

country after World War II. The present work clearly documents the impact of the new wave of immigrants in Ukrainian ethnic life. New churches — both Orthodox and Catholic — were built, and new organizations were activated such as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in Philadelphia. It is possible that ethnic life in America for some groups has been sustained longer than would have otherwise been the case by influxes after World War II.

The volume is not cast in a conceptual framework or interpretative mold which would meet the standards of modern historical scholarship. It contains, however, a wealth of illuminating data and should be consulted by any serious student of Slavic-Americans. The fact that it avoids much of the normal ethnic chauvinism and attempts to present useful information on Ukrainians in a somewhat objective manner certainly enhances the book's usefulness.

Finally, while no coherent theme holds the study together, an inescapable impression emerges from the vast array of names, dates, and places. Ukrainian-Americans, like other ethnic groups, possessed a rich and complex ethnic community with artists, intellectuals, and professionals, as well as laborers, newspapers, and musical groups. The list of institutions such as the Ukrainian National Association, the Providence Association, and the Ukrainian National Aid Association is so numerous as to be bewildering. The point is that the internal lives of ethnic communities such as the Ukrainians were incredibly more sophisticated than perceived from the outside by the host society which frequently stereotyped minority communities as cultural and social wastelands.

*Pennsylvania Historical and
Museum Commission
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania*

JOHN BODNAR

Immigrants in Industrial America, 1850-1920. Edited by RICHARD L. EHRLICH. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1977. Pp. xiv, 218. Introduction, tables, figures, summary, index. \$12.50.)

Each of the ten essays included in this volume enhances our understanding of the evolution of the ethnic experience in modern America. Unfortunately, the essays stand in isolation from each other, drawn together neither by a comprehensive introduction nor a synthetic conclusion. As such, each essay stands and falls on its own

merits; the value of the book as a whole is not greater than the sum of its parts.

This shortcoming reflects the origins of the volume. The essays were originally presented at a conference exploring the relationship between immigration and industrialization sponsored jointly by the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation and the Balch Institute held in 1973. The only original contribution to this volume is the editor's brief introduction.

In the nearly half decade since this conference, four of the ten articles have been published and many of the authors have become major figures in the field of ethnic history. This volume, then, brings together early, influential efforts to assess the ways in which the immigrant experience was shaped by, and in turn shaped, the emerging industrial order. On the whole, the essays stress the resiliency of immigrant cultures.

The first four essays examine the impact of industrialization on the immigrant family. All take exception to the widespread view that industrialization destroyed the stability of the ethnic family. Three of these essays argue that immigrant women took jobs that allowed them to maintain their traditional roles in the family. Using government reports to survey the pattern of women's employment in Pennsylvania in the early twentieth century, Caroline Golab finds that Polish women chose jobs — particularly in domestic service — which enabled them to continue their accustomed household and child-rearing duties. Examining women workers in a poor New York City ward in the mid-nineteenth century, Carol Groneman concludes that married Irish women took in boarders for the same reason. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin's study of Italian families in Buffalo, New York, at the turn of the century is the most convincing of these essays. Yans-McLaughlin demonstrates that instead of taking jobs within the city, Italian women sought work in canneries located in Buffalo's hinterland. These canneries employed few men and were structured so that older Italian women could strictly supervise the conduct of younger Italian women workers. She concludes that traditional southern Italian family values stressing the importance of gender segregation and male dominance prompted the seasonal exodus of Italian women workers. In an article focusing on textile workers in Manchester, New Hampshire, in the early twentieth century, Tamara Hareven determines that the demands of the factory system altered some French-Canadian family patterns but did not disrupt the structure of the family. Her essay shows that the immigrant family's need to

secure employment for all its members dovetailed with the employer's interest in securing a stable, tractable, and low-paid work force. Hareven's investigation also hints that ethnic rivalries undermined class consciousness at the mill.

Assessing the relationship between industrialization and immigration from a different angle, David Montgomery surveys trades throughout the United States and finds that immigrant workers often rejected the attitudes of their employers and embraced the values of native-born workers. He argues that the resistance of immigrant workers to factory organization was a major factor leading to the adoption of managerial reforms in the early twentieth century, including the institution of corporate welfare programs, the development of professional personnel programs, and the adoption of scientific management principles.

Three articles investigate the occupational patterns of immigrants in northeastern cities in the mid-nineteenth century. Using the data of the Philadelphia Social History Project, the authors of the first essay, Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg, and George Alter, demonstrate the importance of describing the evolution of the occupational structure in the nineteenth century in order to evaluate the success of immigrants in the developing industrial society. Their data indicate that factory work provided less-skilled immigrant workers with more opportunity to rise in the society than did the practice of certain trades, that casual labor may have given workers training for high-skilled jobs, and that throughout the period 1850 to 1880 most workers labored in small firms, not large factories. Laurence Glasco's article reveals that occupations were divided along ethnic lines in Buffalo, New York. Glasco's careful sifting of the 1855 New York census data further suggests that there were differences in household structure among the city's three ethnic groups which transcended class lines. Clyde Griffen's analysis of occupational patterns in Poughkeepsie, New York, posits several qualifications to the traditional view that an influx of unskilled immigrant labor in the mid-nineteenth century propelled the factory system's rise to dominance in the American economy. Notably, Griffen contends that the flood of immigrants may have slowed the decline of artisan manufacture in the United States and that it was the offspring of craft workers rather than the artisans themselves who tended to become factory workers. Unfortunately, the findings from these three studies are difficult to compare because the authors employ different occupational rankings.

The remaining articles highlight the experience of Irish workers

in the nineteenth century. Douglas V. Shaw outlines the cultural conflict between Irish immigrants and native-born white Americans in the railroad town of Jersey City. Focusing on the rise of the Irish to political dominance in the 1860s and the nativist reaction and resurgence in the 1870s, Shaw's concise essay illuminates the context of cultural struggle in which the immigrants lived. Michael Gordon traces the transformation of the boycott from its origins as a means of ostracism in Irish peasant society to its emergence as a powerful economic weapon of Irish workers in New York City in the 1880s. His observation that other ethnic groups employed this method of economic sanction, however, casts doubt on his depiction of the labor boycott as an expression of Irish cultural identity.

The most disappointing part of this volume is the summary by John Modell, consisting of the remarks he made at the end of the conference. The casual style and limited insights of the piece make it an unsuitable concluding essay for the volume. A new essay, generalizing from the findings of the articles, evaluating their significance, and placing them in the context of the development of the field since the time of the conference would have greatly increased the value of the book.

Department of History
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

NORA FAIRES

Welch's Grape Juice: From Corporation to Co-operative. By WILLIAM CHAZANOF. (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 407. Preface, acknowledgments, appendixes, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$20.00.)

Professor Chazanof has written an interesting and readable book about a product whose "inventor," Charles E. Welch, possessed both religious idealism and business acumen of a high order. Unfermented grape juice represented an idea derived from the teetotaler's Methodist background of the Welch family of Vineland, New Jersey. Because he believed the term grape juice carried an unfavorable connotation, it was put on the market in 1882 as "Dr. Welch's Unfermented Wine," to further its adoption for sacramental purposes. Early trade was slow, and dentistry, his basic profession, had to be relied on for many years as the family's source of sustenance. The father, Thomas Bramwell Welch, continued to give financial and psychologi-