

PENNSYLVANIA'S HISTORIOGRAPHICAL
HERITAGE, 1933-2008: FROM THE FIRST
PENNSYLVANIANS TO THE
MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

William Pencak
Penn State University

To begin with my best Warren Harding imitation: this is not the time for recrimination nor regurgitation, for neither cacophany nor circumlocution, but rather for bibliographic bloviation. My thesis is quite simple: Pennsylvania history was at the forefront of early American historical studies in 1934 when the eponymous journal was founded, and has remained so ever since. Impressions to the contrary derive from an overemphasis on intellectual history in which scholars of New England and Puritanism clearly have precedence given the accomplishments of that region. But when it comes to the history of religious and ethnic diversity, Native Americans, economic development, urban history, the frontier and the American Revolution, and even community studies, the unmatched diversity of early Pennsylvania is ably represented by its historians. If I had the time or energy to write a second article of comparable length, it would be easy to show that studies of Pennsylvania's role in the Civil War, coal, steel, and oil industries, industrial leaders, workers and strikes,

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environmental history, immigrant communities, and deindustrialization would also be among the most important in the field of United States history.

It says something about the confidence of Pennsylvania's historians that they would launch a second state journal and first state-wide historical association in the depths of the nation's greatest economic depression. If the state's seemingly infinite natural resources were finally running out, its passion for history had only begun to be tapped. We may start with two of the principal founders of the Pennsylvania Historical Association: Roy Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania and Lawrence Henry Gipson of Lehigh. Nichols was his generation's leading expert on the national Democratic party in the decade before the Civil War, but his students and other scholars produced the most detailed and useful series of any state's political history from the mid-eighteenth century to the end of Reconstruction. Most of these volumes were published by the State Historical and Museum Commission in one of that organization's many essential contributions to the state's history. Published by the Historical and Museum Commission are Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776* (PHMC 1953); Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790* (PHMC 1942); Harry M. Tinkcom, *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1801* (PHMC 1950); Sanford B. Higginbotham, *The Keystone in the Democratic Arch: Pennsylvania Politics, 1800-1816* (PHMC 1952); Charles M. Snyder, *The Jacksonian Heritage, Pennsylvania Politics, 1833-1848* (PHMC 1958); John F. Coleman, *The Disruption of the Pennsylvania Democracy, 1848-1860* (PHMC 1975); and Frank B. Evans, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1872-1877: A Study in Political Leadership* (PHMC 1966). Completing the series are Philip S. Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics: A Game Without Rules, 1816-1832* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1940) and Erwin S. Bradley, *The Triumph of Militant Republicanism: A Study of Pennsylvania and Presidential Politics, 1860-1872* (Penn 1964). Gipson never wrote a book on Pennsylvania, but it would not be hard to cull two or three substantial volumes on the province from his fifteen-volume *British Empire before the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1956-1970).

While Gipson the "imperial historian" maintained that Britain tried to show how North American colonies had revolted against a benevolent empire, early twentieth-century Progressive history, the idea that conflict of the upper class against the middle and lower, also made sense in the tempestuous history of Pennsylvania in the revolutionary era. Scholars still

use the extensively researched works of Charles H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760–1776* (Penn 1901), J. Paul Selsam, *The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776: A Study in Revolutionary Democracy* (Penn 1936), and Elisha P. Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle of Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule During the American Revolution* (UNC 1955), nearly half of which deals with Pennsylvania.

Between the late 1930s and early 1960s, work on early Pennsylvania stood out prominently. Carl Bridenbaugh, wrote *Rebels and Gentleman: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (Oxford 1942) which like his other works, while primarily descriptive, was beautifully written and based on huge quantities of archival work. Worthy supplements were written by Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682–1763* (UNC 1948) and James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957) and Sydney V. James, *A People Among Peoples—Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Harvard 1963). Quaker history, already one of the most developed fields for Pennsylvania in the early twentieth Century, has continued to attract scholars.

Modern studies of Quaker ideals in practice include J. William Frost, *A Perfect Freedom: Religious Liberty in Pennsylvania* (PSU 1993); Sally Schwartz, “A Mixed Multitude”: *The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), Emma J. Lapsansky-Werner, *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption* (Penn 2003), Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Transatlantic Quaker Culture* (University of Virginia Press, 2004), Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton 1985), Karen Guenther, “Rememb’ring our Time and Work is the Lords: The Experiences of Quakers on the Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania Frontier (Sus 2005).” Evan Haefeli, “The Creation of American Religious Pluralism: Churches, Colonialism, and Conquest in the Mid-Atlantic, 1628–1688” (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 2000).

Accompanying a huge increase in the number of Ph.D.s and a national crisis that spurred interest in the histories of African-Americans, women, ethnic minorities, and the working class, Pennsylvania historical studies expanded dramatically in the mid-1960s. If Pennsylvania produced few studies in these areas previously, outside of those dealing with Native Americans, neither had the profession in general.

