

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY MICHAEL P. WEBER

The Good Provider: H. J. Heinz and His 57 Varieties. By Robert C. Alberts. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973. Pp. 297. \$10.00.)

Who has not at some time sampled one of Heinz's 57 Varieties? Everyone who likes to eat will be interested in this biography of H. J. Heinz by Robert Alberts, who gave such an entertaining talk on William Bingham at the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Association a few years ago. This particular volume is the outgrowth of an article in *American Heritage* magazine and still shows signs of being intended for a popular rather than a scholarly audience. It is a sympathetic account of a simple, honest, hardworking, deeply religious son of German immigrants who embodied the Horatio Alger tradition without being an especially complex or interesting person. Nevertheless, it reminds us how many of today's famous firms were originally such personal enterprises. It is a little surprising, however, that Mr. Alberts places Heinz on the same level as other Pittsburgh magnates like Carnegie, Frick, Mellon, and Westinghouse, with whom he seems to have had relatively little communication.

Yet certainly the story of the Heinz company is a significant aspect of nineteenth-century social history, reflecting as it does changes in the American diet made possible by new developments in transportation, refrigeration, and the preservation of food in cans. The book shows that the company's success was based on a combination of large-scale production and skillful techniques in public relations and advertising. It also gives a good description of working conditions in the plant, which on the whole were excellent but obviously paternalistic. Heinz's opposition to any adulteration of food led him to support Harvey Wiley's efforts for pure food legislation. To some extent, this supports Gabriel Kolko's thesis in *The Triumph of American Conservatism* that businessmen often influenced the form that Progressive legislation took, but not in quite the sinister fashion that Kolko suspects. Heinz was simply against impure food, which seems a reasonably commendable position.

The book is based on Heinz's diaries, which tell a good deal about the early growth of the firm, as well as on newspaper clippings, the file of a company paper, and a number of interviews with former employees. But this is not a business history based on company records that will satisfy the economic historian. The approach is almost entirely chronological rather than analytical. There is too much detail on Heinz's various trips abroad simply because the material is in the diaries, but nothing on the more important issue of how a prominent German-American responded to the pressures of World War I during the neutrality period, probably because the diaries had nothing about that.

Mr. Alberts does have an excellent narrative skill, an eye for vivid details, and a satirical talent for the devastating straight-faced direct quotation or the telling descriptive adjective. Unfortunately, even so the story of H. J.

Heinz probably is simply not dramatic enough to enthrall the proverbial "general reader," for whom it was presumably intended, no matter how great his appetite may be.

University of Pennsylvania

WALLACE EVAN DAVIES

William Howard Taft: A Conservative's Conception of the Presidency. By Donald F. Anderson. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973. Pp. 355. \$15.00.)

Donald F. Anderson's study of William Howard Taft as president is the second examination of Taft's career in the White House to appear in recent months. Unlike Paolo Coletta in *The Presidency of William Howard Taft* (1973), Anderson has not attempted an analysis of the Taft administration. Drawing instead upon the conceptual themes of Clinton Rossiter and Richard Neustadt, fellow political scientists and students of the presidency, Anderson has sought to provide "an in-depth study of one conservative's exercise of presidential power." The resulting volume brings together some interesting material on Taft as chief executive but lacks the breadth of research, command of the period, or new insights necessary to put the tenure of the twenty-seventh president in fresh perspective.

An immediate problem is the limited amount of primary source material that Anderson has examined. In addition to Taft's own papers, he looked at three other collections in the Library of Congress, one in Cornell Library, and the State Department records in the National Archives. He refers in his preface to using the Theodore Roosevelt papers, but his notes indicate only a reliance on the published Roosevelt letters, not a full investigation of the much larger manuscript collection. Reading only a selection of Roosevelt's outgoing mail makes for an incomplete picture of his relations with Taft from 1908 onward.

