

**"A MATTER OF CONSEQUENCE  
AND INTEREST TO ALL":  
SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF  
PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY**

*Paul Douglas Newman, Editor, Pennsylvania History  
University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown*

**A Matter of Consequence to Me**

I first became acquainted with *Pennsylvania History* in 1987.<sup>1</sup> I was beginning my sophomore year at York College of Pennsylvania, and had just declared a major in history, much to the amusement of my D.A.R. mother and to the bewilderment of my father the computer programmer. In my freshman year I had dabbled with Criminal Justice and Secondary Education, but it was my history, art, geography, and language classes that captured my imagination. My professors for those introductory courses, like me, had all come to York from different states, but they all loved Pennsylvania and incorporated it into their teaching and academic research. I was hooked, and started my second year as a history major—in spite of the fact that I had absolutely no clue what to do with the degree once I graduated—and landed in a Colonial America seminar with Dr. Phil Avillo. Among other books, Avillo assigned Francis Jennings' *The Invasion of America*, and in addition, the

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class was responsible for finding and reporting on other books and journal articles by the author as well as reviews of their books. With the aid of the old *Social Science Index* and the paper bound version of *America: History and Life*, I quickly found myself opening volume 35 of *Pennsylvania History* and Jennings' 1968 article "Incident at Tulpehocken," and his 1970 "Scandalous Indian Policies of William Penn's Sons: Deeds and Documents of the Walking Purchase" in volume 37.<sup>2</sup> I read the articles and saw their maturation into book form, and then read the 1985 review of *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* written by William A. Hunter in volume 52. Hunter, like many, took exception to Jennings' style. "If the 'Walking Purchase' cannot be defended, it can be explained," wrote Hunter, before scolding that "in appraising it, an objective examination should have more effect than an outright condemnatory approach."<sup>3</sup>

I'll admit it straight out, I disagree with Hunter now and I disagreed with him then. It was precisely Jennings' "condemnatory approach" that made his story so compelling to me, both on an academic and a personal level. In "Incident at Tulpehocken," Jennings was doing his best imitation of a tenacious district attorney, establishing motive, assembling context, and dissembling contradictory statements and evidence, to ultimately hoist Secretary James Logan by his own petard for exploiting his Delaware friend Sassoonan and recently arrived German immigrants from New York to fraudulently sell Penn lands for his own imbezzlement. Jennings was right; that sort of behavior by people in the public trust is scandalous and worthy of condemnation. The conviction of James Logan was mild, however, compared with Jennings' lambasting of the Penns over the "Walking Purchase," and once more, Jennings had the goods to make his case. Both articles satisfied my nineteen-year-old sense of justice as pieces of academic work. To me, Jennings was writing history with a clear and unmistakable purpose that was as much about the present as it was the past. Logan and the Penns buttered their bread and built the colony of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century by brazenly exploiting those outside their race, ethnicity, and class without fear of incrimination—indeed, most all the rich white dudes were doin' it. Yet Jennings, through meticulous research and cogent logical presentation and analysis, was able to do two things at once: he showed that Logan and the Penns violated their own principles and standards of the day and thus should have been held accountable then, and second—and more important—he shone a light upon the history of the founding of the colony and commonwealth through

Indian eyes which revealed to twentieth-century readers the sordid reality of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Jennings understood that the history we write, and even the history we read, are both reflections and reinforcements of the ideas and values we hold in the present. Part of changing the present for the better requires a vigorous re-conceptualization of the past, and changing the present for the better requires us to be brutally honest and open about both who we are and who we were: like the fifth step of a twelve step recovery program for ethnocentrism.

So, on an academic level, what Jennings had written—and how my professor was teaching it—was exhilarating to me. Perhaps I could teach a college class like that someday, and maybe do a bit of writing myself? To a significant degree, those articles and that review in *Pennsylvania History* set me on my career path. But it was what those articles helped me to confront on a personal level that has continued to make a much more important difference in my life. Below are the last few sentences of “Incident at Tulpehocken:

Certain ethnocentric assumptions of our conquering race have worked to hide from its historians the importance of the incident at Tulpehocken and others like it. If one assumes that the history of Indians is something separate from, and less important than, the history of Euro-Americans, then it is natural enough to ignore Indians until some calamity brings them to attention in the apparent form of irrational, natural or demoniac force. Such assumptions and such findings distort not only our understanding of Indians, but also the history of our own ethnic forebears. Lack of interest in Sassoonan’s people necessarily entailed misunderstandings of Logan and the Penns, and these misunderstandings have obscured and distorted the actual functioning of Pennsylvania’s government.

Our generation has become conscious of appalling errors in the historical treatment of our currently largest ethnic minority, our Negro Americans; and we have discovered that the consideration of Negroes as fully human persons requires some reconsideration of those other persons who bought and sold and whipped and burned them. We need likewise review the mythology called the history of the American Indian; and we shall have to make some drastic reconsiderations there also.<sup>4</sup>

Keep in mind that Jennings was writing in 1968, not long before the founding of the American Indian Movement in July as the Civil Rights Movement continued spilling over from the African-American community to women's rights, to the Poor People's Campaign, to Indian Rights, Prisoners' Rights, the Anti-War Movement, and so on. Keep in mind as well that I had been born in 1968, in Washington, D.C., in the days just after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Parts of the depressed city burned while my mother and I endured more than a month of ill health at the Columbia Hospital for Women. By the time we were well enough to go home, Bobby Kennedy had been shot. Over the next nineteen years I was raised in upwardly mobile working-turned-middle-class home in a suburb of tiny ranch-style GI Bill "dollar homes," seven miles from the District border in Rockville, Maryland. Finally, keep in mind that when I read Jennings' articles, it was nineteen and seventeen years after they had originally appeared.

My father's parents were from Farmville, Virginia. His father was born in 1911 into a white middle-class family in a strictly segregated town, while his mother was born into an excruciatingly poor-white sharecropping family three years later. They married in 1932 and any hope she had of marrying herself out of poverty vanished with the Great Depression. Steady income only developed during the Second World War, his via the United States Army and hers in the shipyards of Newport News. After the war, they moved to Gaithersburg, Maryland, and commuted into D.C. to work, he for the physical plant of the American University and she as a secretary for the United States Government. He died in 1999 having lived a majority of his life in segregated America, and my grandmother, now ninety-four, lived the first fifty-four of those years with Jim Crow. It is still today the majority of her life's experience. For her first thirty years, the only difference she could see between herself and her black neighbors was the color of her skin, which of course afforded her many small and mostly useless advantages (with the exception of her public education) over those in the darker side of Farmville. In Gaithersburg, she and her husband raised my Dad and his siblings in a segregated world for another two decades. She is still enveloped by the racist ideology of her youth and middle age.

My mother's family had owned most of Montgomery County, Maryland from before the Revolution through the Civil War (they even had the local high school named after one of them), but with the abolition of slavery they began to sell off their land. It was gone by the time my mother was

a child. Instead of ruling the county, her father, born in 1901, was a D.C. cop and later a White House policeman, and her mother, born in 1905, worked for the City of Rockville as a bookkeeper from the 1920s to the 1970s. They were New Deal Democrats, and when they neared retirement age as the Civil Rights Movement hit its stride, they understood that change had to come however much they wished it would wait just a few more years. They were no less racist than my father's parents, in fact, their racism was more insidious perhaps. My father's parents' hatred stemmed from the fear that black families in southern Virginia possessed the power to compete with them for resources, and thus they sought to deny them that power through Jim Crow. My mother's parents, on the other hand, saw blacks in Maryland as hapless victims to be pitied and helped as they were nearly incapable of helping themselves. Either way, racism crippled all of them.

My parents, then, raised me in a home not too much unlike their parents' homes, and so I received a steady diet of racial and ethnic stereotypes. And yet, I lived an ambiguous life with racism. My neighborhood was in flux as many of the GIs were selling their little houses to move on, out, and up, and new faces moved into the neighborhood. I'll use my parents' terms to describe them, the neighborhood, and the kids who were my playmates.

First, we still had two old GIs and their wives living on either side of us, Al the "Philly Pollock" on the left and Glenn and Martha "the Kentucky Hillbillies" on the right. My best friend Ronnie lived across the street. He was an "Octoroon" because his grandparents were an "Oreo" or "Zebra" couple. Cottrice was a "cute little nigger" with whom I enjoyed fishing trips, and Jeffrey was a "retarded cripple," he had Cerebral Palsy but because of his upper body strength was nearly impossible to tackle in a pick-up football game. In 1979, the government moved a family of "Chinks" from Cambodia into a rental up the street. The "retard cripple," the "cute little nigger," "the octoroon," and I had a great time teaching the "boat people's" children how to play touch football. I can't remember their real names because we never used them; Cottrice named them "Hong Kong Fooey" and "Chop Suey Looie." Then in 1981 came the "Spics" when our church moved a family from Central America to the neighborhood. Fernando's and Javier's family had been displaced during the El Salvadoran civil war. I played with all of these kids, everyday, and then came in to supper to hear my parents disparage them with one epithet or another. The terrible thing was that I was incapable of

resolving the contradiction on my own. I knew those kids as my friends and I enjoyed their friendship immensely, but at the same time I was unable to question my parents' judgment of them. After all, my parents were nice to them to their faces, even extending a considerable amount of charity to them and sacrificing on their behalf: feeding and clothing them, and bringing them with us on day-trips and vacations. So, I saw them as my folks did, as worthy of my friendship as an extension of my charity toward them, but certainly not as mutual relationships between equals no matter how much fun we had together or however much of life we shared. By nineteen, I thought I had a clear understanding about these people who made up and enriched my entire life, who they were, and what their general deficiencies were. This is what I mean about my "ambiguous life with racism."