In keeping with the state’s national historical importance, Pennsylvania has been in the forefront of scholarly trends in several areas. Colonial politics

is now extremely well covered by Joseph E. Illick, *William Penn, the Politician: His Relations with the English Government* (Cornell 1965); Irma Corcoran, *Thomas Holme, 1624–1695: Surveyor General of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992); Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics; Pennsylvania, 1681–1726* (Princeton 1968); J. William Frost, *The Keithian Controversy in Early Pennsylvania* (Norwood Editions, 1980); Alan Tully, *William Penn's Legacy: Politics and Social Structure in Provincial Pennsylvania, 1726–1755* (JHU 1977); two articles by Hermann Wellenreuther, "The Political Dilemma of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, 1681–1748," (PMHB 94, 1970): 135–72, and "The Quest for Harmony in a Turbulent World: The Principle of 'Love and Unity' in Colonial Pennsylvania Politics," (PMHB 107, 1983): 537–76; James H. Hutson, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1746–1770: The Movement for Royal Government and Its Consequences* (Princeton 1972); Alison Duncan Hirsch, "Instructions from a Woman: Hannah Penn and the Pennsylvania Proprietorship" (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1991); Lorette Treese, *The Storm Gathering: The Penn Family and the American Revolution* (PSU 1992). See also the special issue of *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 61 (1994) on William Penn, with articles by Richard Ryerson on Penn's numerous constitutions and Paul Douglas Newman's reassessment of Penn's notion of toleration. Special mention must be made of Craig W. Horle et al., eds. *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary* (Penn 3 vols to date: 1991–), covering the years 1682 to 1776. and including essays of up to fifty small-spaced double-column pages on leading representatives along with beautiful charts and tables, and first-class analyses.

A host of first-class books deal with Native Americans. Archaeologists Jay E. Custer, *Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania* (PHMC 1996) and Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians* (PHMC 1993) are the standard works for the pre-contact period. The leading authorities on the colonists' relations with the Indians are Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (UNC 1992) and James Merrell *Into the American Woods* (Norton 1999). They have jointly edited *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800* (Syracuse 1987). Richter's *Native Americans' Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg; Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2005) brings the Indian experience into the twentieth century. Still valuable is Paul A.W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (PHMC 1961—updated by William Hunter, 2000) and his *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (PHMC 1965). Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763*

(UNC 2003) deals with women as cross-cultural mediators. The late Francis Jennings used the information in his dissertation, "Miquon's Passing: Indian-European Relations in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1674 to 1755" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1965) for many subsequent books and articles in which he defended the Pennsylvania Quakers and condemned nearly everyone else for their mistreatment of the Indians. Alden T. Vaughan heads the opposite school which sees a mixed record and argues white racism came only late in the colonial period beginning with the French and Indian War in *Roots of American Racism: Essays on the Colonial Experience* (Oxford, 1997).

Biographies of Native American leaders and colonial mediators in Pennsylvania form a very rich body of scholarship: Paul A.W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Penn 1945) and Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Penn 1949) are standard older works. Moravian missionary David Zeisberger not only enjoys a two-volume biography by Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* and *David Zeisberger: A Life Among the Indians* (Kent 1991 and 1997) but a translated edition of his observations during the revolutionary era, Hermann Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel eds., *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1772–1781* (PSU 2005); Paul A. W. Wallace edited the other major Pennsylvania missionary diary, *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder: The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America* (Pitt 1925), although minister Philip Vickers Fithian's *Journal, 1775–1776*, ed. Robert Greenhalgh Albion and Leonidas Dodson (Princeton 1934) deals in part with the Pennsylvania frontier. Other leading biographies include Thomas S. Abler, *Cornplanter: Chief Warrior of the Allegany Senecas* (Syracuse 2007), Hermann Wellenreuther, "White Eyes and the Delawares' Vision of an Indian State," (PaHist 68, 2001): 139–61, and Alison Duncan Hirsch, "'The Celebrated Madame Montour': 'Interpretest' Across Early American Frontiers," *Explorations in Early American Culture*, 4 (2000): 81–112.

The Pennsylvania frontier has become one of the most popular areas in all of early American studies in recent years, much as Puritans studies were from the 1930s to the 1960s: essays by a dozen scholars (mostly young) have appeared in William Pencak and Daniel Richter, eds., *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods* (PSU 2004). Several of them have since published important books: Paul Moyer, *Wild Yankees: The Struggle for Independence Along Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Frontier* (Cornell 2007); Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Penn 2007); Gregory T. Knouff, *The Soldiers' Revolution: Pennsylvanians in Arms and the Forging of Early*

American Identity (PSU 2004); Steven Harper, *Promised Land: Penn's Holy Experiment, the Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of the Delawares, 1600-1763* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2006). A revised version of a dissertation by David Preston "The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Iroquoian Borderlands, 1720-1780," (Ph.D. thesis, College of William and Mary, 2004) will appear soon.

Recent books on the French and Indian War that stress Pennsylvania include Daniel P. Barr, ed., *The Boundaries Between Us: Natives and Newcomers Along the Frontiers of the Old Northwestern Territory, 1750-1850* (Kent 2006), Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765* (Pitt 2003), Michael N. McConnell, *Army and Empire: British Soldiers on the American Frontier, 1758-1775* (University of Nebraska Press, 2004). See also the special issue of *Pennsylvania History*, 62 (1995). R. Scott Stephenson, *Clash of Empires: The British, French, and Indian Wars* (Pittsburgh: Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 2005) is the catalogue of a museum exhibit focusing on Pennsylvania. Mark Stern's (a piano tuner turned historian!) soon-to-be-published biography of David Franks is the best account extant of Pennsylvania military contracting during the French and Indian War (as well as the supply of prisoners of war during the Revolution). Two fine books deal with recently-arrived Scots-Irish immigrants whose clashes with the Indians were primarily responsible for ending Pennsylvania's seven decades of peace: Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton 2001) and Mark G. Spencer and David A. Wilson, eds., *Ulster Presbyterians in the Atlantic World: Religion, Politics, and Identity* (Four Courts Press, 2006). A study of the war in Pennsylvania in its long-term context is Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800* (Cambridge 1997).

