and social development of urban populations in the 19th century.

As a final comment, I might note that the work on the Philadelphia project would not have been possible without substantial federal financial support, particularly from the National Science Foundation and National Institutes of Health. By the standards of much natural science research, the amount of money that has been spent to study Philadelphia is trivial. What an appreciation of our American heritage has been gained! What an appreciation of the roots of many contemporary urban problems has been provided! It is thus a real tragedy that research such as the Philadelphia Social History Project will probably suffer greatly when the Reagan Administration finally gets the government off our backs by almost completely eliminating federal funding for the social sciences.

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Roots of a Change

Women's Work and Family Values, 1920–1940. WINIFRED D. WANDERSEE. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1981. xii, 166 pp. $18.50

The entrance of increasing numbers of married women into the labor force in the 20th century has been of interest to social scientists and historians alike. Many such women claim they have been driven into the labor force in response to their families' needs for income. Yet men's average earnings have increased substantially over the course of the 20th century, doubling between 1900 and 1940 and again between 1940 and 1960. Shouldn't home-makers have felt less rather than more pressure to supplement their husbands' incomes? Orthodox economists have explained this apparent contradiction by noting that women's real wages—the "opportunity cost" of staying at home—have also risen in the 20th century, pulling them into the labor force, while the mechanization of housework has made it less labor-intensive. This book, written by a historian, puts forward a different argument—qualitative changes in "family values" have sent wives into the labor force. Wandersee pinpoints two central changes.

First, and most important, accompanying the rising real incomes of workers in the 20th century was a qualitative transformation in the family's relationship to consumption. "The 'scarcity psychology' of the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on hard work, thrift, and capital accumulation, had come under attack before the 1920s, but during this decade it finally gave way to an 'abundance psychology,' capable of wasteful consumption of surplus products and wasteful use of leisure time" (p. 15). A symbol of this transformation was the incorporation of the automobile into the standard of living. The automobile "represented a new attitude toward family spending. As was true of many of the modern conveniences, the auto was something that the American family could have done without, but nearly all families were willing to sacrifice much for the pleasure, freedom, style, and convenience it offered. . . . it was symbolic of a new value system that was to have its impact upon American cultural life in general and upon the family in particular" (pp. 20–21). In this new value system, the family's perceived needs were not determined by its income—its "standard of living" continually outstripped its "manner of living." Ironically, the expansion of wealth brought with it increased neediness.

Though Wandersee does not give a convincing explanation for this development, she artfully documents it. After examining the myriad of family budget studies done in the '20's, which found "substandard" living among the majority of American families, she shows that even the income elite was feeling needy. A 1928 study of Yale University faculty members showed that they were dissatisfied with their purchasing power at all income levels. "At $3,000 [yearly family income] the group in question felt that 'for a man and wife it is life on the simplest plane,' although probably not even 5 percent of all American families enjoyed this level of income." Those with $8,500 claimed that they lived "on the edge of a deficit" (pp. 21–22). Standards of living, Wandersee argues, were relative, always exceeding income regardless of its level. By the time the Depression hit, she shows, this pattern was firmly established; families did not give up their new standards of living, but strove to retain their "luxuries" by deficit living and by sending additional family members into the labor force.

The second basic change in family values was the development of a new conception of childhood. The 20th century brought compulsory schooling, laws against child labor, and social psychology, which stressed the importance of the mother-child relationship. This caused a decline in the 19th-century practice of sending children into the labor force when the family needed supplementary income. Thus in response to the pressure of expanding family needs, married women and mothers were instead drawn into the labor force, notwithstanding the increased emphasis on childrearing. During the Depression, public pressure against the employment of married women was high (they would take jobs from men, the real providers, it was argued), but high family living standards combined with falling wages and unemployment for husbands to bring a net increase in the proportion of married women who earned wages. In the 1940's, and with World War II, the trend continued. So whereas at the turn of the century fewer than 6 percent of married women were "gainfully employed," this percentage had risen to 15.3 by 1940. Today, it is over 50.

Although the entrance of married women into the labor force has brought a significant transformation of the marriage relationship, it does not, argues Wandersee, represent a rejection of woman's traditional role in the family; married women workers have continued to "place family first." Hence, she claims, most have not identified with feminists who have attacked the family as oppressive to women and seen jobs as a means to women's liberation. Though she is certainly correct to emphasize married women's attachment to their "vocations" in the family, she is on thin ice when she suggests that the movement of married women into the labor force is without contradictions. Her book lacks a cohesive analysis of the traditional marriage relationship, in particular of the manner in which the difference of activities between husband as income-provider and wife as home-maker has underlain their identities as men and women. Even though married women have entered into the labor force as home-makers, to fill the needs of their families, this extension of home-making has upset the sexual division of labor in marriage. Wandersee fails to grasp the significance of this development, arguing vaguely that a "companionship marriage" has resulted, one in which "there may be a dominant partner, but this arrangement is basically satisfactory to both partners because the dominance is defined by them as part of the relationship, rather than forced upon them by tradition" (p. 103). Furthermore, she ignores the movement of privileged, college-educated women into careers, including the elite men's jobs. Many of these women are a clear exception to her rule, for they have sought jobs not to fill family needs but for their own

fulfillment. Though a minority, they cannot be safely ignored, for they have attacked the sexual division of labor in the labor force and upset the ideal of woman as home-maker.

The book has other, minor faults. At times its argument is disorganized and vague, and the statistics presented confuse rather than enlighten the reader. Though the distinctiveness of the black family is mentioned, it is not explained or integrated into the argument. Nevertheless, Wandersee has unearthed an impressive collection of primary sources to back up a convincing new interpretation of married women's entrance into the labor force. And her book will provide new insight for those seeking to understand the present transformations of family life.