Equally bewildering is the failure to look at the manuscripts of more than two members of Taft's administration. The papers of the president's personal secretary, Charles D. Hilles, at Yale are virtually an extension of the Taft papers in Washington and contain a mass of data on Taft's campaign for renomination and re-election in 1912. Anderson did not consult this collection, nor did he work through the Henry L. Stimson and Charles Nagel papers at Yale, the Richard A. Ballinger collection at the University of Washington, or the George von Lengerke Meyer papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Use of these sources would have fleshed out the picture of Taft's dealings with his cabinet and made for firmer generalizations about his record as an administrator.

Other relevant collections were also missed. Research in the papers of James S. Sherman, Taft's vice-president, in the New York Public Library would have reminded the author that Sherman was a congressman rather than a senator, would have dispelled the notion that Sherman was flirting with Roosevelt in 1911-1912, and would have provided a picture of conservative opinion of Taft. An even longer list of unexamined congressional papers could be compiled, among which the Nelson Aldrich, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Robert M. LaFollette papers stand out. All in all, Professor

Anderson did not even begin to scratch the surface for pertinent primary sources on Taft's presidency.

The author makes some point of his use of the Taft papers and leaves an impression that he is one of the first scholars after Henry F. Pringle to go through the manuscripts since they were fully opened in 1960. This reveals, and his bibliography confirms, that Anderson is unaware of the large body of scholars who have been working with the Taft collection and on Taft in the past two decades. The names that he does not cite are almost a "Who's Who" of Taft historians. Stanley Solvick's articles on Taft's relations with Joseph G. Cannon, his handling of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, and his political philosophy are all absent. So too are James Penick on the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, James F. Holt on the congressional insurgents, Richard Abrams on Massachusetts, John Braeman on Albert J. Beveridge, Norman Wilensky on Republican conservatives, and Alexander M. Bickel on Taft's appointments to the Supreme Court. With the exception of a few general works from the late 1960s, Anderson seems to have stopped research in the middle of the last decade, and his book suffers accordingly.

Perhaps because of his circumscribed research, or because of a failure to view his familiar sources skeptically, Anderson has written an old-fashioned analysis of Taft that does not go far beyond what Henry F. Pringle revealed thirty-five years ago. Throughout the book Anderson measures Taft against Theodore Roosevelt and usually finds his subject wanting. Yet a plausible case can be made that Roosevelt's tenure in office intensified factionalism within the G.O.P. and bequeathed a weakened rather than a strengthened party to his successor. When Taft entered the presidency, relations with Congress were at a low ebb and all sectors of Republicanism expected that he would favor their particular ideological position. As long as Roosevelt's presidency is seen as a political triumph, Taft will look bad. It is time to reappraise that conclusion, as Anderson does not, and to stress the difficult conditions that confronted the new president in March, 1909.

Such rethinking will not transform Taft into a political genius or a successful president. His record, as historians like Penick, Solvick, and others have shown, was in many areas a mixed bag of the creditable and the inept. Yet significant portions of the Taft performance remain to be fully scrutinized. New material is gradually altering the older view of the Payne-Aldrich bill, a fresh study of Canadian reciprocity is in order, and there is still room for a careful, thorough treatment of the Taft-Roosevelt relationship that moves beyond the papers of the two protagonists and the diaries of Archie Butt. Despite Professor Anderson's promise of "new knowledge about this presidency," he has accepted the standard view of Taft and grafted his interpretative remarks upon it.

Had Anderson been more aware of what historians have learned about President Taft in the past fifteen years, and had he been more disposed to question the conventional wisdom about his subject's presidency, his book might have contributed to the current reevaluation of Republican politics in the Progressive Era. Instead historians will find in it an occasional perceptive comment and much more that is stale and predictable. Professor Anderson's volume will probably preclude the appearance for some years of

an adequate scrutiny of Taft's political leadership as president. That would be unfortunate. Perhaps scholars and publishers will recognize that the need for a more sophisticated discussion of the Taft presidency still exists and will move to supply it. The subject merits another try.

University of Texas at Austin

LEWIS L. GOULD

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Volume 16, 1905-1907. Edited by Arthur S. Link et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973. Pp. 598. \$20.00.)

