consumerist relationship between outdoor retailers and their customers.

Gross asserts the outdoor industry relied on three key elements—a masculine ideal, consumer culture, the combination of which became deeply entwined with American national identity. She begins by tracing the debate over authenticity and gender norms in the late nineteenth century, focusing on the budding popularity of buckskin shirts and bloomers. Owning such shirts, Gross argues, connected white men to what they believed to be a more authentic past and also crafted a distinctive masculine outdoors aesthetic. Women's donning bloomers to venture into the outdoors became a point of contention over whether such clothing made them too masculine. Chapter 2 traces the emergence of the outdoor retailer and their sale of expertise as essential for Americans venturing outdoors. Chapter 3 discusses the rise of Buck Skien and the use of nostalgia in marketing the outdoors during the 1920s and 1930s.

Gross's middle three chapters provide the heart of her argument, tracing outdoor recreation's rapid rise in popularity and evolution of the outdoor industry in the decades following World War II. The war held a tremendous influence on the outdoor industry, from creating a surplus of outdoor goods to the first large scientific testing of materials that became essential to Americans' outdoor experiences in the coming decades. Americans also bought European outdoor clothing and gear, Gross notes, in efforts to appear proficient. Her quirky example of *lederhosen* exceptionally reinforces her claims about American consumerism and offers a good chuckle on passing fashion trends.

Finally, chapters 7, 8, and 9 explore the implications of rising interests in outdoor recreation on the industry, its customers, and the environment. The rise of retail giants REI and Cabela's reflected America's greater affluence as well as the outdoor industry's prominence within American culture. The mixture of the American embrace of outdoor recreation and changing environmental politics proved a potent mix, Gross notes. Readers may come away wishing for a bit more on the connection between the modern wilderness movement and outdoor recreation, but Gross's emphasis on consumerism and gender provide a rich analysis that greatly adds to the growing conversation over outdoor recreation's importance.

While those familiar with works on the history of outdoor recreation in America will recognize much of the terrain Gross covers, her focus on consumerism and identity add an important and worthwhile lens for thinking about recreational tourism. In this way, Gross builds off earlier works on consumerism such as Jackson Lears' *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (1994) and William Leach's *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (1993), as well as works in environmental history such Annie Coleman's *Ski Style* (2004), Liza Nicholas and Elaine Bapis's anthology *Imagining the Big Open: Nature, Identity, and Play in the New West* (2003), and Jennifer Price's *Flight Maps: Adventures With Nature in Modern America* (2000).

Yet *Shopping All the Way to the Woods* is more than a history of consumerism and the environment. It is also a history of American fashion. Be it buckskin shirts sewn by Native women or Gore-Tex jackets, fashion played a central role in American's understandings of nature. More interestingly, as Gross traces in the book's final chapter, brands that began by producing technical outdoor clothing have become fashion for urban and suburban customers who have no interest in summiting the nearest peak or hiking the Appalachian Trail. This conversion of brands like Eddie Bauer into mainstream fashion underscored outdoor fashion's role in crafting American fashion and identity today. Richly told, *Shopping All the Way to the Woods* provides a much-needed history of American consumerism and identity in the outdoors that adds depth to both regional studies as well as business and economic histories.

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Michael D. Hattem. *The Memory of '76: The Revolution in American History*. Yale University Press, 2024. Pp. 360. Cloth $35.00.

Michael D. Hattem's book *The Memory of '76* offers a much-needed and timely account of the meaning and legacy of the American Revolution in American culture from the nation's beginnings to the present. As Hattem notes, despite the importance of the Revolution to American national identity, the memory of the Revolution as a whole has received surprisingly little attention from scholars. While there have been studies of specific aspects of that memory, such as Sarah Purcell's *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America* (2002) or Alfred Young's *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party* (1999), the only other broadly synthetic account of the memory of the Revolution comparable to Hattem's is Michael Kammen's *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (1978). But where Kammen emphasizes how the Revolution was "de-revolutionized" and given a conservative cast, Hattem highlights the contested meaning of the Revolution throughout the nation's history, showing how it was used to at once uphold and challenge the established social order. Consequently, Hattem departs from Kammen's focus on mostly high

culture—art, literature, and theater—in favor of more overtly politicized areas of contention such as political rhetoric, commemorative activities, and historic preservation, with the aim of integrating public history, formal historical writing, and popular culture.

