

gender interacted with class in factory, home, community, and even political economy. Like others influenced by post-structuralist theory, she emphasizes the shifting and multivalent meanings often obscured by dualisms.

Life in Paris revolved around a contradiction: Women played central if not dominant roles in industry and community, but both politics and culture constructed them as subordinate. Women recruited from English textile districts found broader job opportunities in Paris and plunged into lifelong (if sometimes intermittent) wage work, "their work lives more secure and autonomous than those of their brothers" who displayed many of the characteristics of a secondary labor force. Women often owned property, and they took part in the dense women's support networks and atypically egalitarian marriages that evolved to support women's work force participation. These anomalous practices were countered locally by the paternalism of welfare capitalism, philanthropy, and industrialists' domination of public office and nationally by arguments for tariff protection that portrayed women's wage earning as secondary and temporary. A 1949 strike destabilized this balance by calling into question the meanings of women's respectability, family, and community. The strike failed, discrediting "class-based actions" and impelling the town's workers back to "the gender- and community-based solidarities in which their militancy had been forged." Women's work force participation did not legitimate female militancy.

German-dominated Hanover centered on masculinity. Growing out of an alliance between agricultural and craft work, the pattern of masculinity evolved and fractured after World War I: Managers tried to ground their virility on the closer control of work and workers; unions pushed a breadwinner ideal, which cast men as providers rather than producers; and workers defended their notions of manly good work against both. Furthermore, each furniture-manufacturing department drew its own connections between manliness and work. The few women's jobs here did not foster an analogous womanliness; they were reserved for the unmarried and reinforced the family as a protector of young girls. In struggles against

their employers, male workers drew on a powerfully enabling gender ideology and their leadership experience (as "family men") in the community. Unlike the women of Paris, they had both gender rights—"rights to be wage-earners"—and class rights—"rights as wage-earners." Out of these they forged an enduring and powerful union.

Parr frames her arguments far more subtly than I can indicate here, examining complicated crosscurrents that mixed "capitalist and non-capitalist production, waged and non-waged labour, public and private life, masculine and feminine roles." The most important contributions of the book are its explorations of the persistence of nonmarket activity in family sustenance, the complexity of divisions of domestic labor, and the influence of gender on males' as well as females' lives. Parr gives gender and class coordinate roles in her analysis but downplays ethnicity. Granted that it played a secondary role, a direct argument on that score would nonetheless have enriched the book. This is, however, a minor quarrel with an intelligent, lively, and original work, a historians' feast both theoretically and empirically.

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*The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1800-1950.* By Joy Parr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990. xiv + 314 pp. Cloth, \$45.00, ISBN 0-8020-5853-1. Paper, \$19.95, ISBN 0-8020-6760-3.)

Despite widespread acknowledgment that gender as well as class shapes industrial society, few historians have successfully integrated the discussion of these two fundamental relationships. With *The Gender of Breadwinners*, a study of two small Ontario towns, Joy Parr joins this small but growing group. By comparing a "woman's town," the textile center of Paris (where the work force was predominantly female) with a "men's town," the furniture-manufacturing town of Hanover (where few women worked for wages), Parr shows how

*Reluctant Modernism: American Thought and Culture, 1880-1900.* By George Cotkin. (New York: Twayne, 1992. xvi + 188 pp. Cloth, \$28.95, ISBN 0-8057-9054-3. Paper, \$12.95, ISBN 0-8057-9059-4.)

Few probing studies of the United States in the late nineteenth century have failed to emphasize the impact of a rising industrial order on intellectual life. Many, if not most, studies of the period have stressed the challenges to "traditional" ideas and values posed by Darwinism, urbanization, immigration, shifting sources of wealth, and far-reaching social conflict. In *Reluctant Modernism*, George Cotkin surveys this territory again and finds the familiar tension between Victorian ideals and the tug of modernism in the work of an array of American intellectuals.