There are three fine histories of Pontiac's War (a.k.a. Conspiracy or Rebellion), much of which was fought in western Pennsylvania: Gregory Evans Dowd, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire* (JHU 2002), William R. Nester "Haughty Conquerors": *Amberst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763* (New York: Praeger 2000), and David Dixon, *Never Come To Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005).

For the colonial period, historians know well the "New England town studies" based on the French Annales school that set the American historical world on its ear in the late sixties and seventies. However, the work of

James T. Lemon, *"The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania"* (JHU 1972) appeared almost simultaneously. Other works in this vein include Jerome H. Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1790* (PHMC 1969) and Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683–1800* (Princeton 1976). George Franz, *Paxton, A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry* and Rodger C. Henderson, *Community Development and the Revolutionary Transition in Eighteenth-Century Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (both New York: Garland Press, 1989) reprinted revised dissertations completed in 1974 and 1982, respectively. Michael Zuckerman, ed. *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982) consists of essays based on several dissertations.

Work on Chester County is especially good thanks to the splendidly organized Chester County Archives. Lucy Simler made the best use of them in a series of articles: "She Came to Work: The Female Labor Force in Chester County, 1750–1820," *Early American Studies*, 5 (2007), 427–53, published posthumously; "The Landless Worker: An Index of Economic and Social Change in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1750–1820," (PMHB 114, 1990): 163–99; "Tenancy in Colonial Pennsylvania: The Case of Chester County," (WMQ 43, 1986): 542–69; "The Township: The Community of the Rural Pennsylvanian," (PMHB 106, 1982): 41–68, and (with Paul E. Clemens), "The Best Poor Man's Country in 1783: The Population Structure of Rural Society in Late-Eighteenth Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, (133, 1989): 234–61. Mary Schweitzer, *Custom and Contract: Household, Government, and the Economy in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987) is a fine overview of the relationship of farmers and artisans to the wider economy.

The poor are dealt with in several volumes as well. Sharon V. Salinger, *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800* (Cambridge 1987) demonstrates how servants changed from permanent employees lodged with families to a more mobile individualized labor force during the late eighteenth century. Bruce Laurie, *The Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1950* (Temple 1980) takes the story down another half century. Excellent case studies appear in Simon Newman, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Penn 2003).

John K. Alexander, *"Render Them Submissive": Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760–1800* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), demonstrates social control took precedence over philanthropy. Five of the eleven essays in Billy G. Smith and Jean R. Soderlund, eds., *Down and Out in Early America* (PSU 2004) concern Pennsylvania. Jack D. Marietta and G. S. Rowe's *Troubled Experiment: Crime and Justice in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800* (Penn 2006) is a monumental survey of all crimes in the Commonwealth for which records survive, and proves that Pennsylvania had a very high crime rate (compared even to London) mostly committed by poor people found on no other records.

The story of New Sweden, which endured from 1638 to 1655 as a Swedish colony before being taken over by the Dutch then the English in 1664, is well told by C. A. Weslager in *New Sweden on the Delaware: 1638–1655* (Mid-Atlantic Press, 1988) and Carol E. Hoffecker, *New Sweden in America* (Del 1995). A good recent comparative study by Gunlög Maria Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins: Cultural Encounters in New Sweden and Lapland* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) stresses (as does Lehmann's study of the Germans mentioned below) that more migration occurred eastward, out of Sweden and Germany, than westward in the early modern world.

Pennsylvania German studies are a whole academic industry, supported by the Pennsylvania German Society that publishes a Yearbook. The Max Kade Institute at the Pennsylvania State University, directed by A. G. Roeber, publishes books on German Americans with a heavy Pennsylvania emphasis. Roeber, in *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (JHU 1993) reminds us that over ninety percent of all the immigrants to Pennsylvania were Lutheran or Reformed Protestants. Other works on these groups include Charles Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717–1793* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980–81); Marianne Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (PSU 1999); Susan E. Klepp, Farley Grubb, and Anne Pfaelzer de Ortiz, eds., *Souls for Sale: Two German Redemptioners Come to Revolutionary America* (PSU 2006); Hartmut Lehmann et al., eds. *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America* (PSU 2000); Otto Reimherr, ed., *Quest for Faith, Quest for Freedom: Aspects of Pennsylvania's Religious Experience* (Sus 1987), and a notable series of articles by John B. Frantz, "The Religious Development of the Early German Settlers in 'Greater

Pennsylvania': The Shenandoah Valley of Virginia" (PaHist 68, 2001): 66–100, "Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," (PaHist 65, 1998): 21–34, "Early German Methodism in America," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 26 (1991): 171–84, "The Awakening of Religion Among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies," (WMQ 33, 1976): 266–88, and "The Return to Tradition: An Analysis of the New Measure Movement in the German Reformed Church," (PaHist 31, 1964): 311–26. Frantz and Roeber co-edited two issues of *Pennsylvania History* (vol. 68, 2001) on the Pennsylvania Germans.

The leading Lutheran minister in revolutionary America and his family have been especially attractive to historians including Leonard D. Riforgiato, *Missionary of Moderation: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Lutheran Church in English America* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1980); Henry Melchior Muhlenberg—*The Roots of 250 years of Organized Lutheranism in North America: Essays in Memory of Helmut T. Lehmann* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1998), and Paul A.W. Wallace, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania* (Penn 1950).

