
Taking his cue from Bernard Bailyn and others who have probed the ideological origins of the American Revolution, Stephen Lucas, a member of the Communications Department at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, has examined newspapers and pamphlet literature in Philadelphia during the pre-Revolutionary decade with an eye to determining how rhetoric fueled the engines of rebellion in Pennsylvania (and by extension America in general). He seeks to supplement Bailyn et al. by investigating "the processes of persuasion and reinforcement by which seminal ideas and perceptions were articulated, fostered, promulgated, and intensified" (p. xiv). More simply, Lucas seeks to understand "how revolutionary Whig ideology spread and acquired sufficient popular acceptance to trigger the quest for American political autonomy" (p. xiii).

The book is divided into three sections. The first part briefly sketches the "communicational environment"—i.e., the socioeconomic conditions—of Philadelphia on the eve of the Revolution to provide background for the rhetorical analysis that follows. Part two examines the evolution of Whig rhetoric from the Stamp Act disorders of 1765 to the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord in 1775. The final section details the public debate over independence which raged during the first six months of 1776.

Impressively researched, Portents of Rebellion is the most comprehensive explication to date of the language of revolution in a given locale during the coming of the Revolution. Unfortunately, Lucas has not fashioned a model study for others to emulate.

Portents deserves evaluation by both rhetoricians and historians. I cannot assess the success of the book as an "investigation of human communicative behavior" (p. xix), but I find it flawed and disappointing as an historical study.

Several of the author's assumptions about human nature and the force of ideas in history are highly debatable, but more serious are the illogical, contradictory, and specious statements that permeate the book. Within five pages the Revolution goes from avoidable to inevitable (pp. 246, 251). Lucas would have us believe that rhetoric persuaded a majority of Philadelphians to move from reconciliation to rebellion between the
May 1776 elections and the Declaration of Independence, but his own evidence shows that more pragmatic considerations—e.g., the realities of war—tipped the scales. Symptomatic of the problem with the book is chapter 2, an examination of how Whig writers developed "a sufficiently strong sense of economic grievance" (p. 32) among the people to contribute to independence. The chapter concludes, "It is impossible, of course, to measure the impact of the Whigs'...economic arguments upon the perceptions and attitudes of the Philadelphia audience to whom they were addressed. Still, we can assess their function and importance by observing their potentially wide popular appeal and the kinds of responses they encouraged" (p. 57). Here Lucas not only negates the validity of the entire chapter, but also substitutes a non sequitur for documented analysis. Lucas reveals throughout a proclivity to move from point A to point C without stopping at the pivotal point B.

Most disappointing is Lucas's failure to deliver what he promised. Portents is described as "a case study in the rhetoric of protest and revolution" which examines Whig rhetoric "in relation to local conditions and audiences" (pp. xiv, xix). But it simply relates in great detail (and with considerable sophistication) what Philadelphians said about the breakup of the empire. We have long understood what they said and did; the elusive issue is why they wrote and behaved as they did. Unfortunately, Lucas does not demonstrate the relationship between revolutionary rhetoric and social, economic, and political realities. So many scholars have written so much about interest groups and classes in early America that this one-dimensional exposition of ideology is curiously anachronistic and annoyingly unsatisfying. Historians will find this catalogue of Whig ideology in Philadelphia useful, but they will have to look elsewhere to learn what it all meant.

University of Utah

LARRY R. GERLACH


This is the third volume of a series that will eventually include all the papers pertaining to Morris's service as Superintendent of Finance. During the 102 days involved, the financier confidently assumed that the proposed impost, intended to provide national revenue, would be accepted and would be the opening wedge for further taxes to fund central government. His operating cash was coming entirely from French and Dutch funds. On the very day that Cornwallis surrendered Morris found it necessary to tell the states that further gifts or loans from Europe were very unlikely. He cooperated unquestioningly with Washington's plan to maintain the army at its 1781 strength. His principal work of retrenchment was his effort to improve supply purchase arrangements. To prove that he actually succeeded in this, one would have to research elsewhere. One
of Morris's most forceful acts of this period was a circular letter of October 13 halting issuance of certificates by the Continental loan officers. Also, he clearly stated his opposition to the states circumventing his office by settling war debts with their own citizens. He proposed the debt settlement board which Congress created on February 20. Although his brain-child, the Bank of North America, elected its directorship and was incorporated during this period, the amount of subscriptions was so low that it was not at all clear that the institution would ever be effective.