Upon first impression one reads the correspondence contained in this latest volume of the Wilson Papers with the judgment that academic matters at Princeton are the paramount concern of its president. References to partisan politics then appear peripheral to the issues of the new preceptorial system, the eating clubs, and the now open struggle with Dean West of the graduate school. This review will first approach these papers from that obvious perspective. But before the end of it we shall turn to another thesis that the evidence in this volume and that contained in those immediately preceding it might as readily support. Indeed, the stroke Wilson suffers in the midst of these pages will then be seen more the result of an overweening ambition for the presidential office that had nothing to do with residency at Old Nassau.

There is no question that the tutorial system Wilson initiated succeeds. Here we have the complete list of the first preceptors. Here also are hints as to the procedure used to lure them to Princeton. Charles Howard McIlwain and E. S. Corwin are among those who accept appointment. Ralph Barton Perry declines. Future United States Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey is prevented from accepting because of unsteady health although he outlives Wilson by generations. Wilson succeeded by the time-honored device of faculty raiding. The prospect of a substantial salary for the young scholar together with a modicum of security of appointment on the average of two years duration proved irresistible to the persons Wilson sought out as preceptors. So effective were his methods that those institutions which wanted to keep the teachers he was after were compelled to retaliate. Wesleyan University is a case in point. One of its staff wrote Wilson that when the Wesleyan administration heard about the offer Wilson was making they "promoted me to a full professorship here, with a corresponding increase in salary." Still, in the cross fire, recruits were gathered from Yale and Harvard, Dartmouth and Oberlin, Michigan and Wisconsin, Texas and Columbia. Scanning the names, Wilson's reports to the trustees constitute a veritable directory of the up-and-coming younger scholars in their respective disciplines. And all this was accomplished for a purpose. Wilson believed the object of the new system was to "give the undergraduates in a great university the advantage of the same sort of close and intimate contact . . . with his instructors that the undergraduate of the small college enjoys." If a choice had to be made between the credentialed scholar and the teacher, Wilson's new system demanded one who communicated with the undergraduate rather than published for the scholarly.

Within a year the discipline committee of the university reported that "the newly instituted preceptorial system is greatly increasing the industry of our undergraduates and their interest in their work." So Wilson had accomplished his goal to "take our instruction as much as possible out of the formal class-rooms and get it into the lives of the undergraduates, depending less on lectures and written tests and more on personal conference and intimate counsel."

A press bureau is established for the university with Ivy Lee, '98, as its head. Soon a barrage of promotional material is being released to the newspapers of the country about the changes and the stability of Princeton. Andrew Carnegie, glorying in his Scottish antecedents—with President Wilson glorying along with him—visits the campus to dedicate his gift of the lake donated in his name. No Homestead here. Only jovial undergraduate high jinks greet his arrival.

Another issue unveils itself in these pages. Wilson writes in February of 1906 that there existed "A general club situation involving: Social questions with regard to both Freshmen and Sophs." There threatened a "Danger that we will develop socially as Harvard did and as Yale is tending to do." These speculative jottings assumed official form in the supplementary report Wilson submitted to the trustees that December. In it he described the stakes in the approaching struggle over the eating clubs—the issue of "democratizing" Princeton. His words sounded much like those of a populist on the stump: "No one who has watched this influence in recent years can doubt that the spirit of the place is less democratic than it used to be." There had emerged "a sharp social competition . . . upon which the majority of the men stake their happiness." That competition grew "more and more intense and eager from year to year." Wilson found its consequences particularly obnoxious: "the men who fail in it seem thrust out of the best and most enjoyable things which university life naturally offers." Wilson reported that this was "hostile to the quietness of mind and that calm assurance that merit and achievement will tell." The remedy he proposed was drastic and direct—"oblige the undergraduates to live together, not in clubs but in colleges."