Then I read "Incident at Tulpehocken." It is true that I had spent a semester or so taking a few history classes, and when my best buddy in high school, Rob, confided in me about his homosexuality I began to question my parents' assumptions about "queers" and other stereotypes. These experiences and others helped to make me fertile ground for Jennings's message. But it was the twenty pages of Jennings' successful "condemnatory approach," his vicious prosecution of James Logan, his dogged pursuit of justice for Sassoonan, that forced me to digest those last two paragraphs of his essay and, for the first time, to come to grips with, and to own, my bigotry. Not only had I never considered that Indians were and are as human as myself—indeed, I had never met an Indian—but once Jennings forced me to admit this, he turned me directly toward African-Americans, and then I turned myself toward all of the other racist and otherwise discriminatory garbage I had accumulated over the years. Jennings enabled me to face the contradictions I had so conveniently obscured, and I took the first step on what continues to be a program of life-long recovery. From then on I called my parents on their own contradictions when the same old tripe oozed out around the dinner table, and in the years since they have made a lot of progress, at least around me and my children. My children have been the greatest beneficiaries. They are growing up in a household significantly freer (I hope completely free) of the crippling language and attitude of inferiorities and superiorities. Three-quarters of a century ago, the first President of the Pennsylvania Historical Association, A. Boyd Hamilton, inaugurated the publication of *Pennsylvania History* by saying: "The PHA presents to the citizens of Pennsylvania this new periodical designed to serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas in regard to a matter which is of consequence and interest to all."<sup>5</sup> I can think of no other piece of academic work that has

been of greater consequence to my own academic and personal life than these two articles, published in an issue of *Pennsylvania History*, that had been sitting on a shelf in the periodicals room of the York College library for two decades waiting for me to come to Pennsylvania to read them.

A few years later, in 1991, I found myself in graduate school, four hundred miles away in Lexington, Kentucky, looking for a dissertation topic and a way back to Pennsylvania. I found both sitting on the floor in the stacks of M. I. King Library, thumbing through issue after issue of *Pennsylvania History*, when I happened upon Peter Levine's "Fries Rebellion: Social Violence and the Politics of the New Nation."<sup>6</sup> It had been nearly a century since a monograph on Fries Rebellion had been attempted and Levine's article provided a number of good leads to begin the project. In the autumn of 1994 I presented my first work on that project at the PHA meeting at Wilson College in Chambersburg, where I joined the PHA. When I got home, I found volume 61, number four waiting for me in the mail: the author's copy containing my first article in a special issue on William Penn.<sup>7</sup> By 1996 I had finished my dissertation and secured a tenure-track teaching job back in Pennsylvania at the University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown, two goals accomplished with the help of *Pennsylvania History*. Over the next several years I continued attending the PHA contributing in a number of capacities, and by 2000 I was named Book Review Editor of *Pennsylvania History* commencing with volume 67, and in 2001 the PHA selected the University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown to host the Annual Meeting. All of these opportunities for service enhanced my case for tenure and promotion to Associate Professor, granted to me in 2002. Finally, in 2005, the PHA named me, to my great honor, as the Editor of *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* beginning with the fourth issue of volume 72, and that opportunity proved to be the final boost for my promotion to the rank of Professor in 2007. I could not begin to repay the debt of gratitude that I owe to the Pennsylvania Historical Association, to this journal, or to the many special individuals who have labored for both, but I offer this essay as a small token of my thanks and as a hearty Happy Anniversary!

### A Matter of Consequence to us All

*Pennsylvania History* has played a central role in my career, and looking back over the 226 issues since 1934, it is apparent that the journal has touched the lives and careers of many of us, past, (passed), and present. The remainder of

TABLE 1. Editors of *Pennsylvania History*

Volumes	Years	Editors
1-8	1934-41	Arthur C. Bining
9-11	1942-44	James A. Barnes
11-18	1945-52	Milton W. Hamilton
19-24.3	1953-Summer 1957	Paul A. W. Wallace
24.4-29.2	Autumn 1957-Spring 1962	John M. Coleman
29.3-33.4	Summer 1962-Autumn 1966	Russell F. Wiegley
34-35.3	1967-Summer 1968	Seth M. Scheiner
35.4-38	Autumn 1968-1971	William G. Shade
39-43	1972-76	H. Benjamin Powell
44-48	1977-81	Harold E. Cox
49-54	1982-87	Francis J. Bremer
55-61.1	1988-Winter 1994	Michael J. Birkner
61.2-69	Spring 1994-2002	Bill Pencak
70-71.2	2003-Spring 2004	Brian Black
71.3-72.3	Summer 2004-Summer 2005	Jean Soderlund
72.4-	Autumn 2005-Present	Paul Douglas Newman

this essay will survey seventy-five years of *Pennsylvania History*, looking at the journal in six, fifteen-year increments, spanning the tenure of sixteen editors. The fifteen-year increments work for several reasons. First, they roughly correspond to the comings and goings of the editors. Second, they correspond nicely to generations of scholarship and historical eras; volumes 1-15: 1934-48, saw Progressive scholarship move toward Consensus from the Depression through World War II; in volumes 16-30: 1949-63, the Liberal tradition eclipsed Consensus history as the reaction to McCarthyism and Civil Rights Movement changed the stories that Pennsylvania historians told; volumes 31-45: 1964-78, brought the "New History" with still more new stories and new techniques to the era defined by the counterculture, an unpopular war, political corruption, and the peak and decline of American industrial dominance; volumes 46-60: 1979-93, witnessed an acceleration of the "new history," especially in the fields of women's and African-American history as the profession produced more women and minority scholars, and more labor history as the state and nation de-industrialized and turned to the right politically and socially; and volumes 61-75: 1994-present, has brought Post-Revisionism and Postmodernism to the journal, bringing in comparative histories and Atlantic history in an era defined by "globalization." Finally, fifteen years, or sixty issues, was about as much as I could bite off and digest in one chunk.



TABLE 2. Associate Editors and Assistant Editors

S. K. Stevens	1936–48	S. W. Higginbotham	1957–61	Ronald M. Benson	1982–1987
Leonidas Dodson	1940–41	Henry J. Young	1958–61	Dennis Downey	1988
Elinor Barnes	1942–44	Alfred D Sumberg	1961–66	Norman O. Forness	1989–95
John W. Khouri	1947–49	Richard Varbero	1968	John B. Frantz	1995–2000
Donald H. Kent	1949–56	Edna M. Powell	1973–76	John C. McWilliams	2000–2005
Melville J. Boyer	1952–57	James P. Rodechko	1973–76	Jeffrey A. Davis	2005–

TABLE 3. Book Review Editors

James A. Barnes	1938–41	Michael P. Weber	1975–77
Leonidas Dodson	1942–46	Charles D. Cashdollar	1978–87
J. Orin Oliphant	1946–49	Peter Gottlieb	1988–90
J. Cutler Andrews	1952–54	John F. Bauman	1991–99
Russell J. Ferguson	1955	Paul Douglas Newman	2000–2005
Norman B. Wilkinson	1956–74	Thomas J. Kiffmeyer	2005–2008
		Daniel Barr	2008–

If any of you would like to survey the entirety of the journal for yourselves, you can access the full text digital archive of volumes 1–70 on-line through the PHA website at: <http://www.pa-history.org> by clicking on *Pennsylvania History* on the menu bar, or go directly to the digital archive at <http://dpubs.org/PennHistory>. In fact, if any reader finds that I have overlooked something important, or disagrees with my assessment, I will be happy to print a special “Letters” section regarding the history of the journal. Please write or email before December 1, 2008 and I will include your comments in a Letters section in Winter 2009, volume 76 number 1.

### *General Data and Reflections*

A quick survey of the tables of contents of the 226 issues reveals a few facts and trends that are not so surprising, and some that are. For instance, the first forty-five volumes featured articles written predominantly by men, and in fact, the last thirty volumes have also been dominated by male authors, though women have been making gains. What was a bit surprising to me, but perhaps should not have been, is that the presence of women authors declined after the first thirty years from 1964–78, before making dramatic gains from 1979–2008. The sixteen female authors from the first thirty

TABLE 4. Male and Female Authors

Volumes	Years	Male N (%)	Female N (%)
1-15	1934-48	152 (92)	13 (8)
16-30	1949-63	243 (92)	20 (8)
31-45	1964-78	215 (93)	16 (7)
46-60	1979-93	141 (77)	41 (23)
61-74	1994-2007	195 (71)	79 (29)
TOTAL			
1-74	1934-2007	946 (85)	169 (15)

volumes mostly came from professions in libraries, archives, and historical societies, in an era when more local history and more articles about sources appeared in the journal. In the middle period, between 1964-79, the journal evolved into a more strictly academic quarterly and began to shed its local connections, and thus saw a decline in female authorship. The last thirty years have seen substantial gains due to the still increasing number of women obtaining their Ph.D. I have not taken the time to survey the entire history profession, but when comparing the most recent twenty issues of *Pennsylvania History* to *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* I found the results to be almost identical. Over that five year period, *PMHB* published sixty-four male authors to twenty-four females (64% to 36%), while *Pennsylvania History* published sixty-three male authors to twenty-three females (65% to 35%).