Taking these documents at face value one cannot see Morris asserting power in any way comparable to a chief executive or prime minister. Unofficial Monday evening cabinet sessions, which began December 8, are merely mentioned in the Morris diary. No details are revealed. However, one can observe governmental machinery gradually smoothing out. Morris's relationships with the Secretary of War and with the Comptroller, for example, received definition and delineation. Most of the documents in the volume involve routine administration and Morris's policies and opinions seldom surface. The superintendent did not take the time to agonize on paper over possible consequences of national insolvency. On several occasions, however, he suggested that fiscal inaccuracy—reaching the point of chaos—was his worst enemy. Either by ironic coincidence or intention Morris concluded an argument with Edmund Randolph, opponent of Congressional incorporation of the Bank, by adding a note that he loaned the Virginian Wealth of Nations to take home and read.

Modern documentary editing places great emphasis on the accuracy of transcription from the original manuscripts. Therefore, for purposes of this review, the Morris papers at the Library of Congress were spot-checked against the printed items. Within the limits of the editors' stated methods, the reproduction of Morris's works is superb. Most of the transcribing did not present problems because the Morris diary and letter-books, which make up or parallel most of the items in Volume 3, are in large, unmistakable handwriting. Although editors Ferguson and Catanzariti have followed acceptable editorial practices, I do not, personally, favor their silent corrections which often determine sentence stops and length of major clauses. These corrections have a potential for misinterpretation and, I believe, most readers can adjust to the authentic eighteenth-century sentence structure. It is unfortunate, too, that with this volume the editors have had to economize by eliminating explanatory headnotes which preceded some documents in Volumes 1 and 2, biographical information about minor people mentioned by Morris and his correspondents, and reconstructed summaries of non-extant documents. The editorial task of collecting documents scattered in a wide number of collections and depositories has been done well.

The Papers of Robert Morris are a major contribution to historical scholarship because they make available material dealing with a period in which more work needs to be done, and because they have much to say about development of governmental administration.

Louis M. Waddell

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions to Early American Life and Culture.

If there were an award for an outstanding history written by an octogenarian, this book would be a strong contender. William Lehmann, emeritus professor of sociology at Syracuse University and author of works on other Scottish subjects, has produced the best book in his long career.

He surveys Scotland's contribution to the shaping of American culture with particular reference to colonial and Revolutionary times. Special attention is directed to the influence of Scottish Calvinism on religious developments, the impact of educational ideals from that country, and Scottish contributions to science, philosophy, law, politics, and the cause of liberty.

The chapter on early American religious developments covers a difficult subject in good detail. Lehmann points out that the Scottish contribution to American religious life was not confined to Presbyterianism and that the Presbyterian church in America had other roots in addition to those from Scotland. He recognizes the difficulty of sorting out influences in theological arguments but provides evidence to show that Scottish influence upon American religious life was very considerable.

Lehmann reminds us that in John Knox's First Book of Discipline there was a detailed scheme of education that included an elementary school in every parish. Lehmann shows how other Scottish educational views helped shape colonial attitudes. He points out how the Scottish universities' emphasis on pragmatic philosophy and their democratic character had an influence on American higher education. He also goes to great lengths to trace the Scottish contribution to American medicine. He describes the careers of some of the most eminent doctors who came to the colonies from Scotland and shows that Edinburgh-educated physicians had an influence in America far out of proportion to their numbers.

Throughout his study, Lehmann takes the position that Scottish intellectual influences "were both very deep and very pervasive, penetrating all aspects of American culture" (p. 128). His documentation for this thesis includes evidence to the effect that books of the Scottish Enlightenment were well represented in private and public libraries in eighteenth-century America. He also emphasizes the fact that the Encyclopedia Britannica was almost entirely a Scottish enterprise through its first six editions. He also has many references to Scottish influences on Jefferson.

The author recognizes the difficulty of proving influence, contribution, and causation. He also admits that he is dealing with a subject that does not readily lend itself to quantification. What constitutes "strong" influence or a "major" contribution? How do you document a conclusion to the effect that Scottish contributions to American life and culture were "more profound" than has been generally realized? Unfortunately, Lehmann does not try to compare influences from Scotland with those from England or France.

Since this book is a survey of a broad complicated subject, the quotations are generally from secondary sources. Lehmann leans perhaps too heavily
on the writings of Hofstadter and Wertenbaker. He appears to be less familiar with those historians who are currently publishing.

