are no full-page or multipage commentaries which do so much to slow down progress on the papers of some leading figures of the early Republic.

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Social scientists long refrained from subjecting prevailing assumptions about the fluidity of American society to rigorous, empirical testing. Stephan Thernstrom’s pioneering 1964 work, *Poverty and Progress*, has, however, inspired a number of case studies of immigrant mobility. Although the Horatio Alger saga has been generally discredited, competent scholars have reached widely different conclusions about the extent of immigrant mobility. A host of local factors, such as the nature of the regional economy, the demographic characteristics of both the newcomers and the old stock, the order of arrival of ethnic groups, and “old world” backgrounds, influence the extent of immigrant mobility in a particular community. The question of immigrant mobility will remain shrouded in contradiction until enough case studies have been undertaken to allow for synthesis. John Bodnar’s examination of ethnic mobility in Steelton, Pennsylvania, brings scholars closer to the day when generalization will be possible.

Steelton, situated just south of Harrisburg, emerged as a steel-producing center after 1865. From the beginning, the Pennsylvania Steel Company dominated the local economy. Before 1890, white settlers from rural Pennsylvania, England, Ireland, and Germany, along with a small black minority, comprised Steelton’s population. After 1890, however, heavy immigration from Slavic areas and Italy commenced. Although individuals descended from northern and western European groups became a numerical minority, they successfully conspired to establish and maintain their social and economic dominance. New immigrants, according to Bodnar, found themselves residentially segregated into ethnic enclaves, confined to dirty, tiring, and low-paying work at the steel mill, and excluded from participation in civic affairs. Like their immigrant fathers, the second
generation experienced very limited occupational mobility, rarely moving beyond semiskilled positions. Bodnar attributes much of this stagnancy to the inability of newcomers to put aside ethnic differences and to unite on a class basis. Indeed, ethnic identification took on greater importance in immigrant neighborhoods than it had assumed in Europe as newcomers formed ethnic benevolent societies, unknown in the more familial-oriented "old world."

The severity of the Great Depression, according to Bodnar, finally compelled workers to overcome traditional ethnic barriers, paving the way for the founding of the local CIO in late 1939. The establishment of the CIO initiated significant changes in Steelton life. In the years that followed, steelworkers won significant wage increases and ended Anglo-Saxon dominance of Steelton. While retaining their supervisory positions at the Pennsylvania Steel Company, the old stock, asserts Bodnar, fled Steelton for suburbia, leaving the community's civic responsibilities in the hands of the Italian, Slavic, and black working class.

Bodnar ably answers the specific questions he poses at the onset of his study. Nevertheless, the institutional life of Steelton's "new" immigrants so closely parallels Marcus Lee Hansen's theory about the evolution of ethnic consciousness that one wishes Bodnar had focused more attention on the interior life of his subjects. Hansen's insight that the second generation often wished to distance itself from immigrant values may have bearing on the willingness of Steelton's second generation to transcend ethnic barriers during the 1930s. Since unionism failed among Steelton's immigrants during earlier depressions, consciousness may have been as important a variable as hard times. Likewise, post-World War II conflict between Steelton's white ethnics and blacks, briefly noted by Bodnar, may relate to the ethnic resurgence Hansen depicts in the third generation.

Despite his delimited scope, Bodnar's findings possess significance. *Immigration and Industrialization* lucidly and adroitly demonstrates the complex interplay between class, ethnicity, and social mobility. Bodnar's conclusions rest upon impressive research in manuscript collections, public documents, contemporary newspapers, records of ethnic organizations, and transcripts of interviews with seventy-seven Steelton residents. Although Bodnar exhibits commendable restraint in generalizing from the immigrant experience in Steelton, *Immigration and Industrialisation* partially fills a major gap in the history of Slavic immigrants, one of the least scrutinized of all ethnic
groups. Bodnar’s model should stimulate scholars to examine other late nineteenth-century mill towns, such as Gary, South Bethlehem, and Youngstown, to determine whether or not it was normative for ethnicity to deter class alliance and social mobility among “new” immigrant groups.

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During the recent strike of the United Mine Workers of America, there was some talk that President Jimmy Carter would end the crisis by seizing the nation’s coal mines. This was an unlikely prospect, especially if President Carter has read Maeva Marcus’s new volume. Rather than seizure, the president invoked the Taft-Hartley Act, to which few miners paid any attention while negotiations between the union and the operators finally resulted in a coal settlement.

In this timely book, Marcus describes President Truman’s attempt to seize the steel mills in 1952. On April 8, as the Korean War (1950-1953) continued to tax America’s human, natural, and even spiritual resources, the president announced that the federal government was taking over the steel mills. At the time, the steel companies were involved in a labor dispute with the United Steelworkers of America, and it appeared that the mills were about to be shut down by a strike. The president insisted that seizure was necessary because the country had to maintain an uninterrupted supply of steel in order to prosecute successfully the war effort. He justified his actions on the basis of inherent presidential power.

The steel industry immediately brought suit, and the litigation culminated in Youngstown Sheet and Tube v. Sawyer wherein the Supreme Court invalidated the president’s seizure order. The Court ruled that Truman should have requested that a Taft-Hartley injunction be served on the union, even though the latter had voluntarily eschewed a strike — for longer than the cooling-off period provided — while the Wage Stabilization Board was writing its recommendations for settling the dispute. The Court decreed that all presidential