

## THE 1969 RESEARCH CONFERENCE AT MIDDLETOWN AND HARRISBURG

BY GAIL M. GIBSON

THE Pennsylvania Historical Association, in cooperation with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, sponsored the fourth annual Research Conference on Pennsylvania history during the weekend of May 2 and 3, 1969. The Friday afternoon session was held at the Capitol Campus of Penn State University in Middletown, and featured a discussion of twentieth-century governors' papers. The meetings on Saturday took place at the William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives Building in Harrisburg; problems and source material in the study of Negro history were examined in the morning, and Pennsylvanians in need of biographical attention were discussed in the afternoon. Dr. William W. Hummel of Albright College served as general chairman of the conference.

Dr. S. K. Stevens, executive director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, presided at Friday afternoon's opening session, "Pennsylvania in the Twentieth Century: Papers of the Governors." Dr. Stevens remarked that interest in recent history had been encouraged by participants in the New Deal, who wrote books of their experiences, and who left recorded memoirs. This caused a modification of the then-prevailing view that history could be written only of events which occurred before 1900, and of people who were no longer living. In accord with this modified viewpoint, the Commission has undertaken a program of collecting recent governors' papers, and papers of other twentieth-century figures as well. The papers of John Phillips, noted conservationist, for example, are among the latest acquisitions of the State Archives.

Harry Whipkey, associate archivist, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, described the papers of John S. Fisher, who served as governor from 1927 to 1931. The collection itself covers the period 1886 to 1940, and is divided into official papers and private papers.

The official papers include records from the various governmental positions held by Governor Fisher. As a state senator, he was chairman of the Capitol Investigating Commission of 1907, and the procedures and reports of this commission, as well as Fisher's own correspondence concerning it, are included in his collection. His papers as Commissioner of Banking, 1919-1922, and his pre-inaugural correspondence of late 1927 are also among these records.

Papers from Fisher's term as governor comprise the largest portion of the official records, as is to be expected. Reports of boards, commissions, and agencies, many of which can be found elsewhere as well, are included here. Nine scrapbook volumes of clippings and miscellaneous items provide an additional view of the governor's term. The governor's appointment books for 1928, 1929, and 1940 give an important daily record of his visitors. In thirty-three boxes of executive correspondence can be found, in addition to routine letters and appointments, explanations of Fisher's political programs and the beliefs which engendered them. Highway improvement, the construction and remodelling of government buildings, and conservation projects are treated in this correspondence. In addition to presenting a view of the organization and intra-party disputes of the Republican Party, the collection illuminates Fisher's personal relationships with such Republican leaders as Gifford Pinchot, Joseph Grundy, and Herbert Hoover. Glimpses of political activity on a national level are provided by the correspondence dealing with William Vare's contested Senate seat, Fisher's support of the Hoover Prosperity Commission of 1929-1930, and the unveiling of the Boies Penrose statue in 1930. This last occasion provided an opportunity for various Republican leaders to present their evaluations of the man and his career.

The private papers of Governor Fisher contain a few items dated earlier than 1902, but the major part of the collection, totaling forty boxes, falls within the time period 1902 to 1940. Fisher's personal correspondence gives information about his family life, his church and community activities, and his interest in improving transportation. Records of his career as a businessman encompass his law practice with the firm of Cunningham and Fisher in Indiana, Pennsylvania, his work as general counsel

for the New York Central Railroad, and his involvement in the banking industry. His political career as chairman of the Republican Committee in Indiana County, as a representative to the Republican Nominating Convention in 1916, and as a long-time member of the state Republican Committee, is also represented in his private papers. His correspondence from 1932 to 1940 provides an interesting glimpse of his low opinion of the Roosevelt New Deal.

Professor Richard Keller, of Millersville State College, next related his experience with Governor George Earle's papers. When he received permission to use the papers, they were being stored on the second floor of a stable on the Earle estate near Philadelphia. Dr. Keller was allowed to take them back to Millersville for study, and when he had finished using them, suggested that they be deposited in a safer place. He received no reply to this suggestion, however.