Lehmann's style is unnecessarily florid. His sentences frequently are complex and unwieldy. His personal admiration of Scotland occasionally colors his efforts to be objective. Nevertheless, despite its limitations, the volume deserves inclusion on America intellectual history reading lists.

Ohio Program in the Humanities

Charles C. Cole, Jr.


The impact of the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century on Philadelphia is fairly well known. Franklin painted a memorable picture of George Whitefield's ministry there in his widely read Autobiography. The work of nineteenth-century revivalists in that city has been neglected. This gap in our knowledge has been ably filled by Marion L. Bell's Crusade in the City, which originated as a doctoral dissertation at Temple University.

The first part of the book presents an analysis of the evangelistic labors of Charles G. Finney in Philadelphia beginning in 1827. Dr. Bell's contention is that the results of Finney's so-called "New Measures" (such as protracted meetings and the "anxious bench") were unimpressive. They caused a lot of controversy and some schisms in a number of churches, and the gains in church membership were short-lived. Like most revivalists, Finney took little interest in the social reform movements of the period except for temperance. His contribution to abolitionism, Dr. Bell says, has been "overstated." While he condemned card playing, theater going, and novel reading, he had no use for the burgeoning labor movement of the Jackson period.

A chapter is devoted to the revival of 1857-58, which was conducted largely by lay persons, especially young businessmen. Noon-day prayer meetings were a characteristic feature of this revival.

The longest and most important chapter details the crusade of Dwight L. Moody and his musical sidekick Ira D. Sankey in Philadelphia in 1875-76. Their efforts were sponsored by John Wanamaker, who purchased an abandoned Pennsylvania Railroad depot at Thirteenth and Market streets and transformed it into a tabernacle for their use. When the revival was over he turned it into a department store. (Wanamaker's picture, not Moody's, provides the frontispiece for this book.) By the 1870s there was a firm alliance between evangelism and the business community. Dr. Bell finds that most of Moody's hearers were middle-class persons, many of them having been reared in evangelical homes in the country or in small towns, most of them already church members. The urban poor and the unchurched were not reached.

Other chapters provide social and economic background on the city in each of the three time periods discussed. Several chapters deal with the
impact of revivalism on particular denominations and with the attitudes of various religious bodies toward evangelism. Catholics, Jews, Unitarians, and Hicksite Quakers generally opposed it. It had its greatest success among Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. One chapter is devoted to revivalism in the black churches, and part of a chapter presents information on female revivalists such as Quaker Eliza Gurney. Dr. Bell contributes brief biographical sketches of a number of relatively unknown figures who participated in the revivals—George H. Stuart, for example, who organized the Philadelphia branch of the Y.M.C.A. in 1854.

The author's conclusion is that on the whole the legacy of nineteenth-century revivalism was unfortunate. Anti-intellectual, it was hostile to such developments as Darwinism and Higher Criticism. Its exponents were firm supporters of laissez faire economics and opponents of efforts to solve social and economic problems through political action. Moody, like Finney, was opposed to drinking, dancing—and labor unions. Dr. Bell disagrees with such historians as Gilbert Barnes and Timothy Smith who linked revivalism and social reform.

The book is competently written, but there is a good deal of repetition in the material presented, and there are a considerable number of typographical errors. Based on thorough research, it is well documented (with the footnotes, however, at the back of the book). It has a substantial bibliographical essay, and there is a good index.

*The Pennsylvania State University*

Ira V. Brown

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The Victorian Flight: Russell Conwell and the Crisis of American Individualism.


Russell Conwell is generally remembered today, if at all, as a platform orator who gave "Acres of Diamonds" to over five thousand eager audiences across the United States in the decades around the turn of the century. Those who know something more about him may recall that he was the pastor of America's largest Protestant congregation, Philadelphia's Grace Baptist Temple, and the founder of Temple University and Samaritan Hospital, which became the Temple University Medical Center. But according to Daniel Bjork, Conwell is best understood as a symbolic figure of the nation in transition.

