

While the Gary Works trumpeted the triumphs of mass production technology, the town's messy social scene evoked frontier imagery. Alternatively, the town was a beacon of individual opportunity and an unruly den of iniquity. After World War II, political corruption, crime, racial discord, and de-industrialization produced a tale of declension.

Actors external to Gary dominate O'Hara's analysis, but the author is careful to contrast national perspectives with internally generated responses that flattered the city with an emphasis on ethnic solidarity, a noble work ethic, and gritty masculinity. Taken together, these conflicting narratives flesh out a self-portrait of America as it struggled to reconcile a powerful manufacturing economy with a complicated array of social repercussions. Although O'Hara insists that these narratives trace the "ways Americans understood and felt about industrialism and industrial spaces," (p. 4) the real sto-

ryline here is that concerns about racial conflict in the late twentieth century displaced and disfigured a national conversation about industrial capitalism.

O'Hara has produced a highly readable and engaging account appropriate for adoption in courses about twentieth-century American culture and urban history. Readers of this journal may be amused to learn that as far back as 1912, Gary was set off from the rest of the state in the public imagination. As a creation of monopoly capitalism, Chicago's eastern appendage was considered antithetical to the spirit of truly free enterprise for which not only the "real" America but the "real" Indiana stood.

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A New Nation of Goods *The Material Culture of Early America*

By David Jaffee

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. Pp. [xvii], 400. Illustrations, notes, index. \$45.00.)

A New Nation of Goods is a detailed yet wide-ranging study of the manufacture and consumption of material goods in the provincial northeastern United States between 1775 and 1850—a period after provincial elites'

embrace of genteel goods, but before the materialization of Victorian bourgeois culture. David Jaffee investigates the vital role played by New England's provincial craftsmen in facilitating the emerging middle

class's embrace of gentility. As its title suggests, Jaffee's work is both a sequel and a rebuttal to historians (most notably T. H. Breen, in his 1986 essay "An Empire of Goods") who have maintained that American culture was forged in metropolitan ports during the colonial period. Instead, Jaffee maintains that an American taste formed in rural New England after the American Revolution, as producers modified elite goods in order to appeal to growing ranks of middling consumers, formulating new methods of production and distribution along the way.

To support this broad claim, Jaffee focuses on four types of goods: clocks, portraits / daguerreotypes, chairs, and books. He presents these artifacts not as naïve—or folk—interpretations of established metropolitan types (still the dominant view), but rather as unique design solutions that stemmed from craftsmen's embrace of new techniques of mass production alongside "the concurrent development of a flexible marketing system" (p. 181). Jaffee argues that the itinerant peddlers, booksellers, and portraitists who brought consumer goods to New England's gentry and middling sorts fueled the production of ever more goods and simultaneously educated purchasers about the material demands of gentility. Looking beyond the well-studied factories of Lowell, Massachusetts, he demonstrates that "industrialization took place outside the factory system" (p. 187).

The strength of Jaffee's work lies in his deft illumination of a more fluid, "grassroots" (p. 296) form of industrialization, as individual artisans took advantage of waterpower, available labor, and technological innovation to forge regional ties and increase production. Chairs produced in Sterling, Massachusetts, in the 1820s might be assembled from wood cut by waterpower in one city, legs turned on a lathe in a workshop in a different city, and rush seats woven by women in surrounding farmhouses. In the 1850s, as manufacturing began to consolidate and the mobile, small-scale entrepreneur was replaced with "a more hierarchical structure" (p. 296), Jaffee argues that middle-class consumers eschewed their independent gentility, becoming reliant on metropolitan tastes and bound to urban centers of production like New York City.

Although readers will appreciate Jaffee's deft interweaving of the important articles he has assembled over his career, his synthesis fails to elucidate fully the connections between aesthetic choices and class identity. Jaffee's concept of "hybrid" products that melded metropolitan styles with local demand is suggestive, but is never fully developed. Why did provincial middling consumers prefer stenciled chairs and meticulously delineated portraits? Of all the goods used by colonial elites, why did middling folks select clocks, chairs, and portraits as the constellation required for gentility? If emula-

tion drove consumer demand, then why did provincial consumers often purchase goods that looked strikingly different from those used by metropolitan elites? Jaffee is hampered in answering these questions by his loose and shifting definitions of the social groups that constituted the emerging middle class, and by his selection of illustrations. (There are no close-ups that allow readers to follow construction details or decorative elements.) Despite these drawbacks, readers will appreciate Jaffee's penetrating glimpse into the overlooked

gap between the consumer revolution and mass production and will come to appreciate the important role played by small New England towns in crafting a new nation of goods.

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Hearts Beating for Liberty
Women Abolitionists in the Old Northwest
 By Stacey Robertson

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Pp. xiv, 303. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

In *Hearts Beating for Liberty*, Stacey Robertson argues that western women held a distinctive place in the antislavery movement. Distanced from the eastern split between the Garrisonian and anti-Garrisonian factions, western women forged a unique antislavery stance that Robertson characterizes as pragmatic, goal-oriented, and based on mixed-sex cooperation.

Radical Garrisonians in the West were far more isolated and marginalized than those in the East. Out of necessity, they built coalitions with Liberty Party advocates (political abolitionists), church-based antislavery colleagues, and those who helped

fugitive slaves on the Underground Railroad. Robertson argues that western Garrisonians had no choice but to cooperate with the various antislavery factions while moderating their own radicalism. After all, she states, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois residents were generally more conservative, more hostile to women's rights, and more racist in terms of their Black Laws than those in the East. Since most westerners shunned controversial Garrisonian positions like disunionism, nonvoting, and women's rights, western antislavery activists developed a more flexible approach based on forging coalitions and making compromises.