Three-fourths of the material which Dr. Keller examined consisted of speech and news files, a large portion of which was mimeographed copies of press releases. Campaign material from the Senate race of 1938, but not from other campaigns, was included. Information about Attorney General Margiotti's accusations concerning members of the Earle administration was found, along with some material on the court cases in 1938. Also among the papers were newspaper clippings, printed material about relief and welfare programs, and reports of various commissions. There was very little personal correspondence, which led to the conclusion that the correspondence must either have been stored elsewhere, or perhaps removed from the files entirely. Dr. Keller ended his discussion with a plea for the establishment of an oral history program, so that the impressions of surviving members of the Earle administration could be recorded, thus somewhat alleviating the disadvantages the airplane and the telephone have imposed upon historians.

Donald H. Kent, director of the Bureau of Archives and Manuscripts, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, reported that the Commission was in the process of acquiring the Earle papers. He indicated that the collection was more extensive than that which Dr. Keller had seen, and that possibly a considerable amount of correspondence was included.

George D. Wolf, of the Capitol Campus of Penn State University, discussed the papers of the governors since World War II. He suggested that the nature of Pennsylvania's contemporary politics may have caused its neglect by scholars, but that the material available for its study is certainly substantial. The papers of the governors from Martin through Scranton are stored in the State Archives, and are ready for a scholarly invasion. The recent deaths of Governors Martin and Lawrence should make their papers more accessible. There is a need for both individual studies of the governors, and studies of the issues which run continuously through all their terms.

To date, only two scholars have gained access to the papers of these recent governors. John Ferguson has used Governor Leader's papers, and Dr. Wolf has used Governor Scranton's papers. Governor Fine's papers are unconditionally unavailable until after his death. The papers of Governors Martin and Lawrence should now be in the public domain unless restricted by some time limit. The records of Governor Duff, Leader, and Scranton are available for study under a program of controlled access; any individual wishing to use them must obtain a letter of permission from the respective governor. Dr. Wolf does not believe that such permission would be difficult to obtain, as the governors would be interested in having scholarly examinations of their administrations performed.

Published studies of recent governors have been exceedingly few. Reed Smith's *State Government in Transition: Reforms of the Leader Administration, 1955-1959* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961); Dr. Wolf's "The Scranton Papers," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, v. 51 (1968), 365-376; and Paul Beers' series in the *Harrisburg Patriot News* in 1964 are the only recent studies of governors available.

As preserved in the State Archives, Governor Martin's papers fill 75 cartons, or 150 cubic feet. These are both personal and governor's office papers, and are divided into general files and subject files. Governor Duff's papers are housed in 145 cartons, six file drawers, and nine binders, giving a total of 285 cubic feet. A more detailed index exists for these records and those of subsequent governors; it is divided into files for legislation, press releases, speeches, and boards and commissions. There are

185 cartons, or 370 cubic feet. Press releases from his administration, which are not restricted in use, fill 253 Hollinger boxes, or 126½ cubic feet. Although personal papers have been removed from the Lawrence administration records, there are still 271 cases, or 542 cubic feet, of material, and 18 cartons of records from his career in Washington. The Scranton papers consist of 661 cartons, or 672 cubic feet; an additional 76 cartons of personal material of his Congressional, State Department, and presidential campaign records are being stored at Governor Scranton's home.

Dr. Wolf suggested that research centers for the study of these governor's papers be established at various educational institutions within easy reach of Harrisburg. The potential subjects for such study are limitless and could be directed both at individual administrations and at the comprehensive issues which characterize Pennsylvania history since 1943.

One method of treatment would be to analyze the central concern of each of the governors: Martin as "Wartime Governor"; Duff as a conservationist; Fine in relation to taxation or the reorganization of state government; Leader and mental health programs, or any other of his reforms; Lawrence and highway safety; and Scranton and industrial development.

Other questions waiting to be researched are: What was the role of Pennsylvania in the national political conventions of this period? What functions do members of the governors' staff perform, and how are they accomplished? Who writes a governor's speech, and does the governor then modify it? Special commissions, such as the one on a master plan for education, should be studied. Methods of governmental reorganization, and the history of certain departments deserve attention.