Bjork, who teaches at the University of Alabama in Birmingham, completed his doctoral dissertation, "Russell H. Conwell and the Crisis of American Individualism," at the University of Oklahoma in 1973. In this postdissertation revision, Bjork shifted the focus somewhat from Conwell's thought to his qualities as a representative figure. In doing so, he has borrowed widely from other scholars. Walter Houghton's *The Victorian Frame of Mind* convinced him that Victorians were profoundly disturbed by the rapid pace of social change about them, while George Fredrickson's *The Inner Civil War* and Robert Wiebe's *The Search for Order* informed his understanding of the nature of that stress in the
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United States. Bjork also looked to de Tocqueville, Weber, Freud, and Erik Erikson to help him understand Russell Conwell and his age. But if any single work served as a model for this volume, it was William McLoughlin's *The Meaning of Henry Ward Beecher: An Essay on the Shifting Values of Mid-Victorian America, 1840-1870*. Just as McLoughlin took Beecher as representative of the way mid-nineteenth-century Americans coped with the materialism and the uncertain, transitory nature of their age, Bjork seeks to vest in Conwell those representative qualities in the half-century after Beecher's death.

In three chapters and a brief epilogue, Bjork surveys Conwell's career and develops his interpretation. Conwell's first thirty-five years, according to Bjork, were characterized by real and symbolic flights from home, heritage, and responsibility. At fifteen, he left home to work his way across the Atlantic from New York to Liverpool on a cattleboat. Two years later, Conwell enrolled in Yale University, where he repudiated the provincial Methodism of his parents. Joining the Union army in 1862, Conwell marched away to the South, where he faced the critical event of his entire career. While he was absent from his command, Captain Conwell's men were surprised by a Confederate force and abandoned their position. In the skirmishing, however, one of his men died trying to carry the captain's sword to his side. Conwell was given a dishonorable discharge, but the death of his young friend put Conwell under lasting moral obligation. He had repeatedly shed identity to gain reputation, but every attempt to jettison his heritage put him under heavier obligation to it. When he became a Baptist minister in the 1870s, Conwell began to repay that debt.

He would do so most spectacularly in Philadelphia, where in education, healing, and ministry, Conwell sought to reaffirm the values of home, family, and middle-class aspiration.

At one-third of the price, these ninety pages of text bound in paper would be a good buy. The price is not the author's fault, however. To him we are in debt for a helpful and well-written interpretation of Russell Conwell and his age.

*Allegheny College*

RALPH E. LUKE

*Immigration and Industrialization: Ethnicity in an American Mill Town, 1870-1940.*


For the past generation, historians working in the areas of urban, ethnic, and labor history have begun to flesh-out the experience of that great mass of Americans who compromised the so-called common people. Basing their research on the manuscript United States Population Census and a variety of local records, they have produced a series of case studies that supply insight into the work experiences and community life of those who otherwise might have remained anonymous. John Bodnar's study of the interaction of immigration and industrialism in Steelton, Pennsylvania, is a worthy addition to this literature. Not only does it explore the social experiences
of Slavic immigrants, a group for whom there has been only limited investigation, but it does so within the framework of the developing steel mill town, an environment not previously subject to scrutiny in depth.

The town of Steelton, located just west of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is typical of the mill towns and industrial districts that developed in late nineteenth-century America as the symbol of an emerging industrial society. In contrast with larger urban areas, mill towns were dominated by one or two large employers. In the case of Steelton, the key firm was the Pennsylvania Steel Company (acquired in 1916 by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation). Pennsylvania Steel, like U.S. Steel in Homestead or Brad-dock, dominated the life of the town. The company controlled Steelton's political activities, regulated its social life, helped shape educational policy, determined housing patterns, and, through its labor-recruiting policies, set the ethnic mix of the town's population.

One of Bodnar's chief interests is the mobility patterns of Steelton's new immigrant groups (chiefly Slavs and some Italians) compared to those of native Americans and blacks. His analysis of social mobility reveals the now familiar story of steady improvement for native-born whites with old immigrant backgrounds and only slow movement out of the unskilled ranks for Slavs, Italians, and blacks. (Slavs were not only slow to receive advancement, but they were also consistently given the toughest jobs in the mill.) At the height of European immigration in 1905, blacks were actually less strongly clustered in the unskilled ranks than Slavs, although this pattern changed in the 1920s. Such “career immobility,” as could be predicted, maintained rather than altered the borough’s social structure. Because Steelton’s old-stock leaders kept control over the town’s social order, they perpetuated its ethnic distinctions and kept immigrants and blacks from playing any influential role in the borough’s affairs. Forced to turn inward, the immigrants “acquired a new ethnic consciousness which surpassed anything they had known in Europe” (p. 102).