Also not so surprising is that the colonial period dominated all others by tremendous margins in the first thirty years, accounting for nearly one out of every three articles. The richness and uniqueness of Pennsylvania's colonial past continues to draw a considerable amount of attention, indeed, colonial articles comprised one in four essays over the most recent fifteen years, and once again led all other fields. It should be noted that the journal's three-year association with the McNeil Center for Early American Studies significantly boosted the Colonial and Revolution columns. When the Colonial and Revolution columns are considered together as Early America, the dominance of the seventeenth and eighteenth century is staggering in four of the five periods. What was surprising to me was the 1964-78 era, when the Antebellum category led the way. It was not until 1981 that the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic emerged and began publishing the *Journal of the*

TABLE 5. Distribution of Articles by Time Period in Percentage

Volumes	Years	N=	Colonial	Revolution	Antebellum	Civil War	Gilded Age Prog. Era	1900-45	Post War
1-15	1934-48	94	33	20	16	17	7.5	6.5	
16-30	1949-63	237	31	14	19	10	12	4	1
31-45	1964-78	245	14	17	22	12	18	13	5
46-60	1979-93	188	15	22	14	11	21	11	6
61-74	1994-07	282	24	18	9	4	18	18	10
TOTAL									
1-74	1934-07	1046	22	18	16	10	17	11	5

NOTE: Volumes 1-74 contained 1058 traditional articles that could be classified specifically by time period. This number does not include bibliographies, review essays, notes on sources, information about preservation projects, etc. Many articles span one or more period, 1750-1850 for example. In such a case I counted the article in the Colonial, Revolution, and Antebellum columns. Time periods: Colonial to 1774; Revolution 1774-1815; Antebellum 1815-60; Civil War 1860-77 and by topic; Gilded Age/Progressive Era, 1878-1918 and by topic; 1900-1945 excludes topics relating to Progressivism; Post-War, 1945 to present.

*Early Republic* focusing on the 1789-1850 epoch (now they begin coverage with 1776), and in its eighth volume in 1988, Gordon S. Wood lamented that “Until very recently, the period from the American Revolution to the Election of Andrew Jackson was the most neglected if not the most despised period of American history.”<sup>8</sup> Wood contended that the early republic had long been the American historians’ blindspot, and that *JER* would serve to correct our hindsight. *Pennsylvania History* and Pennsylvania historians seem to have been visionary in the 1964-1978 period, as scholars of the post-Civil Rights era focused considerable attention on slavery and abolitionism, labor historians focused on the antebellum labor movement, and political historians delved into the state’s and the nation’s constitutional periods. Indeed, from 1964-1978, articles covering “the period from the American Revolution to the Election of Andrew Jackson” comprised more than one-third of all articles in *Pennsylvania History*. Unfortunately for *Pennsylvania History*, what was not true in the 1949-78 period has become true over the last thirty years, as interest in Pennsylvania’s antebellum period has waned within the pages of the journal. This is partially the result of the creation of the *Journal of the Early Republic*, as Pennsylvania topics find homes there, but

the emergence of *JER* alone cannot possibly account for such a precipitous and rapid decline.

Even with this decline, the antebellum period still doubles the output of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras over the most recent fifteen years, as that category has regularly lagged behind other eras, totaling only ten percent of all journal articles, and only four percent in the last fifteen years. Recently the heavy interest in Gilded Age and twentieth-century topics, amounting to nearly half of all articles, and the re-emergence of colonial period dominance (at nearly one-quarter), have taken a toll on the middle period in general. The sustained interest in the Gilded Age/Progressive Era, extending into the 1900–1945 period, is no surprise considering the state's industrial, labor, and business history throughout that time, and as the twentieth century waned and vanished, more historians turned to it for material. But there are positive signs for the mid-nineteenth century. The Pennsylvania Historical Association did award the most recent Robert Crist Prize for the best article to appear by a graduate student to Christopher Osborne for "Invisible Hands: Slaves, Bound Laborers, and the Development of Western Pennsylvania, 1780–1820," in 2007.<sup>9</sup> In addition, thirteen of the twenty-five antebellum articles since 1994 have appeared over the last five years. Similar positive signs do not exist for the Civil War. Only three articles pertaining to that period have appeared in the last five years. This is surprising given the success of William A. Blair and William A. Pencak's *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War* (2001), which the Pennsylvania Historical Association honored with the Philip S. Klein Book Prize in 2002.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the coming sesquicentennials of the Civil War, the Altoona Conference of Governors, the Battle of Gettysburg, the Gettysburg Address, the Philadelphia Streetcar Desegregation, the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Acts, and the Pennsylvania Supreme Court Civil Rights activity during Reconstruction will stimulate interest in Pennsylvania at mid-nineteenth century. *Pennsylvania History* will devote a special issue to the Sesquicentennial of the Civil War in 2013, and the PHA is planning its Annual Meeting for Gettysburg in 2013, from which it is hoped more articles will come in the years to follow.

Table 6 looks within the time periods set out in Table 3 and considers the topical content of articles from period to period. Far and away, political history has always dominated the pages of *Pennsylvania History*, totaling the greatest number of articles in each of the five periods, and the greatest number over all, accounting for one out of every five articles to have ever appeared in the journal. Although its total share has shrunk from a high of thirty-three

TABLE 6. Distribution of Articles by Topic, Number (percentage)

Volumes	N =	African-American	Agriculture	Alcohol	Architecture	Arts	Atlantic	Business-Economic	Comparative	Children	Crime	Diplomatic	Environmental	Ethnic	Family	Film	Folklore	Gender	Geography	Frontier	Immigration	Indians	Industry
1-15	158	1	2		1	5		18			1	7	1	16			1		8	8	7	6	4
		(5)	(1)		(5)	(3)		(11)			(5)	(4)	(5)	(10)			(5)		(5)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)
16-30	239	6	3		9	15		13			6	2	2	8			1		2	10	3	20	23
		(2)	(1)		(4)	(6)		(5)			(2)	(1)	(1)	(3)			(5)		(1)	(4)	(1)	(8)	(10)
31-45	219	17	1		1	7		14			2	3	2	11					2	10	6	9	17
		(8)	(5)		(5)	(3)		(6)			(1)	(1.5)	(1)	(5)					(1)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(8)
46-60	190	16	4		2	4		3			7	1	4	5					2	10	4	3	16
		(8)	(2)		(1)	(2)		(1.5)			(3.5)	(5)	(2)	(2.5)					(1)	(5)	(2)	(1.5)	(8)
61-74	252	37	5	6	8	12	9	12	4	3	20	1	11	16	2	2		8	2	10	3	13	7
		(15)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(3.5)	(5)	(1.5)	(1)	(8)	(3)	(4)	(6)	(1)	(1)		(3)	(1)	(4)	(1)	(5)	(3)
TOTAL	1058	77	15	6	21	43	9	60	4	3	36	14	20	56	2	2	2	8	16	48	23	51	67
		(7)	(1.5)	(.5)	(2)	(4)	(.8)	(5.7)	(.3)	(.2)	(3.4)	(1.3)	(1.8)	(5.2)	(.1)	(.1)	(.1)	(.6)	(1)	(4.4)	(2.1)	(4.8)	(6.3)

(Continued)

TABLE 6. Distribution of Articles by Topic, Number (percentage) (Continued)

Volumes	N =	Labor	Legal	Literature	Local	Medical	Military	Philosophy	Photography	Political	Poverty	Press	Public Inst.	Race	Railroad	Reform	Religion	Science	Sports	Transportation	Urban	Women
1-15	158	6	7	7	6	3	22	3	1	45	1	8	4			4	14	5		6	1	1
		(3)	(4)	(4)	(3)	(1.5)	(14)	(1.5)	(.5)	(28)	(.5)	(5)	(2)			(2)	(9)	(2.5)		(3)	(.5)	(.5)
16-30	239	7	2	4	6		22	2	1	40	6	4			4	7	19	6		9		2
		(2)	(1)	(1.5)	(2)		(9)	(1)	(.5)	(16)	(2)	(1.5)			(1.5)	(2)	(7)	(2)		(3)		(1)
31-45	219	14	6	6	4	2	13	4		73	2	4			4	13	20	1		5	21	11
		(6)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(5.5)	(2)		(33)	(1)	(2)			(2)	(5.5)	(9)	(.5)		(2)	(9)	(4.5)
46-60	190	28	2	2		6	6	7		31	4	3	1		1	4	13	4	1	4	21	5
		(15)	(1)	(1)		(3)	(3)	(3.5)		(16)	(2)	(1.5)	(.5)		(.5)	(2)	(7)	(2)	(.5)	(2)	(9.5)	(2)
61-74	252	29	4	14		9	18	5	16	40	7	8	5	6	3	3	22	3	5	1	18	27
		(11.5)	(1.5)	(5.5)		(3.5)	(7)	(2)	(6)	(16)	(3.5)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(9)	(1)	(2)	(.3)	(7)	(11)
TOTAL	1058	84	21	34	16	20	81	21	18	229	20	27	10	6	12	31	88	19	6	25	61	46
		(7.9)	(2)	(3.2)	(1.6)	(1.8)	(7.6)	(1.9)	(1.6)	(22)	(1.8)	(2.5)	(.9)	(.5)	(1)	(2.9)	(8.3)	(1.9)	(.5)	(2.3)	(5.7)	(4.4)

percent during the 1964–78 era to sixteen percent over the last thirty years, it still far outpaces other subjects. Between 1979 and the present, political history has given a great deal of ground to labor history, and since 1994, women's history and African-American history have made significant inroads as well. This is not to say that the political history of the last thirty years is unchanged from the first forty-five. Much of the political history of the last three decades deals with women, African-Americans, the poor, rural areas, the "backcountry," and the disenfranchised, as well as studies in political culture. Yet things political are still the most common topics in *Pennsylvania History*. Rather than to continue analyzing this table here, I will refer back to it as I discuss each of the five eras further below. But before going on to that, two more specific bits of general data deserve attention: Special Issues and Biographical Subjects.