Constitutional revision provides an untouched field closely related to gubernatorial history, and one in which the resource material is not restricted. The papers of the 1967-1968 Constitutional Convention, including records of the officers, committees, and delegates, have been deposited in the State Archives. The records of the Woodside and Scranton commissions on constitutional revision are also available. Indexes for all these papers, as well as those of the governors, have been compiled by the archivists.

The papers of the governors, and of constitutional revision, offer excellent fields for the graduate student or research scholar—fields which have not been thoroughly worked over as so much national history has been. In conjunction with a plea for scholars to avail themselves of these records, Dr. Wolf suggested that the Pennsylvania Historical Association give consideration to establishing, perhaps with the aid of a foundation grant, an annual fellowship to enable a historian to serve as a participatory observer with the governor.

At the Friday evening dinner meeting of the conference, Professor Thomas Cochran, of the University of Pennsylvania, examined the problems of using business records. During the 1940's it seemed that work in business history, and especially company history, would advance rapidly, and would become established as one of the chief movements in American historical studies. That this has not occurred has been the result of the problems posed by the actual business records: adequacy, bulk and storage, and use.

The business historian wants to study the policies of decision-making, but there is very little in most company records to explain such policies. In the nineteenth century, correspondence between field officers and the central office left some record of decision making, but transportation and communication advances in the twentieth century have diminished even these slight references. Minute books give only the barest mention of a decision being made; no details of its background are to be found. Most partnerships do not retain their records at all; in larger companies, the tendency is for records to be lost, often quite unintentionally. Unless there is genuine pressure applied, such papers will not be recovered, as personnel will be honestly unable to locate them. The combination of all these factors almost insures inadequate records, and forces the business historian to use trade journals as the most profitable source of occurrences and rationale in the business world.

Bulk and storage once seemed to present the most difficult problem with regard to business records. The Business Historical Society at Harvard caused general dismay by publishing a handbook of business material to be saved; the manual itself was a

hundred pages long. The National Records Management Council has since revised this listing, and estimates that only 15% of the normal amount of records needs to be retained. Letters, major accounts, audits, scrapbooks, sample payrolls, and contracts should be kept. The elimination of sales records eliminates the largest amount of paper storage. This problem has thus been reasonably well solved, as long as companies themselves are willing to give space to their records. Libraries or other public institutions would not be able to provide the space necessary for the records of more than a few firms, as adequate facilities would require a medium-sized room for each company.

Scholars desiring to use business records often find it difficult to obtain permission from the companies involved. Most firms can now see the value of keeping orderly records, especially if there is a chance that they may some day have to be retrieved, but they are not so convinced of the value of scholarly research to the company. The obvious solution to this difficulty is to encourage the deposit of company records in public societies, which returns one to the problem of storage. What will eventually occur, Professor Cochran believes, is a thinning of essential manuscript material, and the microfilming of the remainder of company records. Perhaps this will encourage comparative studies of business organizations, which will be more useful as a source of generalized information than company histories have tended to be.

J. Walter Fisher, of Morgan State College, served as chairman of the Saturday morning session on "Problems and Source Materials in Negro History." Thomas Cripps, also of Morgan State College, spoke of the four kinds of source material he has found most rewarding in his own research into Negro history. The Library of Congress is the best place to study the Negro in American life, and the Booker T. Washington papers there are essential for any subject after the 1890's.

The source second to the Booker T. Washington Papers is a "white source," but one that is necessary for the calendar it provides. The *New York Times*, due to its conscious effort to be a record, reported incidents in the South and other parts of the country which otherwise would be impossible to find. Its *Index*, of course, facilitates the task of discovering such items. White newspapers are not the best sources for reporting, but they do

provide a necessary base from which searches for more relevant material can be undertaken.

Among Negro newspapers, the Pittsburgh *Courier* is one of the better sources, and there are good runs of it in several depositories, among which is Howard University. Robert Vann, the editor of the *Courier*, left a valuable collection of personal papers which will soon be acquired by Boston University. Poor runs of a Negro newspaper in one town may be complemented by the newspapers of a town some distance away. For example, the Savannah *Tribune*, of which the Library of Congress has a good run, reported a great deal of news about the Philadelphia Negro community.

