers observes that "by 1858, the U.S. military presence in New Mexico and Utah was becoming more conspicuous and effective and added to the strength already present in Oregon, Washington, and California" (p. 240).

Republicans came to power in 1861 and soon passed laws that effectively ended popular sovereignty in all the territories. One, the Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act of 1862, criminalized polygamy. By then, "the federal government had developed its rightful role as legislator and was implementing, if imperfectly, its strategy for sustaining national sovereignty in the western territories and its authority over Utah" (p. 271).

Unpopular Sovereignty is an important, well-researched study that historians of Amer-

ican politics, and of the West in particular, should welcome.

James B. Allen, *Emeritus*
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

doi: 10.1093/jahist/jax460

The Rabbi's Atheist Daughter: Ernestine Rose, International Feminist Pioneer. By Bonnie S. Anderson. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. xiv, 231 pp. \$34.95.)

Ernestine Rose became a major figure in the nineteenth-century woman's rights movement in the United States and played an important role as a forceful delegate to conventions and as a popular public speaker and writer. She was, however, unique among the activists in her political milieu: a Polish immigrant, a Jew, a freethinker, and a self-proclaimed infidel. These identities come together seamlessly in this highly engaging biography by Bonnie S. Anderson, a scholar rightfully renowned for her stellar work on the international woman's movement and feminism.

As the title of the book indicates, Anderson's subject began life as the daughter of a well-to-do rabbi, but, while still a young woman living in Poland, she began to question her faith. During a sojourn in England, she found both spiritual solace and rational enlightenment within the freethinking circles of the socialist Robert Owen. In 1836, at age twenty-five, she married a fellow Owenite, William Rose, and accompanied him to New York where she determinedly breached etiquette, first as woman audacious enough to lecture in public and second as a lecturer and essayist on free thought. Soon, Rose became equally passionate about woman's rights and antislavery. Anderson shines a spotlight on the significance of this distinctive and unusual blend of commitments.

A wide-ranging and informative biography, *The Rabbi's Atheist Daughter* provides exceptional insights into the status of Christianity within the major political movements of the nineteenth century. Anderson situates Rose, as a proud infidel, among the leading abolitionists who routinely invoked Christianity to con-

demn slavery as immoral and sinful. In turn, she considers Rose's equally sticky position as a freethinker within the woman's rights movement. At the first national woman's rights convention in Worcester in 1850, Anderson notes, Rose stood apart as the only speaker to defend woman's rights without reference to Christianity. A decade later, Rose was still holding her ground. At the 1860 convention, where delegates argued about the divine origin of marriage, Rose hesitated to speak. As Anderson points out, Rose decidedly viewed marriage as a secular institution but drew back from taking a public stand lest she, an infamous freethinker, cast the shadow of free love and harlotry over the entire woman's rights movement. The affinity of woman's rights and Christianity only intensified during the Civil War, peaking with the leaders' endorsement of the United States as a "Christian Republic." From this point on, Rose began a move toward the sidelines, although declining health pushed her even further.

Anderson offers a model life-and-times study of Rose, built on solid primary research and enriched by the best recent scholarship pertinent to all aspects of Rose's various political affiliations. She also frames a biography, rich in context, that seems surprisingly relevant to readers today. Anderson sagely concludes that Rose's concerns for racial equality, feminism, and free thought, enriched by an international perspective, gain new importance during an era of resurging religious fundamentalism.

Mari Jo Buhle
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

doi: 10.1093/jahist/jax461

Man's Better Angels: Romantic Reformers and the Coming of the Civil War. By Philip F. Gura. (Cambridge: Belknap, 2017. 315 pp. \$29.95.)

Philip F. Gura's informative and well-written book is filled with insight into the pivotal impact of the panics of 1837 and 1857 on the lives of seven individuals: George Ripley, Horace Greeley, William B. Greene, Orson Squire Fowler, Mary Gove Nichols, Henry

David Thoreau, and John Brown. Much like Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), which established the classic conservative response to the prospect of revolution in European society, Gura recounts how antebellum America's romantic reformers ("man's better angels"), whose mantra centered around Ralph Waldo Emerson's celebration of individualism and self-reliance, responded to these two traumatic economic crises and their aftermath. Choosing to tell the story through this group of closely connected intellectuals, Gura examines their visionary efforts to address the problems endemic to capitalism's free-market system.

Beginning with Ripley's Brook Farm experiment, and then Greeley's dilettantish *New-York Tribune*, Green's transition from the pulpit to Christian "mutualism," Fowler's pseudoscience of phrenology, Nichols's health reform movement, and Thoreau's arch-individualism, Gura takes readers on an intellectual journey that culminates in their fatuous worship of Brown and his murderous band of outlaws. Believing themselves "prophets of a new moral and social order to be achieved when everyone accessed the internal, God-given power to align one's self with God's will," these divinely inspired reformers ultimately made a mockery of Emerson's ethic of self-reliance (p. 263). Their insistence on the unimpeachable sovereignty of the individual led them to a crisis of means and ends as they gave their consent to make the world a better place through the enshrinement of individual conscience over pragmatic compromise and the rule of law.

My criticisms are minor and admittedly based on personal bias. I would have preferred that the author spend more time exploring the impact of Emanuel Swedenborg on these romantic reformers. While Gura recounts the history of Brook Farm, he does not follow its transition from associationism into Swedenborgianism. Henry James Sr., the most influential Swedenborgian among the proponents of Fourierism, drew on the law of correspondences in his claim that Charles Fourier's blueprint for society provided the closest approximation of Swedenborg's angelic planes, including the transformative work of divine influx in the exercise of human fellowship. James viewed Fourierism as the earthly representation of