*Pennsylvania History* published its first special issue in volume 19, October 1952, and the subject was Lumbering and Rafting. Only a few years earlier in March 1938, a group of lumber enthusiasts decided it would be a good idea to re-enact the rafting of logs on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River from Cherry Tree in Cambria County to Harrisburg. They called it the "Last Raft." Forty-eight men sailed the 112 foot "raft" containing 35,000 board feet of lumber from Cherry Tree to Williamsport without incident, before more than 10,000 spectators who had come to the shoreline to gawk, when just past Muncy, the raft struck a bridge pier head on, throwing forty-seven men into the icy water. Seven never made it to shore.<sup>11</sup> Few of the thirty-one subsequent special issues matched the drama of the first, but they have been and continue to be some of our readers' favorite issues. Table 7 contains a list of all the special issues with their volume number, issue number, and date to help you find your favorite, or the one you never knew about. Currently, *Pennsylvania History* sets aside the summer issue each year for its special issue. The topic for 2009 will be "Pennsylvania and 50 Years of Atlantic History." Send inquiries to Associate Editor Jeff Davis at Bloomsburg University. Within the special issues, you will notice a number of biographical treatments: whole issues devoted to Thaddeus Stevens, William Penn, Ben Franklin, and so on. Biography has been a staple of *Pennsylvania History*, totaling 102 articles over the journal's history. Benjamin Franklin has been the most popular figure, of course, followed by William Penn, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Thaddeus Stevens, Paul Robeson (all in one special issue), Gifford Pinchot and James Buchanan. Table 8 lists the number of articles that treat each of the individuals as biographical subjects.

# PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

TABLE 7. Special Issues

Volume	Month/Year	Topic
19.4	October 1952	Lumbering
20.4	October 1953	Pennsylvania Capital Cities
21.4	October 1954	French and Indian War Bicentennial
23.1	January 1956	Livingston and the Iroquois
25.3	July 1958	Religion and Education in Colonial America
30.2	April 1963	Civil War Centennial
36.1	January 1969	Lawrence Henry Gipson
38.1	January 1971	Roy Nichols
58.4	October 1991	Labor in the Anthracite Region
59.1	January 1992	Urban History
60.2	April 1993	Thaddeus Stevens
60.4	October 1993	Oral History
61.4	October 1994	William Penn
62.3	April 1995	Pennsylvania Loyalists
64.2	Spring 1997	Photography
64.5	1997	Empire, Society, and Labor: Essays in Honor of Richard Dunn
65.1	Winter 1998	Benjamin Franklin
65.3	Summer 1998	Pennsylvania African-American History
65.5	1998	Explorations in Early American Culture
66.1	Winter 1998	Paul Robeson
66.2	Spring 1998	Gifford Pinchot
66.4	Autumn 1998	Environmental History
66.5	1999	Explorations in Early American Culture
67.1	Winter 2000	Fries's Rebellion
67.3	Summer 2000	Crime
68.1	Winter 2001	Pennsylvania Germans
68.3	Summer 2001	Roy Lubove
68.4	Autumn 2001	Elizabeth Drinker
72.3	Summer 2005	A Lynching in Delaware
73.3	Summer 2006	Disasters in Pennsylvania
74.3	Summer 2007	The Seven Years War in Pennsylvania
75.3	Summer 2008	75 Years of <i>Pennsylvania History</i>

TABLE 8. Most Popular Biographical Subjects

Benjamin Franklin	24	Paul Robeson	7	Messrs. Mason & Dixon	3
William Penn	10	James Buchanan	6	Benjamin Rush	3
George Washington	9	Gifford Pinchot	6	William Bartram	2
Abraham Lincoln	8	Elizabeth Drinker	4	John Bartram	2
Thaddeus Stevens	7	James Galloway	3	Andrew Carnegie	2



TABLE 9. Singular Biographical Articles

William Allen	Milton S. Hershey	Joe Paterno
Daniel Boone	Thomas Jefferson	Christopher Sauer
John Brown	Marquis de Lafayette	Joseph Saxton
Alan Cameron	David Lloyd	Anthony Wayne
Anna Dickinson	Thomas Mifflin	Franklin Weirick
William Duane	George Morgan	Conrad Weiser
Robert Fulton	Robert Morris	Josiah White
Albert Gallatin	Henry M. Muhlenberg	David Wilmot

There are many other subjects that have each received a biographical treatment, and they are listed in Table 9.

Many of these articles are true biographies, but most use a single biographical character to tell a larger story. To locate most of these, for volumes 1–70, use the search function in the on-line digital archive referenced above. Whole volumes of *Pennsylvania History* are uploaded to the digital archive as they reach five years of age. To access the most recent five years, you have to visit the periodical section of your local library or, better yet, join the Pennsylvania Historical Association and receive your very own copy in the mail every three months.

### *Pennsylvania History* Through the Years

The remainder of this essay will consider the five, fifteen-year periods that comprise the seventy-five volumes of *Pennsylvania History*. I am not suggesting that the survey to follow is an accounting of “the best” or “the most significant” articles to have appeared in the journal. Beauty is in the eye of the beholder. If I failed to highlight your favorite article (which might just be one of your own!) please write or email before December 1, 2008 and I will include your comments in a “Letters” section in Winter 2009, volume 76 number 1. In an effort to avoid offending anyone, and to avoid insulting you all as I am sure that you have stood by your mailboxes awaiting the delivery of your latest issue of *Pennsylvania History* and have devoured every word over the last decade and a half, I will not comment specifically on authors or articles from the most recent fifteen years except to discuss Klein and Crist Prize winners.

*Volumes 1–15: 1934–48*

The cover of the inaugural issue of *Pennsylvania History* in January 1934 announced that it was the “Official Organ of the Pennsylvania Historical Association.” To fulfill that role, PHA President A. Boyd Hamilton set out three purposes for the journal:

...to record state history, to stimulate further interest by advocating the teaching of state history, and to provide an opportunity for those wishing to express their ideas as to the best methods for promoting various ways for preserving and recording the manifold story of the development of the state.<sup>12</sup>

In the first fifteen years, the journal ably accomplished all of these goals with editors Arthur C. Bining, James A. Barnes, and Milton W. Hamilton at the helm. Though, as Paul W. Gates noted in his essay of the same issue, “Research Projects in Pennsylvania History,” accomplishing the first goal while elevating the quality and variety of scholarship would be no small task. Gates challenged his readers with a frank assessment:

It may be observed that with a few exceptions the research projects now underway in the field of Pennsylvania History are largely variations of subjects which have been prepared in other states and sections. Pennsylvania historians do not seem to be carving out new fields. Political and institutional histories still rank first in number of projects, with economic history a close second and social history, using the term in a broad sense, a poor third.<sup>13</sup>

Gates suggested three specific needs. First, in “a state where there are so many religious colleges one might well expect to find a considerable interest in religious history, but such is not the case in Pennsylvania.” Second, and with greater vigor and more specific advice, Gates, writing in the depths of the Great Depression in 1933, suggested that political history had received “adequate attention” and stressed the need for good economic and business history and he pleaded:

Why have scholars neglected to study corporation histories, business biographies, lumbering, furniture manufacturing, shipbuilding, navigation, river and canal transportation, land speculation, urban real

estate business, coal mining, construction companies, the development of utilities and numerous other businesses whose historical importance may well exceed that of the Populist or Whig parties in the state.<sup>14</sup>

Last, Gates called for scholars and students to address the social history of Pennsylvania, including:

The contributions of the different racial elements in Pennsylvania... The contributions of the Old World to Pennsylvania... Urban growth and rural decay, the impact of western farm expansion upon Pennsylvania agriculture, the physical and cultural changes produced in immigrants by new environments, the economic, social and cultural effects upon the settlers of improvements in transportation and communication, the humanitarian movements, and the history of the labor movement all cry for detailed attention at the hands of investigators.<sup>15</sup>

Gates could not have foreseen the kinds of changes in store for our profession and the writing of history to come in seventy-five years, but he was prescient in his view of areas still ripe for exploration in 1934, not just for Pennsylvania history but all of American history. The articles appearing in the first fifteen years, sixty issues, of *Pennsylvania History* began to answer Gates' call. Fourteen articles, or nine percent, considered religious history, while business, economic, and industrial history totaled twenty-two articles, or thirteen percent. Most impressive was the answer to Gate's call for social history, with forty essays, one out of every four articles published, addressing topics ranging from immigration, ethnicity, Indians, women, African-Americans, labor, poverty, crime, and urban history. Indeed, the first article to appear in the journal, right behind Gates', was William Itter's "Early Troubles in the Schuylkill Anthracite District."<sup>16</sup> Three articles in particular struck me as important milestones in *Pennsylvania History's* early years: Judith Anderson's "Anna Dickinson, Anti-Slavery Radical," Paul A. W. Wallace's "Conrad Weiser and the Delawares," and Lawrence Henry Gipson's "Some Reflections Upon the American Revolution."<sup>17</sup>

Judith Anderson was only one of thirteen women authors from the 1934–1948 period. She had no listed institutional affiliation, only her hometown of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, but her essay was as sophisticated and significant as any in the first decade and a half. She referred to her subject, Anna Dickinson, using the sobriquet that the Philadelphia press attributed to her in the 1860s, as the "Joan of Arc of the Civil War." Anderson used the

Dickinson manuscripts at the Library of Congress, the records of the Friends Select School in Philadelphia, several contemporary newspapers, and pertinent secondary sources of the day, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's *A History of Woman Suffrage*. Dickinson's first public speech as an abolitionist revealed her (and Anderson's) understanding of the inter-relationship between the Abolitionist and Women's Rights movements. She was seventeen years old on April 3, 1860 when she attended an open forum on all types of reform at Clarkson Hall sponsored by the "Friends of Progress." At the meeting, one man rose and addressed the audience to urge the women to be patient, as male reformers would do during the debate over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments later in the decade when urging female patience during the "Negro's hour." The man argued that his daughters were as well educated and talented as any men, yet if they could not equally enter the professions, then no women should at that time. Dickinson rose to her feet and said to him:

You, sir, say that what your daughters cannot be, no man's daughter can be; that your daughters are incapable of being doctors, lawyers, priests, businessmen, bank presidents, authors, and editors. In a word, sir, as you yourself have summed it up, that your daughters are fools! In heaven's sake, sir, what else is to be expected of such a father?"<sup>18</sup>

I could not help but think of Sojourner Truth's response to a male minister nine years before when she injected women's rights into an abolitionist meeting.