The Moravians, whose practice of female equality and devotion to missionary activities exceeded all other sects in colonial America, are well-covered by Craig D. Atwood, *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (PSU 2004), Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Penn 1988), Michele Gillespie and Robert Beachy, eds., *German Moravians in the Atlantic World* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007) and Katherine Carté Engel's forthcoming "Of Heaven and Earth: Religion and Economic Activity Among Bethlehem's Moravians" based on her 2003 University of Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis. Aaron Fogleman is the author of *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Penn 1996) and *Jesus is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America Philadelphia* (Penn 2007), a controversial work that explores the Moravians' eroticized version of Christianity. Other German sects are covered by Jeff Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (PSU 2003) and John Hostetler, *Amish Society* (JHU 1963).

Publications on Pennsylvania women and family life is a rich and growing field. Major works include Karin Wulf, *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia* (Cornell 2000), Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America* (PSU 2000), who explains how women were the principal providers of medical care

(Karol Weaver is currently writing on the persistence of midwifery into present-day central Pennsylvania), Virginia K. Bartlett, *Keeping House: Women's Lives in Western Pennsylvania, 1790–1850* (Pitt 1994), Jane T. Merritt, "Cultural Encounters along a Gender Frontier: Mahican, Delaware, and German Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania," (PaHist 67, 2000): 503–32, and Katherine Faull, ed., *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Related Lives, 1750–1820* (Syracuse 1997). Family history is represented by Barry Levy, *Quakers and the American Family: British Settlement in the Delaware Valley* (Oxford 1988) who persuasively argues the Quakers pioneered permissive child-rearing, and J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America: A Portrait of the Society of Friends* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973).

Study of the female literary circles centered in late-eighteenth century Philadelphia, similar to the salons of Paris, is one of the most exciting areas currently being studied in women's history. Frequently, work in this field is published in the form of introductions accompanied by the women's writings. The pioneering book was Carla Mulford's *"Only for the Eye of a Friend": The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986), followed in 2004 by several books: Karin Wulf and Catherine La Courreye Blecki, *Milcah Martha Moore's Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America* (PSU 2004); Anne M. Ousterhout, *The Most Learned Woman in America: A Life of Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson* (PSU 2004); and Susan M. Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cornell 2004). Christine Hücho has written on "Female Writers, Women's Networks, and the Preservation of Culture: The Schwenkfelder Women of the Eighteenth Century," (PaHist 68, 2001): 101–30, while Judith Van Buskirk has examined the diaries and writings of women loyalists in Philadelphia during the American Revolution: "They Didn't Join the Band: Disaffected Women in Revolutionary Philadelphia," (PaHist 62, 1995): 306–29.

Works on Pennsylvania women in the early republic include Susan Branson, *"These Fiery Frenchified Dames": Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia* (Penn 2001), who looks at the influence of women's involvement in the political crisis generated in the United States by the French Revolution. Dianne Ashton's biography *Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004) tells the fascinating story of the nation's first and at the time foremost woman philanthropist. Three superb biographies exist of Pennsylvania women abolitionists: Ira V. Brown, *Mary Grew, Abolitionist and Feminist, 1813–1896*

(Sus 1976), J. Matthew Galman, *America's Joan of Arc: The Life of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson* (Oxford 2006), Jean McMahon Hume, introduction to her edition of *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), and Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Mott* (Walker 1980).

There is, unfortunately, no full-length biography of Rebecca Lukens, the foremost woman industrialist in early America who made Lukens Steel which remained a going concern into the twenty-first century, although Judith Scheffler, "...there was difficulty and danger on every side": *The Family and Business Leadership of Rebecca Lukens* *Pennsylvania History*. Volume 66 Number 3 (Summer 1999): 276–310 goes a long way toward filling the gap. Elaine Forman Crane's edition of *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker* (3 vols. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982–86); Philadelphia Quaker, is the most informative diary yet published of an early American woman; Crane also edited a special issue of *Pennsylvania History* (vol. 68, 2001) of articles where the Drinker diary was the principal source.

Drinker's journal is only one of many outstanding collections of the papers of early Pennsylvanians. The ten-volume *Susquehannab Company Papers* (Wilkes-Barre: Wyoming Historical & Geological Society and Cornell, 1930–1971), edited by Julian P. Boyd and then Robert Taylor (Boyd went on to edit the Thomas Jefferson Papers, and Taylor the Adams Family Papers) are still the best source for studying the Connecticut-Pennsylvania "war" in the late eighteenth century in what became northern Pennsylvania. *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Sylvester Stevens, Louis Waddell, et al., eds., (6 vols. PHMC, 1951–1972) are essential for study of the French and Indian War in the Ohio Valley and military procurement and administration. *The Papers of William Penn*, Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, eds. (5 vols. Penn, 1981–1987) rival those of John Winthrop as the most complete set available for any colonial founder. A by-product was the collection of essays, ed. Mary Maples Dunn, *The World of William Penn* (Penn 1986). E. James Ferguson et al, eds., *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781–1784* (9 vols. to date, Pitt 1973–2005) are as essential for learning about how the American Revolution was financed as those of Washington are for the military aspects of the war. Lyman Butterfield, ed. *Letters of Benjamin Rush* (2 vols. Princeton 1951–1953) and George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush: His "Travels Through Life" Together with His Commonplace Book for 1789–1813* (Princeton 1948) are the best introduction to the thought of this revolutionary

statesman, physician, and social reformer. Lillian B. Miller et al, eds., *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family* (5 vols. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983–2000) offers the most complete series of writings by an American artist. *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, (3 vols. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942–58) are invaluable for learning about the Lutheran Church in revolutionary America.