But if an anti-elitist tone emerges in Wilson's prose during his struggle to "democratize" the Princeton eating clubs, its absence was noticeable in Wilson's first and largely unnoticed excursion into presidential politics. The election of 1908 was not that far distant. Many thought the high-spirited activities of Theodore Roosevelt's executive leadership had exhausted the nation's energies and ominously personalized the presidency. The conservative wing of the Democratic party to which Wilson had publicly and forcefully addressed himself in previous volumes sat worrying whether Bryan would rise again to lead the party to what they believed certain defeat. Wilson stood out among this group both as an independent academic and as one who could be trusted to be safe. Is there any wonder that the presidential bug should bite him as it had lesser and greater men? If these pages do not contain detailed scenarios for the convention and election strategy of 1908, they do make abundantly clear that Wilson intended to take advantage of an apparently fluid situation by assuming leadership of

the conservative Democrats, repudiating Bryan, and winning on a platform which would confront the issues of the day from a Jeffersonian traditionalist perspective. Indeed, it is when Wilson realizes that the situation was not as open as he had imagined that he suffers the stroke that temporarily blinds him in one eye and brings him to the edge of a complete nervous breakdown.

George Harvey—that peripatetic actor on the stage of presidential politics for nearly a generation—urged Wilson to compete for the nomination. After “the general reformation of the human race now going on by executive decree,” what the country would demand was “a short breathing spell for what the physicians term a period of perfect rest.” How like the prescription of Wilson’s own physicians later in the year. Wilson was just the candidate to attract those many Democrats “tired of voting Republican tickets.” To lend substance to his entreaties, Harvey reprinted an edited version of a recent Wilson speech and placed Wilson’s photograph on the cover of a *Harper’s Weekly* issue in which the editors would make “nice” comments about the candidate.

Wilson acted the predictably coy role of the reluctant suitor for public favor. While protesting that nothing “could be further from my thoughts than the possibility or the desirability of holding high political office,” he also suggested that placing his name in nomination would direct “liberal and reforming programs to conservative and strictly constitutional lines of action, to the discrediting of rash and revolutionary proposals.” For some, this support of the status quo possessed an appeal of its own. A memorandum named individuals interested in one way or another in a Wilson candidacy. Among them were Thomas Fortune Ryan, August Belmont, Henry Watterson, former Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle, former Comptroller of the Currency James H. Eckels, and Adolph S. Ochs of the *Times*. There were others. The list was provided to Wilson at his request. Perhaps he should have realized that it was yet too soon for him to meet his appointed “destiny.”

The dual role of academic leader and candidate for national office had taken its physical toll. On May 13 Wilson wrote that his physicians informed him he was on the “verge of a very serious break-down, which might have very lasting results.” The editors note that he had awakened “blind in his left eye . . . (where) a blood vessel had burst.” His wife, Ellen, provided the best diagnosis. She first described his symptoms. Then she succinctly commented that “he has lived too tensely . . . the thing that killed his father.” Wilson recuperated with a trip to Britain. By September the patient is well enough along to observe that “several months of idleness . . . would be so irksome as to be positively hurtful.” Happily his doctors concurred that “work would be good for me.” So Wilson returned to New Jersey. This volume closes with a spate of letters concerning the United States Senate race in New Jersey in which Wilson became involved. After much cloying with the reformers’ candidate, E. A. Stevens, Wilson’s name was finally placed in nomination by the regulars led by James Smith. The correspondence between Wilson and Stevens and his supporters reeks of political equivocation. The irony of watching the Princeton president break

with reformers of his own station is compounded by the knowledge of his later repudiation of his sponsor on this, Wilson's first official attempt at public office.

University of Connecticut

VINCENT A. CARRAFIELLO

Chris: A Biography of Christian C. Sanderson. By Thomas R. Thompson. (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1973. Pp. 408. \$12.95.)

Who was Chris? At Christian Sanderson's funeral the West Chester High School band led the procession through the center of town, playing his favorite hymn, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." The hymn commemorated a special event in Sanderson's life, when he had heard it recited by Julia Ward Howe and obtained her autograph to start his collection. Sanderson was a unique combination of teacher, historian, fiddler and square dance caller, radio commentator, and special events attender whose various collections eventually filled a small museum near the village of Chadds Ford in southeast Pennsylvania. Chadds Ford was home for Sanderson for a large part of his life, and it is for those who knew him there, for visitors to the museum, or for newer residents of that "Wyeth Country" that the story of Chris will be most interesting.