Paul A. W. Wallace's "Conrad Weiser and the Delawares" was a work of ethnohistory several decades before the term was coined. Wallace, in 1937, was attempting to tease out the political complexities of Native American political landscapes in the eighteenth century, and in doing so, to make his point clear to an audience not used to thinking of Indians as political beings, he compared native Pennsylvania to "Europe today," referring to the crumbling of old empires, the rise of new ones, and the political, economic, and military consequences and turmoil that had Europe in a swirl. Writing of the infamous "Walking Purchase," and yet likely referring to the German pressure for land sessions happening at the moment, Wallace wrote: "It stands to reason that if you take forcible possession of your neighbor's house, even though you pay him half a cent a foot for his land and let him sleep in the backyard, you will have a permanent enemy at your door."<sup>19</sup>

Lawrence Henry Gipson's "Some Reflections Upon the American Revolution" began as an address to the PHA on October 18, 1940 at State College. In his talk, Gipson laid out his case for the "Imperial School" philosophy about the colonial experience which explained the American Revolution as a consequence of the American inheritance of the liberal tradition from mother England. Gipson was in the process of his 15 volume opus, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, but one can clearly see that the onset of the Second World War and the Battle of Britain weighed heavily on him and his work. One can read his first paragraph as a plea for American intervention, which of course, by the time the article appeared in the journal in January 1942, the U.S. had entered the war already:

We are confronted today with the spectacle of one part of the English speaking world fighting for its very existence—faced as it is by the most terrifying ordeal that it has ever experienced. The other part is at peace, a troubled, anxious peace, reassured and comforted, in the midst of unexampled military preparations too long delayed, with the thought that so long as the British Empire survives it will continue to serve as an outer bulwark against those forces of international lawlessness which, inundating most parts of the Old World, may yet crash against the shores of the western hemisphere. Under these circumstances we inevitably tend to raise questions. Why are these English speaking peoples...organized into two rather distinct and quite independent systems of government in spite of a great and common democratic tradition cherished by all within this their own peculiar world? Why the British Commonwealth of Nations on the one hand, and the American nation on the other? What, in other words, was it that brought about, over a century and a half ago, the separation of the British continental colonies in North America from the Empire and the creation of a new nation?<sup>20</sup>

Gipson's connection of the present to the past, like Wallace's, seemed natural and obvious to them in the tumult of the late 1930s and the onset of the war, and they used the present to frame their questions and arguments about the past.

During the war, with James A. Barnes as editor, *Pennsylvania History* confronted World War II head on in three articles by State Historian S. K. Stevens. Stevens wrote "Pennsylvania's First Year in World War II," "The Pennsylvania War-History Program," and "The Impact of the War on the

Pennsylvania Economy," in volumes 10 and 11, 1943–44.<sup>21</sup> In January 1942, the state legislature created the "War-History Program" and empowered the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission to collect all materials relevant to, and thoroughly document the state's participation in, the war effort, to write the history of the war as it happened. As State Historian, Stevens absorbed and disseminated this information to the state in newspaper articles and in these essays for *Pennsylvania History*. To his colleagues in this journal, he assured them that this project was much more than simple morale boosting (which the December 7, 1942, newspaper piece published widely across the state admittedly was). Instead, Stevens insisted that the project would "revolutionize the entire technique of the historical profession." He went on to argue that

Unless some plan for contemporary evaluation and preservation is worked out, even more significant historical materials are going to be lost in the future than have been in the past. Historians, local amateurs, as well as professionals in the schools, colleges and universities should therefore reconsider the entire method of accumulating and using historical collections... Increased attention should be devoted to researching and writing on relatively recent subjects. The task of writing history can be simplified and improved if some of the experience gained in the current War-History activity throughout the state is carried over into the peacetime days to come.<sup>22</sup>

Historians in the decades to follow heeded Stevens' call for more recent history and new methodologies in the pages of *Pennsylvania History*. Stevens' "Pennsylvania's First Year in World War II" and "The Impact of the War on the Pennsylvania Economy" remain two of the best treatments on homefront production, economic mobilization, and popular participation in wartime Pennsylvania, and I regularly assign them for classroom reading both as primary and secondary sources.

President Hamilton's second goal for *Pennsylvania History* was that it would be an aide to the teachers of Pennsylvania history at the college, secondary, and grade school levels. The journal accomplished that goal in the first fifteen volumes quite easily, publishing thirteen article length essays addressing matters of education, and from volumes 5–13 it contained a "Public School Teacher's Department," created by editor Arthur C. Bining, with dozens of brief essays and lesson plans written by and for teachers on

subjects such as: "Teaching Local History," "Teaching State History in Schools," "James Wilson and the Constitution," "Social Studies in Grade Six, Pike county," "Pennsylvania and Literature," "History and Art Education," "Pennsylvania Government and Public Schools," "Museums and Public Schools," "The Pennsylvania Canal," among others. Hamilton's third goal for the journal, promoting "various ways" for preserving and recording the history of the state, was accomplished through the journal's dedication to topics of public history, museums, local history, and historical societies. From the first volume in 1934 through the sixtieth in 1993, *Pennsylvania History* published a "Historical Societies" section, first in its own department, and later rolled into an extended "News and Comment" feature. Ten to twenty pages of news from historical societies from across the state filled each issue. Moreover, in the first fifteen years, *Pennsylvania History* published thirteen articles about manuscript resources at libraries and archives and three dealing with historic preservation and museums. In the years to come, the journal would de-emphasize education and its connection to secondary and primary teachers while enhancing and strengthening its connection to public history and historians. In the regular feature titled, "Of Men and Many Things," the journal published the accomplishments, news, and projects undertaken by PHA members. In addition to regular correspondence from the President of the PHA, Reports from the Annual Meetings, Reports from the State Historian, State Archivist, museum curators from around the state, educators, and local historical societies, these features lent an air of community to the PHA that we today would do well to emulate.

### *Volumes 16–30: 1949–63*

Volumes 16–30 contain the end of Milton Hamilton's editorship, the efforts of editors Paul A. W. Wallace and John F. Coleman, and the beginning of Russel F. Weigley's term. Paul Wallace had two significant impacts as editor. First, Wallace introduced the special issue to *Pennsylvania History*, producing four in five years: Lumbering and Rafting, Pennsylvania Capital Cities and Capitols, The French and Indian War, and The Livingston Records and the Iroquois. Wallace's second achievement was to bring more Indian history to the journal which he accomplished through his second two special issues, and by adding more of his own scholarship and his son's, Anthony F. C. Wallace. Anthony Wallace published "Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca

Indians, 1798–1800,” in 1952. It followed his biography *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* by three years, and represented the beginning stages of his work on Handsome Lake and Cornplanter, to be published as the acclaimed *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* in 1969.<sup>23</sup> Twenty articles on Indian history appeared in *Pennsylvania History*’s second fifteen years, or forty percent of all Indian history over seventy-five years, still today the most prolific period for that field. The end of this second fifteen-year period found the perfect person at the wheel for the Centennial of the Battle of Gettysburg, Civil War historian Russell F. Wiegley. He produced the Civil War Centennial special issue in 1963’s volume 30.

Just as in the first fifteen years, it is easy to see how the events of 1949–1963 influenced the topics, methodology, and the writing in the second fifteen. Essays by Edwin Bronner, Edward Pessen, and Thomas C. Cochran, whose topics fell into the colonial period, the antebellum era, and the first half of the twentieth century respectively, can all be read as reactions to the cultural conformity of the 1950s. Bronner’s 1954, “Failure of the Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania,” took the luster off Penn’s utopian commonwealth by detailing the factionalism, infighting, the settlers’ refusal to pay quitrents, the Quaker refusal to submit to Lt. Governor Blackwell, the Delaware Councillors refusal to travel to Philadelphia, the Keithian Schism, and the Quaker dissent from the royal government of the 1690s—and all of this in the first decade in a half of Penn’s colonial venture. When Penn returned from London in 1699, he excoriated Pennsylvania saying that “there is no place more overrun with wickedness, sins so very scandalous, openly Committed, in defiance of Law and virtue, facts so foul I am forbid [by] my common modesty to relate them.”<sup>24</sup> If consensus and conformity was mythical and unachievable in Penn’s time, what did that mean for 1954?

Edward Pessen challenged conformity and perhaps answered the conservative Cold War reaction to the labor movement in two articles, “The Ideology of Stephen Simpson, Upper Class Champion of the Philadelphia Workingmen’s Movement” in 1955, and “Thomas Brothers, Anti-Capitalist Employer” in 1957.<sup>25</sup> In these articles, culled from his dissertation and later published in 1968 as *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement*, Pessen reveals that the capitalist system so ascendant and celebrated in the 1950s, was not a foregone conclusion in the first half of the nineteenth century, as the ideologies of even middle and upper-class businessmen Stephen Simpson and Thomas Brothers made clear.<sup>26</sup> Simpson, for example was a wealthy Philadelphian whom the Philadelphia Workingmen’s Movement chose for its



president for his radical views, including his advocacy of universal education, abolition of chartered monopolies, direct elections, prohibition of the legislation of religion, and his criticism of private property and systems of hereditary distribution. According to Pessen, Simpson's "*Workingman's Manual*...remains a trenchant commentary on the society of its day" and earned Simpson the title of "America's Cobbett."<sup>27</sup> Simpson was no "Organization Man."

But Thomas C. Cochran may have been. "The Organization Man in Historical Perspective, 1900-1950" placed William Hollingsworth's 1957 best-seller into the historical context of the coincidental rise of the welfare state and the managerial system in the preceding fifty years. Cochran described the development of the conformist, golf-playing, team oriented, married, suburban, personality-tested, cooperative and friendly, modern "normal" businessman and contrasted him with his egotistical, individualistic, selfish, greedy, and ruthless Gilded Age counterpart, and seemed pleased with the results:

When we can look back at the first half of the twentieth century with a longer perspective, two great changes in social organization will appear to be of the first order of importance. These are the evolution of administration in the big corporation toward what is often called managerial enterprise, and the rise of a new conception of the role of government, the welfare state. For observers in the year 2000 these changes may seem as important as the end of feudalism, the rise of world trade, or the beginning of industrialism.<sup>28</sup>

I'm not sure how many of us in the twenty-first century would agree with Cochran's claim, but business, organization school, and corporatist history written by Robert Weibe, Alfred Chandler and others in the second half of the twentieth century validates his 1958 assertion in *Pennsylvania History* that the managerial system would become a significant area of study.