Related to newspapers are the clipping collections, in which Negroes generally collected everything available about Negro events, simply to preserve a record. The Booker T. Washington collection contains one of the best of these collections for events at the turn of the century; it is organized by topic. One of the largest clipping collections is that made by George Peabody; it is now at the Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. The biographical division is excellent, but the arrangement by subject is too loosely organized to permit easy use without considerable searching. The NAACP papers include a good clipping collection arranged by topic. Clippings collected by twentieth-century figures are usually quite inclusive, reflecting their activities in a wide range of fields.

Archival records provide another source for Negro studies, both of governmental policies and of individual persons. *A Guide to Documents in the National Archives for Negro Studies*, published in 1947, is a partial list of material there, and is available on microfilm with other out-of-print guides to the National Archives. The staff of the National Archives will also perform searches of their collections for material about designated individuals.

W. E. B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, Richard R. Wright's studies and Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, have demonstrated that the public records of Pennsylvania do contain information about Negroes. This is not arranged or indexed in such a way as to permit easy access to the

pertinent records by looking under "Negro" or any other topic, but success may be achieved after some searching.

An intriguing project would be to check state records for examples of the state's being made suddenly aware of the sensitivities of Negroes through an unexpected crisis. The showing of "Birth of a Nation" led to lengthy hearings on movie censorship in the Pennsylvania General Assembly, and its record captures the condition of the Negro world in 1916 and the attitudes of whites toward it.

The best archival sources are in the South, with plantation records providing obvious material. Yet there existed whites who reported conditions of Negro life much more objectively than do the documents of the plantation. Edgar Wilson, the Jackson, Mississippi, correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune*, was one of these sensitive reporters, and his correspondence can be found in the papers of Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and the governors of Mississippi. Figures like Wilson, who noted Negro protests which would otherwise be lost to us, can be found in every Southern archives.

Local persons who achieved national importance, or whose position enabled them to collect material of national importance, can also be studied through archival collections. The papers of Emmett J. Scott, private secretary of Booker T. Washington, assistant to Newton T. Baker during World War I, and treasurer of Howard University, are available at Morgan State College. He kept detailed notes on the all-black Number Four Yard of the Chester shipyard, which was established to see if Negroes could run a shipyard, and if the resources of the black community could somehow be directed toward the war effort. (Willie Lee Rose, in *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, has described an agricultural project with a similar purpose, the results of which were also forgotten.)

The local man may also be studied through his relationship with an institution. Leslie Pinckney Hill, principal and president of Cheyney Institute, was the third man in the "Committee of Twelve" formed to gather the Negro world into an effective block. Hill was often the moderate voice between the radicalism of W. E. B. DuBois and the conservatism of Booker T. Washington. Possibilities for this type of study exist in the NAACP papers at

the Library of Congress, the CORE papers at the Wisconsin State Historical Society, the records of the Maryland Colonization Society at the Maryland Historical Society, the Nathan Marcell collection at Douglass Hospital in Philadelphia, and the Harmon Foundation papers, with material on Marian Anderson, at the Library of Congress.

Some local figures, of course, may be impossible to discover. Papers of the New York jazzman may well be in the Jazz Archives at Tulane. Morris Wright Cuney, a powerful Texas figure, left his papers at Bennett College in North Carolina, where his daughter attended school. Every Negro college has its contribution of personal papers to make.

The final source which Professor Cripps suggested was another "white source": the papers of white politicians or other persons who may have had correspondence with Negroes. At the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are the papers of J. Hampton Moore, Republican leader and president of the Iron and Steel Institute. As party boss of the Negro voter, he received much correspondence from his "constituents," protesting local and national issues. Letters to James S. Clarkson of Iowa, another Republican boss, likewise reflect the reactions of the black community to contemporary issues. Clarkson's papers also document his attempts to make the Republican Party more interested in the welfare of the Negro.

John McDonough, of the manuscript division of the Library of Congress, described the records in the Library's collections which can be used for Negro studies. Since the Library collects in so many fields, its accession policy is of necessity very selective. Papers sought are those of individuals who attained national eminence, or whose position enabled them to collect material of national importance.