And then there are *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, Leonard W. Labaree, Barbara Oberg, et al, eds. (Yale 1959–) nearing forty volumes and a half century in 2008, with Franklin's participation in the Constitutional Convention and anti-slavery movement still to come. As a biographical subject, he has attracted some of the finest early American historians including Edmund S. Morgan, *Benjamin Franklin* (Yale 2003) and Gordon S. Wood, *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Penguin 2004) although I consider the best general biographies to be those of Walter Isaacson, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003), Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (Garden City: Garden City Publishing Co., 1938), and Esmond Wright, *Franklin of Philadelphia* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), with the most diverse scholarly collection covering the wide range of Franklin's activities being J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., *Reappraising Benjamin Franklin: A Bicentennial Perspective* (Del 1993). The only edition to read of the famous *Autobiography* is the one discovered by Paul Zall at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California and co-edited with J. A. Leo Lemay. A second edition with an introduction by Morgan was published by Yale in 2004, but scholars will want to consult Zall and Lemay, eds., *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, Criticism* (New York: Norton, 1986). Lemay is writing a seven-volume *Life of Benjamin Franklin* that Penn began publishing in 2006, thereby hoping to top Julian Boyd's five volume study of Thomas Jefferson, Irving Brant's six volumes on James Madison, and James Thomas Flexner's five on George Washington. Particularly interesting studies of aspects of Franklin's life include Ralph Frasca, *Benjamin Franklin's Printing Network: Disseminating Virtue in Early America* (Columbia; University of Missouri Press, 2006); Joyce E. Chaplin, *The First Scientific American: Benjamin Franklin and the Pursuit of Genius* (New York: Basic Books, 2006); David Waldstreicher, *Runaway America: Benjamin Franklin, Slavery, and the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004) and Susan Kalter, *Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania, and the First Nations: The Treaties of 1736–62* (University of Illinois Press, 2005). George

Boudreau is currently working on a history of education (broadly conceived) in eighteenth-century Philadelphia in which Franklin plays a large part: see his three articles "'Highly Valuable and Extensively Useful': Community and Readership Among the Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Middling Sort," (PaHist 1998): 302–29, "Done by a Tradesman: Franklin's Educational Principles and the Culture of Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," (PaHist 69, 2000): 524–53, and "Solving the Mystery of the Junto's Missing Member: John Jones, Shoemaker," (PMHB 131, 2007): 307–17. Perverse but plausible studies include Tom Tucker, *Bolt of Fate: Benjamin Franklin and His Electric Kite Hoax* (Public Affairs 2003) and Cecil B. Currey, *Code Number 72—Ben Franklin: Patriot or Spy?* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1972). Highly recommended to contrast with the Autobiography is Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith, eds., *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, An Indentured Servant* (PSU 1992) who went from riches to rags. In addition, world-renowned soprano Julianne Baird has published *Music in the Life of Benjamin Franklin* with an accompanying CD (Severna Park, Maryland: Colonial Music Institute, 2007).

Franklin played his greatest roles during the American Revolution as patron of Thomas Paine, signer of the Declaration and Constitution, diplomat, and first president of the state of Pennsylvania. The best biography of Paine is Eric Foner's *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (Oxford 1976). While there has been no general history of Pennsylvania's revolution since Brunhouse's, scholarly work abounds on specific aspects of the most radical internal revolution by populist elements against a conservative government. For the origins, see Stephen Lucas, *Portents of Rebellion: Rhetoric and Revolution in Philadelphia, 1765–1776* (Temple 1976), Charles S. Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse 1975), Richard A. Ryerson, *"The Revolution is Now Begun": Radical Committees of Philadelphia, 1765–1776* (Penn 1978); Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Harvard 1979) which has nearly two hundred pages on Philadelphia, and Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) which looks at the transformation of the space around the State House. Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Penn 1984) shows how the Revolution turned many Quakers into fighters, social reformers, and anti-slavery advocates. For other Social and Political conflicts during the Revolution, see Steven Rosswurm, *Arms, Country, and*

Class: The Philadelphia Militia and "Lower Sort" during the American Revolution, 1775–1783 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Wayne K. Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War* (PSU 2002); Francis S. Fox, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Ordeal of the American Revolution in Northampton County, Pennsylvania* (PSU 2000); Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia* (Penn 1999); Terry Bouton, *Taming Democracy: "The People," the Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution* (Oxford 2006); and Owen S. Ireland, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics: Ratifying the Constitution in Pennsylvania* (PSU 1995).

Loyalists are well covered by Anne M. Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1987); Henry J. Young, "The Treatment of the Loyalists in Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1955); John E. Ferling, *The Loyalist Mind: Joseph Galloway and the American Revolution* (PSU 1977); and the special issue, *Pennsylvania Loyalists*, ed. Robert M. Calhoon, vol 62, PaHist 1995; (Penn 1999).

For how people mobilized for the Revolution, what occurred there, and the effects in counties outside Philadelphia, see John B. Frantz and William Pencak, *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland* (PSU 1998) and Pencak, ed., "Pennsylvania's Revolutions" (PSU—forthcoming), a collection of essays on different parts of the state.

Biographies of several important Pennsylvania revolutionaries exist, including revolutionary and early national governors by Kenneth Rossum, *Thomas Mifflin and the Politics of the American Revolution* (UNC 1952); John F. Coleman, *Thomas McKean: Forgotten Leader of the American Revolution* (American Faculty Press, 1975); and G. S. Rowe, *Thomas McKean: The Story of an American Republican* (Colorado Associated University Presses, 1978); Federalist leaders by Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris* (Penn 1954); Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969); Jacob Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic* (UNC 1978); and Robert E. Wright, "Thomas Willing (1731–1821): Philadelphia Financier and Forgotten Founding Father," (PaHist 63, 1996): 525–60. David Paul Nelson treats the state's foremost general, *Anthony Wayne: Soldier of the Early Republic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985). Joseph Foster's portrayal of a leading anti-Federalist, *In Pursuit of Equal Liberty: George Bryan and the Revolution in Pennsylvania* (PSU 1994) is essential for grasping the losers' side of the story.