The development of the Civil Rights Movement in the second half of the 1950s helped spur the research and writing of African-American history throughout the country, and in the pages of *Pennsylvania History*. Two articles from 1961 and 1963 deserve attention: Ira Brown's "Pennsylvania and the Rights of the Negro" and Richard B. Sherman's "Johnstown v. the Negro: Southern Migrants and the Exodus of 1923."<sup>29</sup> Addressing the present as well as the past, Brown opened his essay with these words: "The pre-Civil War record of Pennsylvania Negro rights was not very different from that of the South in more recent times." And by "more recent times" he meant right at that exact moment. After discussing black disenfranchisement by the 1838

constitution, the 1854 state law that segregated schools, and the development of segregation of public facilities before the war, Brown then demonstrated how Pennsylvania had to be led by the nose toward integration by the federal government. Time and again the state legislature refused to take the lead, and waited until their hands were forced by federal civil rights legislation, amendments to the federal constitution, or U.S. Supreme Court or Pennsylvania Supreme Court decisions. Pennsylvania lagged behind most northern states and some southern states in implementing reform after the Civil War. My college students in 2008 are still amazed by Pennsylvania's lackluster nineteenth-century civil rights record and by Brown's blistering portrayal.

Likewise, my students, many of whom are Johnstown natives, are still struck by Richard B. Sherman's "Johnstown vs. the Negro." In the 1963 essay, Sherman detailed the Bethlehem Steel corporation's importation of black and Mexican labor from the south in the years following the 1919 Steel Strike that shut down production in Johnstown. By 1923, Johnstown's native workforce and middle class had taken up with the nativist Ku Klux Klan. At the same time, Johnstown elected a mayor, Joseph Cauffeil, who decided to get tough on Eastern Europeans, blacks, and Mexicans. When a black worker tussled with and killed a Johnstown police officer and triggered Klan violence, the mayor issued a decree expelling all blacks and Mexicans from the city. Johnstown's black population had roots in the city since before the Civil War. Charles Schwabb's Bethlehem Steel was none too pleased with the mayor for ejecting more than two thousand cheap laborers, and called in favors from Governor Pinchot who sent the National Guard to Johnstown to stop the evictions and prevent Klan violence. Most of the pre-World War I black population stayed, but the more recent arrivals and most all of the Mexicans decided they would try to find a more welcoming place to work. The state only stood for civil rights when they coincided with the needs of corporations like Bethlehem Steel. Had those black, Mexican, Austro-Hungarian, and native born workers been striking for better pay and working conditions, the National Guard would have come in aiming for them. Forty-five years later, this essay is a favorite among my students.

### *Volumes 31–45: 1964–78*

The years 1964–78 saw five men behind the editor's desk: Russell Wiegley, Seth M. Scheiner, William G. Shade, H. Benjamin Powell, and Harold E. Cox. This period, defined by the winding down of and conservative backlash

against the Civil Rights Movement; recession and outsourcing; Watergate and the national Bicentennial; social, political, and environmental reform; suburban flight; urban decay; and urban renewal experienced significant gains in African-American, Labor, Political, Reform, and Urban history. Articles on environmental history began to appear right at the end of this period in volume 44, 1977.<sup>30</sup> Surprisingly, in spite of the growth of women's history and the increase of women scholars in the 1960s and 1970s, this period witnessed a decline in the number of female authors while the number of Women's History articles increased significantly from two to eleven. But while the "New History" produced significant gains, political history made its strongest showing of any of the five periods, with seventy articles, one of every three to appear. Prominent political historians such as Owen S. Ireland, H. James Henderson, and John Ferling found space in the pages of *Pennsylvania History* in these years.<sup>31</sup> Special issues waned in this era, from six to two, but those two took on a new shape, the festschrift. The first issue of volume 36 paid tribute to Lawrence Henry Gipson, and the first issue of volume 38 celebrated the career of Roy F. Nichols. Finally, it was during this era, specifically during the tenures of H. Benjamin Powell and Harold E. Cox, that the journal began to develop a consistency and form from issue to issue that makes it recognizable as a modern academic periodical: three articles, limited news and notes, and a comprehensive book review section.

Articles of significance to me from this period are, of course, Francis Jennings's "Incident at Tulpehocken" and "The Scandalous Indian Policy of William Penn's Sons," discussed earlier, Philip S. Foner's "Caroline Hollingsworth Pemberton: Philadelphia Socialist Champion of Black Equality," and John Bodnar's "Socialization and Adaptation: Immigrant Families in Scranton, 1880–1890."<sup>32</sup> Foner's article represents the increased attention to women's and African-American history, the history of reform, and the rise of radical history in the 1970s. Caroline Hollingsworth Pemberton, who wrote books and articles between 1896–1903, was no less radical than Anna Dickinson a generation earlier:

While Miss Pemberton did not have the advantage of access to studies in the history of American Negro slavery subsequently published which authoritatively demolished the mythology of the benevolent, paternalistic institution, the rarity of manifestations of slave unrest, and the loyalty of Southern slaves during the Civil War, her conclusions were basically correct, truly advanced for the time. Her first article was a unique contribution to the Socialist approach to the Negro question.<sup>33</sup>

Foner's research revealed that three-quarters of a century and the experience of the Civil Rights Movement apparently had not erased racial or radical tensions within the Pemberton family:

Even today aristocratic relatives of Miss Pemberton refuse to discuss a member of the family who was a Socialist, who had dared to champion the cause of black Americans, organized labor and the poor in general, and who proclaimed: "I am deeply interested in social questions, in the labor problem and in the success of the Socialist party."<sup>34</sup>

John Bodnar's "Socialization and Adaptation" represents an interdisciplinary approach to immigration, ethnic, family, urban, and labor history, as he compared the family and work experiences of Welsh and Irish working-class immigrants of the anthracite region in the 1880s. Bodnar compared Irish extended families to Welsh nuclear families to test the sociological hypotheses of Talcott Parsons, Phillipe Aries, and Richard Sennett. Historian Phillipe Aries had recently challenged Parson's hypothesis that nuclear families produced children who were better equipped for economic roles in the middle-class industrial world. While Richard Sennett compared nuclear and extended native-born middle-class families in Chicago, Bodnar set out to compare working-class foreign-born families in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Bodnar found that

Family structure was less influential than socialization practices. The divergent socialization exhibited by Irish and Welsh families in Scranton reflected their respective historical experiences. The Irish in Scranton were pre-modern people whose family life had been relatively unaffected by industrialization. While they were gradually relinquishing their children to modern economic forces, they were not nearly as disposed to do so as the Welsh. The cultural background of each of America's immigrant groups must clearly be understood before the adaptation of newcomers to urban America is fully explained.<sup>35</sup>

Bodnar's "New Immigration History" really began to answer Paul Gates's call in volume 1 to assess the "cultural changes produced in immigrants by new environments."

*Volumes 46–60: 1979–93*

Harold E. Cox, Francis J. Bremer, and Michael J. Birkner edited *Pennsylvania History* from 1979–93 during a remarkable era for the journal. Women historians made dramatic gains, numbering forty-one of 141 authors, or twenty-three percent. Special issues made a comeback under the editorship of Michael Birkner, who published four between 1991–93: “Labor in the Anthracite Region,” “Urban History,” “Thaddeus Stevens,” and “Oral History.” The last is significant in that it was the first issue devoted entirely to a methodology. Political history fell to its lowest levels in the history of the journal, totaling only thirty-one articles, but still edged out Labor history, at twenty-eight, for the lead at sixteen percent to fifteen. Labor history’s increased popularity coincided with the deindustrialization and rusting of Pennsylvania, and with the rising popularity of articles exploring newly discovered sources, or old sources considered in new ways. In the first two fifteen-year eras, articles on sources totaled thirteen and fourteen respectively, but had fallen to just four between 1964–78. Thanks largely to the efforts of Billy G. Smith, the fourth era contained eighteen essays on sources. Also, whereas the first sixty volumes contained a total of ten historiographies, volumes 46–60 published eight. The legacy left by Cox, Bremer, and Birkner for these years was one of variety, in subject matter, topics, and time periods.