Christian C. Sanderson was born in 1882 at Port Providence, Pennsylvania, a small town near Phoenixville. From "the port" Sanderson could go by train to West Chester, where he entered the State Normal School (now West Chester State College) in 1898. During his three years there he developed many of the characteristics which made him so well-known—the ability to perform with violin or with Indian clubs, a detailed knowledge of the area and its history (acquired through week-end excursions on foot and by bicycle), a facility for friendship with classmates and adults, including the college president, George Morris Philips (referred to as GMP—the "Great Marriage Preventer"—because he kept the students so well segregated!). Though Sanderson was homesick at first and missed his family, the years at West Chester were happy ones, and the chapters based on his letters home to his mother and brother are some of the best in the book. These letters recount many typical college pranks as well as his first excursions to Philadelphia and Washington, noted by his favorite expression as "rare" days.

In 1901 Christian Sanderson emerged with a teaching certificate and the endorsement of his college teachers and president to begin a career that took him to ten different schools, ending with four years as principal of the Oak Grove School near Wilmington, Delaware. Why Sanderson's teaching contracts were not renewed is puzzling, because he enjoyed teaching and was beloved by his pupils and their parents. Many of them kept up their contacts with him throughout their lives. He organized school athletics, school bands, and school excursions and led active Boy Scout troops. Yet he was forced to shift from school to school and finally was left jobless at the beginning of the depression years. Perhaps he didn't adhere to the "hickory stick" rules laid down by the local directors; perhaps he was just too unconventional and eccentric a person. Or perhaps his failure was due to too

many outside activities. He apparently was too busy to settle down to marriage, although he was fond of several girls who returned his affection. One can guess that he remained a bachelor because his mother, who shared many of his interests, made a comfortable home for him.

In 1905 Sanderson held a position in the Chadds Ford area school. There he learned that part of the building which had been Washington's headquarters during the Battle of the Brandywine was for rent. He persuaded his mother to join him, and they spent sixteen happy years as tenants of this historic farmhouse. This period between 1905 and 1921 was a formative period in Sanderson's life. During that time he met N. C. Wyeth, who had been a pupil of Howard Pyle's summer school in the area, when Wyeth moved his family to Chadds Ford. A lifelong friendship developed, and both Chris and his mother posed for various members of the Wyeth family. Andrew Wyeth painted Sanderson in scarf and cap as "The Schoolmaster," standing with his beloved Brandywine Battlefield as background. But it was N. C. Wyeth who brought Chris and his mother back to Chadds Ford in 1937 when part of the "Little Gray House" that is now the Christian Sanderson Museum became available.

Sanderson's museum had its beginning during his stay at Washington's headquarters. He became an expert on the events of September, 1777, and recounted the story to visitors in so lively a manner that they often came away with the feeling that Sanderson must have taken part in the Battle of the Brandywine. His collection grew with the years and moved with him from house to house until he settled back in Chadds Ford. Events were important to Sanderson, and he collected souvenirs of events, people, and places.

Very few important happenings took place between New York and Washington that Christian Sanderson did not witness. He attended every inauguration from Teddy Roosevelt's to Lyndon Johnson's, and he usually took with him a group of youngsters so they, too, could witness history in the making. Sanderson devoted much of his time and energy to "making history live," an interest he carried over to his weekly radio broadcasts. Started in 1930, his programs continued over station WDEL without interruption for more than 500 weeks. At the final broadcast special tribute was paid to the 13,000 miles Sanderson had traveled by thumb. He never had a car and had hitchhiked the trip to Wilmington in all kinds of weather. Though he and his mother at times really did not have enough to live on, he never requested any remuneration. Square dance calling, violin lessons, and some tutoring provided their only income.

Square dance calling was another lifelong interest. Sanderson had formed an orchestra in the thirties, and his "Pocopson Valley Boys" took part in many of his broadcasts and played for concerts at Lenape Park, pageants at Longwood Gardens, and for countless dances at schools and private parties. He was a square dance caller extraordinary and taught thousands of children of all ages, as interest in this form of country dance revived.