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A Mesoamerican Culture

In the Land of the Olmec. MICHAEL D. COE and RICHARD A. DIEHL. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1980. Two volumes + maps, in slipcase. Vol. 1, The Archaeology of San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán. viii, 416 pp., illus. Vol. 2, The People of the River. vi, 198 pp., illus. $100. Dan Danciger Publication Series.

Mesoamerica's first great art style, major ceremonial centers, and intricate engineering feats can be attributed to the Olmec culture of the Gulf Coast. However, the origin of this complex culture has remained an enigma to archeologists since its discovery. One reason may be that, although countless books and articles have been published on the Olmec, very little archeology has actually been carried out.

Olmec research was initiated by Matthew Stirling in the late 1930's. With the assistance of Philip Drucker, Stirling carried out excavations at Tres Zapotes, La Venta, and San Lorenzo. Many splendid monuments were uncovered, but the nature of Olmec culture was unclear, and its dating became controversial. It wasn't until 1955 with the excavations of Drucker, Heizer, and Squier at La Venta that radiocarbon assays clearly placed the Olmec as pre-Maya (800 to 400 B.C.; reanalyzed recently as 1000 to 600 B.C.). The problem of origins was unsolved, for no stratigraphic antecedents were found to the ceramics or carvings uncovered at La Venta.

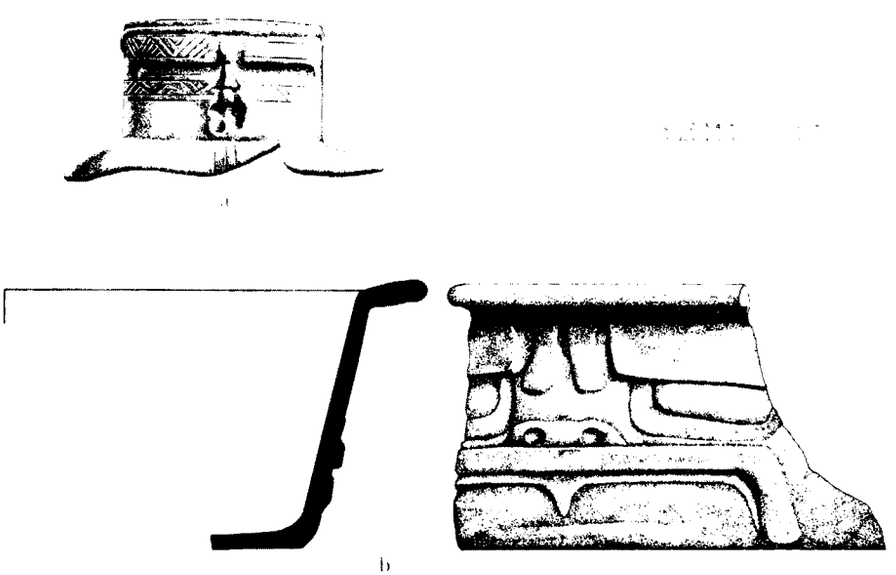
Together with the lack of antecedents at La Venta, there has been a bias among archeologists toward fertile highland valleys as areas favorable for the development of complex culture. This gave rise to common speculation that Olmec origins lay elsewhere, outside the Gulf Coast. Until recently, few scholars have come to the defense of a possible indigenous Gulf Coast development in an ecological setting viewed by most as a tropical "pesthole."

Credit for a turnaround in thinking must go to Michael Coe, whose research project at the site of San Lorenzo from 1966 to 1968 is documented in this book. The site is built on an artificially leveled hilltop plateau overlooking the Rio Chiquito, and it rivals La Venta in its elaborately carved monuments, colossal heads, bentonite-lined *lagunas*, stone drain systems, and mound constructions. Coe, assisted by Richard Diehl, the book's co-author, found the antecedents lacking in the La Venta data and expanded the time span of Olmec culture back to at least 1150 B.C. But the research involved much more than just "dirt archeology." A considerable amount of time and effort were successfully spent investigating the area's human ecology through a combination of aerial photography, photogrammetric mapping, and interviews with local farmers.

Volume 1, "The Archaeology of San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán," treats the excavations and artifacts. The second and smaller volume, "The People of the River," deals with human ecology and provides models to explain the development of complex culture at San Lorenzo. The two volumes are complemented by four large separate maps detailing topography, archeology, vegetation and land use, and soils.

Following a description of the geography and geology, volume 1 contains a lengthy discussion of the excavations at San Lorenzo. Because much of Stirling's early work at the site was never published, Coe and Diehl have taken the trouble to discuss those excavations as well and to analyze all of the ceramics they could locate from that research. This alone is an important contribution to the field. The volume continues with chapters on the ceramics, other artifacts, monuments, and faunal remains and an all too brief discussion of Olmec life and culture at San Lorenzo. Because ceramics constitute the major artifacts dealt with by Mesoamerican archeologists and thus frequently form the basis for cultural sequencing and interpretations, this review concentrates on that chapter.

The chapter begins with an apology by the authors, for, in spite of their desire to document ceramic change through time, they faced two major problems. Most of the strata encountered in their excavations were artificial fill from construction activities and not natural deposits. This means that the ceramics within the fill could relate to a period different from the time of deposition and thus were of no



Yagua Orange vessels of the San Lorenzo B phase. [From *In the Land of the Olmec*; drawing by Felipe Dávalos]