The new immigrant experience in Steelton, holds Bodnar, caused them to create a “new milieu” which combined their cultural heritage and working-class status. Rather than being a positive development, however, the “new milieu” was primarily a defensive adaptation by the immigrant to his exclusion from “equal participation, prosperity, and opportunity.” Bodnar observes that the limited mobility of Steelton’s Slavs suggests a modification of the so-called “replacement theory” which views social mobility as a continuous process in industrial society. Blacks were even more victimized and newcomers drove them “down and out rather than upward.” Only unionization and the abandonment of the town by the old-stock, affluent middle class permitted Slavs to gain influence in community affairs. By this time, however, little remained except the “awesome problems” of urban areas, and blacks and “white ethnics” found themselves confronting each other for limited rewards “unprepared to deal not only with these problems but with each other” (p. 155).

While John Bodnar has written a suggestive case study of a Pennsylvania mill town that deals insightfully with the impact of community and industrial structure upon immigrant groups, the book contains several questionable interpretations. An obvious comparison with Immigration and
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Industrialism is Josef J. Barton’s, Peasants and Strangers (1975), which studies the experiences of Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in Cleveland from 1890-1950. (Bodnar notes the book in his bibliography but makes no reference to it in the text, suggesting that it was published too late for consideration.) Barton stresses the manner in which the different value systems of the three immigrant groups, forged in Europe, affected and shaped their reaction to the Cleveland environment and determined their alternative mobility rates. In contrast, Bodnar argues that Steelton’s social and industrial structure was the chief element that explains the new immigrant’s immobility and exclusion from participation in the wider community. It is difficult to know how to weigh these factors and the question requires more research into the experiences of different immigrant groups in a similar environment. There are, however, several elements that seem to favor Barton’s interpretation. Barton, for instance, had comparative data on three new immigrant groups, and these groups had differing rates of mobility and intermarriage. Bodnar, on the other hand, aggregated his data for Italians and Slavs, in most cases preventing a comparison; in the one table (19), however, where he does disaggregate mobility data, Italians had a significantly higher rate (14 percent) than Slavs. Another factor that limits the strength of Bodnar’s conclusions is his decision to terminate his study in 1940 at the end of the depression decade. Barton, who ends his study in 1950, found that during the late 1930s and 1940s an increasingly large number of second generation immigrants married outside the group and were absorbed into the larger Cleveland community.

Finally, one should remember that the mill town was a limited environment, offering far fewer opportunities than large cities. This fact alone would require caution in generalizing from the experiences of those groups that chose it as a place to work and to live. Hopefully, in his next study, John Bodnar will build upon the excellent aspects of this book and further develop those elements that still need clarification.

Carnegie-Mellon University

JOEL A. TARR


In a pioneering paper some two decades ago, Frank Thistlethwaite cautioned historians not to interpret the migration of Europeans to the United States solely as a response to American conditions, but as part of a complex population movement resulting from vast changes in nineteenth-century European society. He further directed attention to the significant number of immigrants who returned to their native lands, urging scholars to investigate the migration patterns of specific ethnic groups. Responding to Thistlethwaite’s initiative, Caroline Golab attempts to understand why certain immigrant groups (Jews, Italians, and Poles) settled where they did and why those groups clustered within particular occupational categories. She seeks answers to these questions focusing on Philadelphia, a city unique since from 1870 to 1920 it contained a smaller proportion of foreign-born residents than any other large northern city, reaching a peak of 27% in 1870.
Philadelphia's uniqueness, Golab argues, can be explained by several variables: a significant black population relative to other northern cities that discouraged the influx of unskilled foreign workers; large numbers of Irish who arrived prior to 1870; a mature economic and industrial structure that favored skilled or female labor over large quantities of unskilled, male labor; and the history, culture, and migration experiences of the groups that did settle in the city. As a result of these variables most of the New Immigration, with the exception of the eastern European Jews, avoided Philadelphia in droves and settled instead in other parts of Pennsylvania and other areas where booming industries (coal, coke, iron, steel, railroads, glass, cement) required huge numbers of unskilled laborers. Work was the most important factor compelling the migration of surplus Europeans and determining their distribution within the United States.