Sanderson continued with the same activities after his mother died in 1943 and was so busy that he never got around to sorting the notes and papers he had accumulated. After his death, his biographer, who had known

Chris for nearly thirty years, sorted through all this material, including the letters Mrs. Sanderson had preserved and her diary of the years 1932-1943, as well as Sanderson's notes for lectures and broadcasts and his notations for "rare" days and other occasions. The chronological arrangement of the book which the author based on these papers gives it an uneven and repetitive style, especially in the latter part when each special date or anniversary is celebrated again and again. Another problem deriving from the format is that since the author is presenting Sanderson's history through his and his mother's written accounts, various questions remain unanswered. Especially we would like to know why Sanderson was omitted from the commission formed in the 1940s to make the Brandywine Battlefield a state park. Though versed in the history of the area and an accomplished lecturer, he was not even asked to take part in the dedication ceremonies. However, largely due to the efforts of the author and other friends, Sanderson did eventually receive his share of awards.

To celebrate his eightieth birthday in 1962, a gala celebration was organized for Sanderson. A local artist, Henry T. McNeil, designed a commemorative plate, using a profile sketch by a third-generation Wyeth, Andrew's son, Jamie. Music for the celebration included a tape of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" sung by the West Point Glee Club. The following year friends succeeded in arranging for Sanderson to receive a special leadership award from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, a well-deserved honor.

Mr. Thompson truly dedicated himself to writing this biography of the complex individual who was Christian Sanderson, and of his remarkable mother, to whose memory the book is dedicated. His book is well illustrated with numerous photographs. It would have been better if shortened and condensed, and if a number of small inaccuracies had been corrected. However, it does succeed in its primary purpose—to provide a record of a modern "Ichabod Crane" who during his lifetime had become part of the folklore of the Brandywine Valley.

Eleutherian Mills Historical Library

AGNES A. CADOT

Pennsylvania Government in Action: Governor Leader's Administration (1955-1959). By M. Nelson McGeary. (State College, Pa.: Penns Valley Publishers, 1972. Pp. 225. n.p.)

M. Nelson McGeary has written an interesting book about a key gubernatorial administration in Pennsylvania history. There is little dispute that George Leader was an energetic, imaginative young governor who did a great deal to strengthen the power of the office during his term. Some of the important hallmarks of the Leader administration were the establishment of the Office of Administration, the expansion of civil service by over 10,000 jobs, and a high priority for the education of physically and mentally handicapped children. As the first Democratic governor to be elected in twenty years, he was often the focal point for attack by a Republican-controlled General Assembly and state newspaper establishment.

In his research for the book the author has relied upon two main sources

of information; the extensive papers of Governor Leader available in the state archives, and personal interviews with some sixty individuals associated with the administration or the legislature. Unfortunately, these sixty individuals have not been identified. Since the book has been written for a wider audience than most scholarly endeavors, it lacks many of the usual footnote and bibliographic trappings. In-depth analysis of Leader and others active in government at the time is generally limited to a few well-chosen descriptive phrases. But such deficiencies should not excessively detract from the many strong points of the book. The author has attempted to outline practically every major event of the administration in a relatively few pages, and he presents a more balanced account over-all than Reed Smith's earlier book dealing primarily with the administrative reforms of the Leader administration. The opening chapters concerning the background of Pennsylvania politics before 1954, and the final chapter in which the author attempts to assess Leader the man, as well as the Pennsylvania governorship should prove most interesting to the lay reader. His concluding assessments of Leader as a dedicated, humane, idealistic, and energetic politician who ran afoul of the state patronage and county chairman system through the expansion of civil service and the modernization of the governor's office are indeed important indictments of regular Pennsylvania politics.

In the second year of Watergate, Leader's qualities indeed seem refreshing. But the political accidents that brought him to power, and the legacy of anger among many of the party loyal present a rather depressing picture of the normal political structure in Pennsylvania.

Mansfield State College

DAVID P. PELTIER

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