Economic aspects of the Revolution in Philadelphia are well covered by Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (UNC 1986), Billy G. Smith, *The "Lower Sort": Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750–1800* (Cornell 1990), and Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (Oxford 1993). Peter Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture Along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* (Cornell 1991) and R. Eugene Harper, *The Transformation of Western Pennsylvania, 1770–1800* (Pitt 1991) consider the effects of the Revolution on two backcountry regions. The all-important grain trade is covered by Brooke Hunter in a forthcoming book and the following articles: "Creative Destruction: The Forgotten Legacy of the Hessian Fly," in Cathy Matson, ed., *The Economy of Early America: New Directions* (PSU 2006); "Wheat, War, and the American Economy during the Age of Revolution" (*WMQ* 62, 2005): 505–26, and "Prospect of Independent Americans: The Grain Trade and Economic Development during the 1780s," *Explorations in Early American History* 5 (2001): 260–88.

Pennsylvania ranked first in the nation for political strife in the early republic. Jeffrey A. Davis's "The Democratic-Republican Societies of Pennsylvania, 1793–1796" (Ph.D. thesis, Washington State University, 1996) will in revised form soon be a book about how popular political opposition to the Federalists formed first and developed the most in the nation's capital (from 1790–1800) of Philadelphia. Crowds took their issues to the streets on repeated occasions, as described in Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Temple 1986). The elite formed clubs, which Albrecht Koschnik relates in *"Let a Common Interest Bind us Together": Associations, Partisanship, and Culture in Philadelphia, 1775–1840* (Charlottesville; University of Virginia Press, 2007). Richard B. Rosenfeld, *American Aurora: A Democratic-Republican Returns* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) is a large collection of documents from the newspapers that carried on the controversies of the 1790s.

The Commonwealth was also the scene of two tax revolts against U. S. government levies, dubbed rebellions to discredit them by the Federalists. They occurred in part because Pennsylvanians had not been used to paying state taxes (the state raised most of its money from customs duties and the sale of lands) as will be explained in Anthony M. Joseph's forthcoming book based on his Princeton dissertation, "The Pennsylvania Legislature: 1776–1820" (1999). Two

outstanding books describe these so-called “rebellions”: Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (Oxford 1986); Paul Douglas Newman, *Fries's Rebellion: The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution* (Penn 2005). See also the articles in the special issue of *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 68 (2000) on Fries' Rebellion that cover various aspects of the turbulent 1790s.

The economic development that made Pennsylvania the industrial capital of the nation (New York was number one commercially) has also fascinated scholars. Louis Hartz's *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860* (Harvard 1948) showed the essential role played by government assistance. Diane Lindstrom, *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810–1850* (Columbia 1978), Andrew Shankman, *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism & Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004) and John Majewski, *A House Dividing: Economic Development in Pennsylvania and Virginia Before the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) follow in Hartz's footsteps.

Of specific industries discussed, the most work has been done on textiles: Cynthia J. Shelton, *The Mills of Manayunk: Industrialization and Social Conflict in the Philadelphia Region, 1787–1837* (JHU 1986), Philip Scranton, *Proprietary Capitalism: The Textile Manufacture at Philadelphia, 1800–1885* (Cambridge, 1983) and Adrienne D. Hood, *The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Penn, 2003).

Other book-length studies of industries include Harry C. Silcox, *A Place to Live and Work: The Henry Disston Saw Works and the Tacony Community of Philadelphia* (PSU 1994); James J. Farley, *Making Arms in the Machine Age: Philadelphia's Frankford Arsenal, 1816–1870* (PSU 1994); George Rappaport, *Stability and Trade in Revolutionary Pennsylvania: Banking, Politics, and Social Structure* (PSU 1996); Robert E. Wright, *The First Wall Street: Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and the Birth of American Finance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Donna Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1860* (Penn 2001); Rosalind Remer, *Printers and Men of Capital: Philadelphia's Printers and Publishers in the New Republic* (Penn 1996) and Paul F. Paskoff, *Industrial Evolution: Organization, Structure, and Growth of the Pennsylvania Iron Industry* (JHU 1983). Simon Finger's forthcoming Princeton dissertation focuses on how the Revolution changed the lives of the Delaware River pilots (who struck before what is usually considered the first American

strike, of the Philadelphia typographers in 1786) and the practice of medicine in Philadelphia. The most important studies of the post-revolutionary Irish immigrants who provided much of the labor for this industrial growth are J. Matthew Gallman, *Pennsylvania Receiving Erin's Children: Philadelphia, Liverpool, and the Irish Famine Migration, 1845–1855* (UNC 2000) and Maurice Bric, “Ireland, Irish men, and the Broadening of the Late-Eighteenth Century Philadelphia Polity” (Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1991).

Susan Klepp has single-handedly ensured that the scholarship dealing with the demographic aspects of Philadelphia's growth has been second-to-none. Her books, *Philadelphia in Transition: A Demographic History of the City and its Occupational Groups, 1720–1830* (New York: Garland, 1989) and *The Swift Progress of Population: A Documentary and Bibliographic Study of Philadelphia's Growth, 1642–1859* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1991) are supplemented by two articles, “Revolutionary Bodies: Women and the Fertility Transition in the Mid-Atlantic Region, 1760–1820,” *Journal of American History*, 85 (1998): 910–945, and “The Seasoning of Society: Racial Differences and Mortality in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia,” (WMQ 51, 1994): 473–506.