Five articles that demonstrate the variety, depth, and quality of this era are T. H. Breen’s, “Back to Sweat and Toil: Suggestions for the Study of Agricultural Work,” Dan Richter’s, “A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History,” Patricia Bonomi’s, “‘Watchful Against the Sects’: Religious Renewal in Pennsylvania’s German Congregations, 1720–1750,” Sally Schwartz’s, “William Penn and Toleration: Foundations of Colonial Pennsylvania,” and Irwin Marcus’, “The De-Industrialization of America: Homestead, A Case Study, 1959–1984.”<sup>36</sup>

Volumes 46–60 are unique in the number and quality of essays intended to guide the scholarship of Pennsylvania’s historians. Breen’s “Back to Sweat and Toil” was a historiography of agricultural history, and Richter’s “Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History” was a synthetic work. Breen was working on his book *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution*, and pointed out that colonial agricultural history had become mired in a debate between James T. Lemon’s acquisitive,

profit-seeking, liberal-minded Pennsylvania farmers and James A. Henretta's cooperative, community-minded, conservative farmers of the colonial north.<sup>37</sup> Breen first sought to reconcile the two archetypes, but also pointed out that both represented localized exceptions. Breen suggested that historians look to the variety of American agricultural experience to determine the mind and culture of the farmer, from crop to crop and from place to place, and specifically, borrowing from innovations in labor history, to investigate the work culture specific to the variation of experience. Richter's 1990 article followed a long tradition of Indian ethnohistory in the journal, from Paul A. W. and Anthony F. C. Wallace, to Francis Jennings and others. The article drew on decades Pennsylvania Indian scholarship to sketch a historical map for scholars entering the woods and clearings of Pennsylvania's Indian past. It won the Philip S. Klein Prize in 1991 for the best article to appear in *Pennsylvania History* in the two preceding years (see Table 8 below). In that 1990 essay, one can see Richter develop the themes and structure of his 2001 Gottschalk prize winning, and Pulitzer finalist *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*.<sup>38</sup> Richter later updated and expanded "A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History" into the book *Native Americans' Pennsylvania* published in the Pennsylvania Historical Association's Pennsylvania History Studies Series.<sup>39</sup>

The October 1983 issue of *Pennsylvania History* represented a milestone as it contained two articles by Ph.D. holding, women historians in a single issue, Patricia Bonomi and Sally Schwartz. They also represent exceptional scholarship on Pennsylvania's religious, ethnic, ideological, and political history. Sally Schwartz's "William Penn and Toleration" soon appeared as the first chapter of her 1988 book, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Religious Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania*.<sup>40</sup> Bonomi's "Watchful Against the Sects" demonstrated the tensions between Pennsylvania's German Church People (Lutherans and Reformed) and Sectarians (Anabaptists, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, etc.). Facing competition from proselytizing sectarians and a shortage of their own ministers, the Lutheran and Reformed congregations circled their wagons by sharing ministers and developing a political gulf between sectarian and non-sectarian Pennsylvania Germans that would long outlast the colonial period. Material from this essay would soon find its way into Bonomi's following book, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America*.<sup>41</sup>

In 1985, Irwin Marcus answered S. K. Stevens' 1943 call for Pennsylvania historians to consider more recent topics of study. Marcus, in "The Deindustrialization of America: Homestead, A Case Study, 1959–1984,"

wrote about the causes and nature of the destruction unfolding right before his eyes in the Mon Valley:

Homestead shares many of the characteristics of Youngstown and other steel communities as residents worry about the effects of massive, prolonged unemployment on the stability and future of the town. The community has experienced high levels of residential stability, a strong sense of neighborhood, close family and friendship ties, a stress on ethnicity and the centrality of the church. The town played a special role in the Mon Valley as a center of four or five boroughs which attracted former residents for church and shopping. On Saturday night it brought together shoppers, walkers and movie goers. The Leona Theater, which operated from 1925–73, featured vaudeville, films and marathon dancing and drew large audiences. Today a 24-hour restaurant, a convenience store and a gasoline station occupy the site. Eighth Avenue, the borough's main thoroughfare, suffers from many vacant storefronts, potholed streets and the threat of crime. The police force shrank as reduced municipal revenue curtailed public services. Nevertheless, Homestead retains resiliency and vibrancy based on the strength of its people and their way of life. Few people move in and out of Homestead and Munhall. The majority of families in Reverend Von Dreele's parish count three or four generations of residence and many relatives in the community. However, the rising tide of unemployment threatens this way of life. The high school graduates expect fewer jobs in the area than earlier and see the Army as a last resort if they can't afford to go to college. Families face severe problems with lack of money causing mounting anger and frustration which can produce excessive drinking, drug use and sexual activity by the young.<sup>42</sup>

Marcus detailed the many ways that Mon Valley residents attempted to cope with the layoffs, the massive unemployment, foreclosures, hunger, exposure, and despair: from local Roman Catholic and Byzantine church relief, to the Denominational Mission Strategy of combined Protestant churches who attempted to force the state government to declare a "disaster emergency" in the Mon Valley, to the food banks of the United Steelworkers Local 1397, to the foreclosure picketing of the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee, to the Tri-State Conference on Steel, a community-based initiative to assume

ownership of closed mills to operate them on a limited profit basis. Marcus was hopeful about these strategies in 1985, especially the last, but for good reason he was unsure and skeptical of their prospects for success. He was not unsure about the cause of the disaster:

In less than two decades the United States has suffered a serious erosion of its international trade position, its heavy industry and its technological standing. The two decades after World War II witnessed the virtually uncontested international economic supremacy of the United States. However, this special era ended in the wake of the effects of the Vietnam War, the energy crisis and stagflation. Management responded to this growing peril by seeking government aid and retrenching its mainstream operations rather than increasing productivity by accelerating technological innovation. In its search for higher profits companies in heavy industry disinvested by more internationalizing and conglomerating. These developments hurt the steel workers especially in Youngstown and the Mon Valley with their almost total dependence on the industry for economic viability.<sup>43</sup>

#### *Volumes 61–74: 1994–2008*

The last fifteen years have been perhaps the most dynamic of all, and I'm not just saying that because I have been the editor for three of them. Truthfully, credit goes primarily to the person who sat behind the editor's desk of *Pennsylvania History's* for the longest, and most productive period in the journal's history, editing 35 issues in nine years from 1994–2002: Bill Pencak. Pencak brought a frenetic energy, a vision for expanding the horizons and the future of the journal, and a keen eye for young scholars on the rise as well as the ability to convince some of the nation's most renowned historians to share their work in the pages of *Pennsylvania History*. During Pencak's tenure, the journal published more articles (252) on a wider variety of topics than in any previous period in its history. Brian Black followed Pencak's lead for seven issues and continued to publish special issues, Mid-Atlantic topics, and comparative history, as did Jean Soderlund, who served for five issues before being called to administrative duties at Lehigh University. I have just done my best to follow the example of the fifteen editors who preceded me.



The most significant change to *Pennsylvania History* in this period was its redefinition as a “Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies” commencing with volume 67 in 1997. With this change of focus, *Pennsylvania History* began to conceive of the colony and commonwealth within broad regional, Atlantic, and trans-Atlantic contexts. Over the last eleven years, thirty-five “Mid-Atlantic” articles have appeared in fifteen separate issues on a wide variety of topics. Three special supplemental issues titled “Explorations in Early American History and Culture” appeared in the late 1990s, the result of a PHA collaboration with the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, and produced about half of these “Mid-Atlantic” articles. As a result, the number of colonial and revolutionary period topics also ballooned in this period, comprising forty-two percent of the journal, but post-Civil War topics garnered forty-six percent as antebellum and Civil War topics have waned. The PHA/MCEAS collaborative supplemental issues led to the MCEAS creation of the semi-annual journal *Early American Studies*.

For *Pennsylvania History*, this has been *the* era of special issues, with no less than twenty, or one out of every three issues, published in the fifteen-year period. Since 2004, the journal has designated the summer issue to be the annual special issue, now edited exclusively by Associate Editor Jeff Davis. And *Pennsylvania History* continues to seek out and publish articles that consider Pennsylvania in broader, Mid-Atlantic contexts. Two recent examples are Monique Bourque, “Populating the Poorhouse: A Reassessment of Poor Relief in the Antebellum Delaware Valley” in volume 70, and Vera Blinn Reber’s 2006 “The Sanatorium Age: Pennsylvania and Argentina.”<sup>44</sup>

This recent period has also witnessed the marked increase in the number of female authors, almost doubling from the previous period from forty-one to seventy-nine, to nearly one in three authors. Not surprisingly, the number of women’s history articles skyrocketed, increasing by a factor of more than five, from five articles in the previous period to twenty-seven, or eleven percent of all articles in the most recent. African-American history has also made tremendous gains, publishing thirty-seven articles, or fifteen percent of the most recent years, nearly eclipsing the total number of black history articles from the previous sixty years. Jean Soderlund produced a valuable special issue “African-Americans in Pennsylvania History” in volume 72. Gains by a factor of between two and four were also recorded in a number of topics: architecture, arts, business and economic, crime,

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TABLE 10. Philip S. Klein *Pennsylvania History* Prize Recipients. The Klein Prize is awarded in odd numbered years for the best article to appear in *Pennsylvania History* for the previous two years.

Year	Volume	Author	Article
1987	Vols. 52–53	Laurence M. Hauptman	"General John S. Bragdon, The Office of Public Works Planning, and the Decision to Build the Pennsylvania Kinzua Dam," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 53 (July 1986): 181–200.
1989	Vols. 54–55	Dennis B. Downey and Raymond M. Hyser	"'A Crooked Death': Coatesville, Pennsylvania, and the Lynching of Zachariah Walker," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 54 (April 1987): 85–102.
1991	Vols. 56–57	Daniel K. Richter	"A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 57 (July 1990): 236–61.
1993	Vols. 58–59	Gerald G. Eggert	"'Two Steps Forward, A Step-and-a-Half Back': Harrisburg's African-American Community in the Nineteenth Century," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 58 (January 1991): 1–36.
1995	Vols. 60–61	Richard Alan Ryerson	"William Penn's Gentry Commonwealth: An Interpretation of the Constitutional History of Early Pennsylvania, 1681–1701," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 61 (October 1994): 393–428.
1997	Vols. 62–63	Philip Jenkins	"'Spy Mad'? Investigating Subversion in Pennsylvania, 1917–1918," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 63 (Spring 1996): 204–31.
1999	Vols. 64–65	Eric Ledell Smith	"The End of Black Voting Rights in Pennsylvania: African-Americans and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837–38," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 65 (Summer 1998): 279–99.
2001	Vols. 66–67	Jane T. Merritt	"Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 67 (Autumn 2000): 502–31.

(Continued)

# A MATTER OF CONSEQUENCE AND INTEREST TO ALL

TABLE 10. Philip S. Klein *Pennsylvania History* Prize Recipients (Continued)

Year	Volume	Author	Article
2003	Vols. 68–69	Hermann Wellenreuther	“White Eyes and the Delawares’ Vision of an Indian State,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 68 (Spring 2001): 139–61.
2005	Vols. 70–71	John Thomas McGuire	“Two Feminist Visions: Social Justice Feminism and Equal Rights, 1899–1940,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 71 (Autumn 2004): 445–78.
2007	Vols. 72–73	Daniel Barr	“A Road for Warriors: The Western Delawares and the Seven Years War,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 73 (Winter 2006): 1–36.