Golab's findings emerge from a comparison of the migration of Poles with that of Italians and eastern European Jews. Poles and Italians were migrant-laborers; their stay in America was to be temporary. Both groups had experienced European industrialization and sought unskilled jobs. Group culture and employer perceptions pushed the Poles toward work in Pennsylvania's coal mines and steel mills, while previous work experience coupled with the padrone system prompted the Italians to concentrate in public works and railway construction. Consequently, the Italians found Philadelphia more conducive for employment than the Poles. In contrast, eastern European Jews were true immigrants; they came to America to stay. Moreover, many Jews, arriving in America from urban areas and possessing skills and trades, avoided unskilled jobs in heavy industry and construction. Philadelphia's economy, dominated by commerce and handicraft industries, attracted Jews in large numbers.

Golab concludes her study with a chapter on the settlement patterns of Philadelphia's Polish community, again emphasizing the centrality of work in the creation and location of Polish neighborhoods.

This is a stimulating book which is based on an impressive array of primary and secondary sources and contains many useful graphs, maps, and appendices. There are shortcomings such as the somewhat naive notion that Polish peasants and workers were able objectively to select or reject certain occupational "roles" within a growing European industrial capitalism. At times Golab's contentions exceed her evidence, as when she maintains that prior to coming to the New World the vast majority of Poles had experienced industrial work in Europe. But these are minor caveats to a valuable work which enriches our knowledge of the immigrant experience in America.

Rider College

Joseph M. Gowaskie

It was April 1952. The Korean War was still very hot. The Cold War raged in Europe. The American economy was overheating. In the midst of this the United Steelworkers of America, seeking higher wages, threatened a strike. Management rejected labor's demands. A stand-off developed—one which promised to shut down the nation's steel production. Labor called a strike for 8 April 1952. That evening President Truman ordered the seizure of the mills and their operation under federal authority. This briefly is the background of the case of Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer, the topic of Maeva Marcus's book.

To those who know even a little about this constitutional confrontation, the dilemmas are obvious. On the one hand there was the very real need for continuing military and economic strength in the face of immediate foreign and domestic challenges. On the other there was an assertion of extraconstitutional presidential authority which posed a long-term threat to the idea that ours was a government of laws, not men. Only through an examination of the historical environment in which the Steel Seizure Case came to issue can these competing concerns be sorted out and weighed. It is in providing this background that Truman and the Steel Seizure Case is most successful.

Marcus, however, devotes most of her book to the legal case itself, as it moved through the federal judicial system finally reaching the Supreme Court a month after Truman's seizure announcement. Her exposition is thorough but, as is often the case with the details of constitutional and legal matters, of greater interest to the academic specialist than to the general reader.

In the court six justices (in as many opinions) rejected the legality of Truman's seizure. The public and the press applauded this decision (with only passing discussion of its fragmented nature). As the author correctly observes, the justices and the public never accepted the administration's assertion that a real national emergency necessitated the seizure. Truman never managed to get this message across to the people. The government's lawyers never convinced a majority of the justices that the president had acted as he did to avert a major crisis. Had either the president or the Department of Justice been more skillful in this particular matter the outcome of Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer might well have been different. Certainly in our past, extraconstitutional action had gone unchallenged: Theodore Roosevelt's activities in Panama and the Dominican Republic, FDR's destroyer-bases deal, and Truman's commitment of troops to Korea come immediately to mind. So as Marcus notes the outcome of this case turned upon the failure of the president, his advisers, his lawyers to convey the gravity of the situation to others. But if this is true, the conclusion of the book that the Steel Seizure Case stands as a "reaffirmation of first principles"—an assertion of judicial determination to review the acts of an "imperial president"—is seriously open to question. The author finds evidence for this in the courts' role in the last years of Nixon presidency.
Certainly the Pentagon Papers Case and the Watergate cases affirm the belief that the courts will intervene to save the nation from a presidentially created crisis. But Marcus's conclusions suffer from historical nearsightedness. The inaction of the judiciary in the 1960s when both Johnson and Nixon acted extraconstitutionally at home and abroad should give us little confidence that "first principles" will always triumph over expediency.

Clinton Rossiter, who had a broader view of presidential power than does Marcus, warned that little reliance should be put on Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer as a check on presidential "dictatorship." In a future emergency both the courts and the populace would sweep aside the precedent of the Steel Seizure Case rather than let it stand in the way of decisive—if extraconstitutional—presidential action to meet a "crisis."

The Pennsylvania State University

PHILLIP STEBBINS

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