Three religions, as well as the first African-American churches recognized by major denominations in the United States, became important during the early republic. They are discussed in Dale Light, *Rome and New Republic: Conflict and Compromise in Philadelphia Catholicism Between the Revolution and the Civil War* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1996), Elizabeth Geffen, *Philadelphia Unitarianism, 1796–1861* (Penn 1961), and Dee Andrews *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture* (Princeton 2000). My forthcoming biography of Episcopal Bishop William White discusses how the bishop's rational and ritualistic approach led to the decline of Philadelphia's most popular religion on the eve of the Revolution.

Philadelphia had the nation's first strong, middle class African American community, and scholars have done it full justice. Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Harvard 1988) and Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford, 1991) are the two best overall histories. Ira V. Brown's series of articles on black and women reformers and abolitionists could easily be combined as a book: “An Anti-Slavery Journey: Garrison and Douglass in Pennsylvania, 1847,” (PaHist 67, 2000): 533–51,

"Pennsylvania's Anti-Slavery Pioneers," (PaHist 55, 1988), 59-77; "Pennsylvania: 'Immediate Emancipation,' and the Birth of the American Anti-Slavery Society," (PaHist 54, 1987): 163-78, "'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?': The Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, 1837-1839," (PaHist 50, 1983): 1-19, "The Anti-Slavery Agent: C. C. Burleigh in Pennsylvania, 1836-1837," (PMHB 105, 1981): 66-84, "The Cradle of Feminism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society," (PMHB 102, 1978): 143-66, "Racism and Sexism: The Case of Pennsylvania Hall," *Phylon*, 35 (1976): 126-36, "The Woman's Rights Movement in Pennsylvania, 1848-1873," (PaHist 32, 1965): 153-165, "Miller McKim and Pennsylvania Abolitionism," (PaHist 30, 1963): 56-72 and "William D. Kelley and Radical Reconstruction," (PMHB 85, 1961): 316-329.

Julie Winch is the historian of *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787-1847* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988). She has also written *A Gentleman of Color: The life of James Forten* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Leslie C. Patrick (then Patrick-Stamp), "Ideology and Punishment: The Crime of Being Black (Pennsylvania, 1639-1804)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1986) deals with poor and imprisoned blacks. Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (Oxford 1991) tells how blacks successfully fought slave catchers who invaded this small Lancaster County town. Two recent books explain how the state most accessible to escaped slaves was able to lead them to freedom: William J. Switala, *The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2001), and William C. Kashatus, *Just Across the Line: The Underground Railroad in Chester County* (West Chester: Chester County Historical Society, 2002).

Suffering accompanied Pennsylvania's prosperity. Eight yellow fever epidemic, brought by mosquitoes from Haiti along with refugees in 1793, emptied out much of the city eight times in the summers between then and 1805 and on two occasions killed nearly a tenth of the population. These are described in J. H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793* (New York: Time, 1965); J. Worth Estes, ed., "A Melancholy Scene of Devastation:" *The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (Philadelphia: Science History Publications, 1997); and P. Sean Taylor, "'We Live in the Midst of Death': Yellow Fever, Moral Economy, and Public Health in Philadelphia, 1793-1805" (Ph.D. thesis, Northern Illinois University, 2001).

Philadelphia's growth also led to considerable crime, which is discussed by Roger Lane, *Violent Death in the City: Suicide Accident and Murder in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Harvard 1979); Allen Steinberg, *The Transformation of Criminal Justice, Philadelphia, 1800–1880* (UNC, 1989); Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835* (UNC, 1996); Michael Feldberg, *The Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study of Ethnic Conflict* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975) and several works by Negley Teeters on Philadelphia prisons: *The Prison at Philadelphia, Cherry Hill: The Separate System of Penal Discipline, 1829–1913* (Temple 1957); *They Were in Prison: A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787–1937, Formerly the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1937), and *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: The Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia, 1773–1835* (Philadelphia, n.p. 1955). Prostitutes and the attempt to reform them is discussed by Clare A. Lyons, *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender & Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830* (UNC 2006) and Rodney Hessinger, *Seduced, Abandoned, and Reborn: Visions of Youth in Middle-Class America, 1780–1850* (Penn 2005).

Growth had a psychological as well as an economic downside, on which Ric Caric has written a series of articles “The Man with the Poker Enters the Room’: Delirium Tremens and Popular Culture in Philadelphia, 1828–1850,” (PaHist 74, 2007): 452–491, “‘To Drown the Ills That Discompose the Mind’: Care, Leisure, and Identity Among Philadelphia Artisans and Workers, 1785–1840,” (PaHist 64, 1997): 465–489, “‘To the Convivial Grave and Back’: John Fitch as a Case in Culture Failure, 1785–1792,” (PMHB 126, 2002): 537–589, “From Ordered Buckets to Honored Felons: Fire Companies and Cultural Transformation in Philadelphia, 1785–1850,” (PaHist 72, 2005): 117–158; and “Blustering Brags, Dueling Inventors, and Corn-Square Geniuses: Artisan Leisure in Philadelphia, 1785–1825,” *The American Journal of Semiotics* 12 (1995). 323–341. On the other hand, opportunities for leisure grew for those who did well, Martin C. Scott explains in *Killing Time: Leisure and Culture in Southwestern Pennsylvania, 1800–1850* (Pitt 1995).