Hattem's analysis is richly detailed, and he manages the difficult feat of distilling a vast array of material into a clear and accessible narrative, deftly interweaving the competing invocations of the Revolution he discusses with their social and political contexts. He breaks down the memory of the Revolution into its many different facets, examining the treatment of individual figures such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, the changing understandings of the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and the shifting meanings of the Revolutionary principles of liberty and equality. He begins with the party conflict between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans to demonstrate how their partisan uses of the Revolution established a precedent that would be a continuing feature of how it would be remembered. Hattem makes the democratization of the memory of the Revolution an important theme in his analysis, showing how the memory of the Revolution expanded from its initial focus on elite figures such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to include ordinary Revolutionary War veterans by the 1820s. The sectional and social conflicts of the antebellum era further fractured the memory of the Revolution, Hattem demonstrates, while at the same time continuing the expansion of who should be included within it, as abolitionists and women's rights activists invoked the ideals of the Declaration of Independence in support of their challenges to racial and gender oppression.

Hattem is careful, however, not to present the transformation of the memory of the Revolution as a linear narrative of progress toward greater inclusion. White Southerners sharply contested Northern claims to the legacy of the Revolution, he argues, giving precedence to the Constitution over the Declaration as the nation's founding document, and invoking the memory of the Revolution to justify secession. He then makes the provocative argument that with the formation of the Confederacy, white Southerners rejected both the Declaration and Constitution; while they still appealed to the symbolic power of the Revolution, they emptied those appeals of any ideological content.

Far from unifying the nation, the nationalization of the memory of the Revolution after the Civil War continued to fuel divides over the legacy of the Revolution by adding the class and ethnic conflicts created by industrialization to the mix. Anxious about the massive influx of immigrants coming from southern and eastern Europe, middle-class white Americans at the turn of the twentieth century, for example, promoted a racialized memory of the Revolution that privileged white claims to Americanness through the activities of hereditary organizations like the Daughters of the American Revolution. Nowhere was the issue of class more evident than in the controversy over Charles Beard's influential *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913), which Hattem sees as a watershed in the transformation of the memory of the Revolution. Beard's portrayal of the Constitution as the product of class struggle instituted by elites concerned with preserving their own economic interests demythologized the founders and fueled a critical strain of remembrance that would be a continuing feature of the memory of the Revolution from his time to the present. At the same time, however, Beard's interpretation provoked a powerful reaction from conservatives who sought to counter his critical perspective through their canonization of the "founding fathers"—a term coined by Warren Harding in direct response to Beard's book—and this conservative glorification of the founders provided the foundation for what Hattem argues would become the prevailing popular memory of the Revolution in the Cold War.

The association of the Declaration of Independence with the idea of individual liberty and the linkage of the Constitution with the notion of limited government by early twentieth-century conservatives, Hattem argues, would be fused into a Cold War rendition of the Revolution that portrayed it as a struggle for individual liberty, limited government, and free enterprise. By reconciling and merging the Declaration with the Constitution, this rendition offered a coherent and conservative view of the Revolution that would be snapped up by an American public eager for a narrative of the nation's founding that showed what set the United States apart from the Soviet Union. During what Hattem terms the long bicentennial era of 1969 to 1989, this conservative vision of the Revolution contended with challenges fueled by the protest movements of the 1960s and the "new social historians" of the 1960s and 1970s. These conflicts would culminate with the "culture wars" of the 1990s, which pitted an updated version of the conservative Cold War memory of the Revolution against a liberal multicultural memory that simultaneously criticized the Revolution's failings on race and gender and sought to broaden who was included within its memory.

For Hattem, then, the roots of our current divides over the Revolution lie in the early twentieth century. At a time when the culture wars are still going strong, his work provides an important reminder that the so-called traditional conservative view of the Revolution was a modern construct that was as revisionist as the critical perspective it opposes.

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