TABLE 11. Robert G. Crist *Pennsylvania History* Prize Recipients. The Crist Prize is awarded in odd numbered years for the best article by a graduate student to appear in *Pennsylvania History* for the previous two years.

Year	Volume	Author	Article
1997	Vols. 62–63	Jim Weeks	“A New Race of Farmers: The Labor Rule, the Farmers’ High School, and the Origins of The Pennsylvania State University,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 62 (Winter 1995): 5–30.
1999	Vols. 64–65	Jill E. Cooper	“Keeping the Girls on the Line: The Medical Department and Women Workers at AT&T, 1913–1940,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 64 (Autumn 1997): 490–508.
2001	Vols. 66–67	Paul Sabin	“‘A Dive into Nature’s Grab-bag’: Nature, Gender and Capitalism in the Early Pennsylvania Oil Industry,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 66 (Autumn 1999): 472–505.
2003	Vols. 68–69	Elizabeth Lewis Pardoe	“Poor Children and Enlightened Citizens: Lutheran Education in America,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 68 (Spring 2001): 162–201.
2005	Vols. 70–71	Daniel Sidorick	“The ‘Girl Army’: The Philadelphia Shirtwaist Strike of 1909–1910,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 71 (Summer 2004): 323–69.
2006	Vols. 72–73	Christopher M. Osborne	“Invisible Hands: Slaves, Bound Laborers, and the Development of Western Pennsylvania,” <i>Pennsylvania History</i> 72 (Winter 2005): 77–99.

environment, ethnicity, Indians, literature, military, media, and religion. Several new fields of study surfaced in this era as well: Atlantic history, alcohol, comparative history, children, film history, gender and race studies. Perhaps spurring this activity, but certainly rewarding it, have been two prizes given biennially by the Pennsylvania Historical Association for the best article to appear in the journal, and the best article by a graduate student, listed in Tables 10 and 11.

### Volume 76 and Beyond

I have long been a believer in Thomas Jefferson's maxim that "The earth belongs in usufruct to the living," so I am in no way laying down any prescriptions for the long range future of *Pennsylvania History*, but there are a few things I can see from this survey that deserve our attention as we set off toward our sesquicentennial. First, there old habits with which we might do well to reacquaint ourselves. In volume 75 you might have noticed the return of two items from our past, a direct address from the PHA President, Charles Cashdollar, and a summary of the 2007 Annual Meeting in State College offered by Ken Wolensky. Charles, Ken, Jeff Davis, the Editorial Board and I decided to resuscitate these features after pouring through back issues, when, we realized, there seemed to be a greater sense of community among the members of the PHA. Second, in a similar vein, we have begun to rebuild connections with the public history community, by publishing roundtables on historic preservation in the Autumn 2007 and Winter 2008 issues. In the future, personnel from the Pennsylvania Federation of Museums and Historic Organizations, the State Archives, and the PHMC will be asked to contribute regular features on exhibits, sources, and issues relating to public history. Third, considering the PHA's collaboration with WITF's Teaching American History funded Web project ExplorePaHistory.com, it stands to reason that the journal should make greater efforts to reach out to the hundreds of secondary educators teaching Pennsylvania History throughout the commonwealth.

Last, concerning scholarship in the journal, there is a striking lack of early to mid-nineteenth-century topics. The coming Civil War Sesquicentennial may help some, but there is also a dearth of antebellum scholarship, though as noted above recent issues in the last five years have shown some promise. And then there are fields and topics absent or nearly absent from the journal that require

attention: gay, lesbian, and transgendered history, state government surveillance, the Three Mile Island incident, the MOVE bombing, deindustrialization in the anthracite/bituminous coal fields, recent immigration, Hispanics in Pennsylvania, the demographic shift in recent Pennsylvania and its political, social, and economic consequences, are just a few. Editors can only do so much to address holes or inconsistencies in content. We can travel to conferences, check out programs on-line, and solicit submissions from graduate students with "Dissertations in Progress," and we do all of that, but the responsibility for the shape and character of the journal ultimately lies with you, the reader, and your willingness to start new research projects, to put fingertips to keyboards, and then to submit your work for consideration of publication in your journal. Therefore, the present and the future of *Pennsylvania History* belongs to you.

## NOTES

1. The author wishes to thank Linda Ries of the Pennsylvania State Archives who sacrificed a Saturday morning, venturing out into the cold December snow to meet him in Harrisburg to grant him access to the Pennsylvania Historical Association records for use in this essay and for other materials appearing in this anniversary issue. Thanks as well are extended to former editors of the journal who corresponded with the author providing ideas and advice: Jean Soderlund, Brian Black, Bill Pencak, Mike Birkner, Francis Bremer, and Bill Shade. Former Pennsylvania Historical Association Presidents John Frantz, Randall Miller, Dennis Downey, and current President Charles Cashdollar and Associate Editor Jeff Davis also provided sage counsel. Joseph P. Heffley, Bethany M. Winters, and Valerie Lauffer read and offered valuable comment on earlier drafts. Editorial Assistants Valerie Lauffer and Roger Thrash, as usual, contributed hours of hard work for insulting pay and they cannot be thanked enough.
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3. Review of Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: WW Norton & Co., 1984) by William A. Hunter in *Pennsylvania History* 52 (April 1985): 119-20.
4. Jennings, "Incident at Tulpehocken," 354-55.
5. A. Boyd Hamilton, "A Word from the President," *Pennsylvania History* 1 (January 1934): 1.
6. Peter Levine, "Fries Rebellion: Social Violence and the Politics of the New Nation," *Pennsylvania History* 40 (July 1973): 241-59.
7. Paul Douglas Newman, "'Goodwill to All Men...from the King on the throne to the beggar on the dunghill': William Penn, Roman Catholics, and Religious Toleration," *Pennsylvania History* 61 (Autumn 1994): 457-79.
8. Gordon S. Wood, "The Significance of the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* 8 (Spring 1988): 1-20, quote on p. 1.

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9. Christopher M. Osborne, "Invisible Hands: Slaves, Bound Laborers, and the Development of Western Pennsylvania, 1780-1820," *Pennsylvania History* 72 (Winter 2005): 71-99.
10. William A. Blair and William A. Pencak, *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001).
11. Lewis Edwin Theiss, "The 'Last Raft' As It Appeared to a Contemporary," *Pennsylvania History* 19 (October 1952): 365-95.
12. Hamilton, "Word from the President," 1.
13. Paul W. Gates, "Research Projects in Pennsylvania History," *Pennsylvania History* 1 (January 1934): 15-27.
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15. Gates, "Research Projects," 27.
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17. Judith Anderson, "Anna Dickinson, Anti-Slavery Radical," *Pennsylvania History* 3 (July 1936): 149-63; Paul A. W. Wallace, "Conrad Weiser and the Delawares," *Pennsylvania History* 4 (July 1937): 139-52; Lawrence Henry Gipson, "Some Reflections Upon the American Revolution," *Pennsylvania History* 9 (January 1942): 3-21.
18. Anderson, "Anna Dickinson," 150-51.
19. Wallace, "Conrad Weiser and the Delawares," 146.
20. Gipson, "Some Reflections," 3.
21. S. K. Stevens, "Pennsylvania's First Year in World War II," *Pennsylvania History* 10 (April 1943): 94-104; "The Pennsylvania War-History Program," *Pennsylvania History* 11 (January 1944): 36-42; "The Impact of the War on the Pennsylvania Economy," *Pennsylvania History* 11 (April 1944): 118-27.
22. Stevens, "The Pennsylvania War-History Program," 36, 42.
23. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca Indians, 1798-1800, Part One" *Pennsylvania History* 19 (July 1952): 117-47, "Jackson's Journal, Part Two," *Pennsylvania History* 19 (October 1952): 325-49; "Origins of Iroquois Neutrality: The Grand Settlement of 1701," *Pennsylvania History* 24 (July 1957): 223-35; *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949); *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Vintage, 1969).
24. Edwin B. Bronner, "The Failure of the Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 21 (April 1954): 93-108, quote on p. 108.
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28. Thomas C. Cochran, "The Organization Man in Historical Perspective," *Pennsylvania History* 25 (January 1958): 9-24; quote is from p. 9.
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33. Foner, "Caroline Hollingsworth Pemberton," 241-42.
34. Foner, "Caroline Hollingsworth Pemberton, 250-51.
35. Bodnar, "Socialization and Adaptation," 162.
36. T. H. Breen, "Back to Sweat and Toil: Suggestions for the Study of Agricultural Work," *Pennsylvania History* 49 (October 1982): 241-58; Dan Richter, "A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History," *Pennsylvania History* 57 (July 1990): 236-61; Patricia Bonomi, "'Watchful Against the Sects': Religious Renewal in Pennsylvania's German Congregations, 1720-1750," *Pennsylvania History* 50 (October 1983): 273-83; Sally Schwartz, "William Penn and Toleration: Foundations of Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 50 (October 1983): 284-312; Irwin Marcus, "The De-Industrialization of America: Homestead, A Case Study, 1959-1984," *Pennsylvania History* 52 (July 1985): 162-82.
37. T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972); James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Preindustrial America," *William & Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 35 (January 1978): 3-32.
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42. Marcus, "The Deindustrialization of America, 173-74.
43. Marcus, "Deindustrialization of America," 162.
44. Monique Bourque, "Populating the Poorhouse: A Reassessment of Poor Relief in the Antebellum Delaware Valley" *Pennsylvania History* 70 (Autumn 2003): 398-432, and Vera Blinn Reber, 2006 "The Sanatorium Age: Pennsylvania and Argentina," *Pennsylvania History* 73 (Autumn 2006): 412-45.