The large number of first-class publications on early Pennsylvania history is due in part to an institutional structure. Pennsylvania boasts *Pennsylvania History* and the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, two scholarly state historical journals, an important regional periodical,

Western Pennsylvania History or *Pittsburgh History* to use its two names, and seven university presses (Pennsylvania, Penn State, Pittsburgh, Temple, Lehigh, Bucknell, and Susquehanna). Three Philadelphia-area institutions—the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the American Philosophical Society—host numerous seminars, offer funding for publication projects, and publish the journals *Early American Studies* and the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. Pittsburgh's Western Pennsylvania Historical Society is also very active.

In Harrisburg, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has done more to support history than perhaps any other state in the nation. The staff of the State Historical and Museum Commission includes leading scholars such as Linda Shopes, past President of the American Oral History Association and editor of a special edition of *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 60 (1993) on the subject. Linda Ries ranks among the nation's leading historians of photography, whose special issue of *Pennsylvania History*, vol. 64 (1997), won the Philip M. and Elizabeth Kegan Hamer Award of the Society of American Archivists for, as its website describes it, "the archivist, editor, group of individuals, or institution that has increased public awareness of a specific body of documents through compilation, transcription, exhibition, or public presentation of archives or manuscript materials for educational, instructional, or other public purpose in a given year." Eric Ledell Smith is a leading historian of the state's African-American history. The PHMC awards eight to ten fellowships a year for scholars to use its archives. Former PHMC director Brent Glass, the driving force behind *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*—a new introduction to state history that includes five hundred images and nine sections on how to do history using different techniques—has been "promoted" for his work and is now the Director of the National Museum of American History in Washington, D. C. The State Museum in Harrisburg has recently been refurbished to incorporate the history of minorities, women, and working class people, while the artwork of the adjacent State Capitol offers an aesthetically spectacular introduction to Pennsylvania history. Some county historical societies, too, have fine collections and excellent publications (Westmoreland, Centre, Lycoming, Lancaster and Berks spring immediately to mind on both counts).

Public history is a major industry in Pennsylvania, where tourism ranks second only to agriculture as a producer of economic wealth. The National Park Service maintains a good deal of surviving colonial Philadelphia as part

of Independence National Park; adjacent is the United States Constitution Center, opened on July 4, 2003, funded by concerned citizens who fear that our Constitution needs to be studied by the general public. The PHMC owns fifty-three sites at last count. Additionally, there are private and city museums (notably the Heinz Center in Pittsburgh and the Philadelphia Museum of Art) that feature large sections devoted to Pennsylvania's history. Several of these rank among the best places in the nation to experience a major aspect of a bygone era. Those seeking to learn about the early history of American railroads head for the Altoona Railroaders Museum, early iron manufacturing to Hopewell Village or Curtin Furnace, the early auto industry (centered in Pennsylvania before it left for Michigan) to Boyertown, and the buggy industry to Mifflinburg. The greatest collection of industrial art in the United States, if not the world, remains the secret of the Steidle Museum at Penn State, which only has space to exhibit a dozen or so of over five hundred paintings. Specialized museums abound in the state: mining (Ashland and Eckley Miners' Village—the latter a replica village built for the film "The Molly Maguires"), agricultural (Landis Valley), steel (the former Homestead Works), French and Indian War (Fort Pitt, Bushy Run Battlefield, Fort Necessity), religious (Ephrata, Moravian Bethlehem), and military museums (Boalsburg for all wars, the Frigate Niagara on Lake Erie for the War of 1812). More than anywhere else, authentic early American buildings may be found in Philadelphia and along the Schuylkill River and up Germantown Avenue to Chestnut Hill. (Many of these are open to the public.)

Pennsylvania can also boast five outstanding public history publications and projects. *Pennsylvania Heritage* is the state equivalent of *American Heritage*, and reaches over 15,000 subscribers. Illustrated guides of up to fifty pages to the PHMC's historical sites are written by first-rate historians. Some of these, and other scholars, offer talks to groups throughout the state through the Pennsylvania Humanities Council. Arcadia Publishing's pictorial histories of communities and neighborhoods has many Pennsylvania entries. For the computer literate, there is the web project explorepahistory.com. It uses the thousand or so state highway markers as a base for treatments of the markers according to topics including sports, jazz, politics, the Civil War, the American Revolution, art, William Penn, the new nation, coal, and steel with other topics still being written.

Pennsylvania's history has thus been in the forefront of academic scholarship and public history for the past three-quarters of a century. In 2008, new natural gas reserves have been found under its surface: could Pennsylvania be poised for yet another era of economic greatness? If so, will it get it right this time and combine the best of the commonwealth's exploitative nineteenth century industrial heritage with those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where "the Best Poor Man's Country" was at the forefront of the world's struggles for religious freedom and political justice? Future historians will judge.

Abbreviations

Cambridge—New York, Cambridge University Press
 Columbia—New York, Columbia University Press
 Cornell—Ithaca, Cornell University Press
 Del—Newark, University of Delaware Press
 Harvard—Cambridge, Harvard University Press
 JHU—Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press
 Kent—Kent State University Press
 Lehigh—Bethlehem, Lehigh University Press
 Oxford—New York, Oxford University Press
 PaHist—Pennsylvania History (journal)
 Penn—Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press
 PMHB—Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
 PHMC—Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
 Pitt—Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press
 Princeton—Princeton University Press
 PSU—University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press
 Sus—Selinsgrove, Susquehanna University Press
 Syracuse—Syracuse University Press
 Temple—Philadelphia, Temple University Press
 UNC—Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press
 WMQ—William and Mary Quarterly
 Yale—New Haven, Yale University Press

(All publications followed by date—other presses have full citations.)