Personal papers which contain material of use for Negro studies are those of Arthur Spingarn, president of the NAACP; Booker T. Washington; Carter Woodson, primarily because of the extensive material he collected; Benjamin and Lewis Tappan; Mary Church Terrell, first president of the National Association of Colored Women; and Supreme Court justices Burton, Brennan, Douglas, and Frankfurter for material on the segregation cases of the court.

Records of institutions stored at the Library of Congress are: non-current records of the NAACP, through 1939; the National Urban League; and the American Colonization Society. The NAACP papers have extensive finding aids; the papers of the southern branch of the Urban League are ready for use, and the remaining papers are being processed.

There is much collecting of this type to be undertaken at a state and local level. The national records of the NAACP at the Library are arranged by state, and include eighteen boxes of Pennsylvania material. The actual records of these state branches deserve preservation, as do the papers of individuals involved in the state organizations. Records of the Urban League are also arranged by states in this manner.

A description of the collections at the Library of Congress is to be found in Philip Hamer's *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*. The *National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections*, when completed, will be the chief source to consult to locate manuscripts anywhere in the country. Valuable guides to special collections exist—among them are Irwin Richman's *Guide to the Historical Manuscript Depositories in Pennsylvania*; the guides to the collections at the American Philosophical Society; and the guide to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's resources. The reports of recent accessions submitted to the American Historical Association's *Newsletter*, the *American Archivist*, and the *Journal of the Organization of American Historians* are also valuable finding aids.

Once the researcher has located pertinent collections through these finding guides, and has used the material published about his subject, he is ready to use the manuscript collections. The card catalogue at the Library of Congress will indicate in what collections other than his own the subject may be found, perhaps as a principal correspondent. Collections are described in a register, which serves somewhat as a preface, table of contents, and index might. The scope and content of various series in the collection is set forth. Finally, there is a container-by-container description of the collection. The Library does not have the funds or the staff to prepare complete indexes and calendars for any but the presidential papers. The item index to the Theodore Roosevelt papers, in three volumes, is scheduled for publication in the late summer

or early fall. The item index to the Taft papers will probably fill five volumes when published.

Mr. McDonough commented upon the large number of projects in Negro history being researched at the Library, and produced a random survey taken from registrants whose last name began with "P." Among the approximately eighty names, the following Negro studies were listed: trade in East Africa before 1844; Booker T. Washington and his relationship with the education of certain minority groups at Tuskegee University; the Houston Riots of 1917; the National Urban League; the colonization ideas of James G. Birney; Elizur Wright and slavery; the Negro in Baltimore; the Negro intellectual—Kelly Miller, Charles F. Johnson, *et al.*; school segregation and the Vinson court; the correspondence of William Lloyd Garrison, a publication project; Daniel Drayton; Mary Turrell; debates in the Virginia legislature on abolishing slavery, 1831-32; Harlem 1932; John Brown; Woodrow Wilson and Oswald Garrison Villard in regard to segregation and the federal government; and the NAACP and "Birth of a Nation." Related statistics show the extent to which the papers of the NAACP, the Urban League, and the American Colonization Society are being heavily used.

The problems of using manuscript material to research Negro history are similar to the problems presented by all manuscript collections; there is a great degree of unpredictability. A prominent national figure may have left a second-rate collection. Research in the period when Negro literacy was low is difficult, and forces one to use reports and comments made about the Negro rather than by the Negro. Yet even this can be rewarding, as John S. Bassett proved by using the essentially political papers of James K. Polk. Using the reports sent to Polk by his overseer, he was able to gain remarkable insight into the management of a southern plantation. As Willie Lee Rose shows in her discussion of sources in *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, material can be found if one is imaginative in his search for sources.

Mr. McDonough concluded his remarks by describing the Library's restrictions on use of material. Although such restraints are kept to a minimum, access to certain papers may be gained only with the written permission of the subject's heir. Literary rights to all unpublished letters reside in the heirs unless specifically

dedicated to public use. In most cases, however, material over fifty years old may be used with relative freedom.

A discussion following these presentations revealed other archival sources and projects touching upon Negro history. Harold T. Pinkett of the National Archives staff can direct one to specific areas within the holdings of that institution. Guides to Philadelphia Negro history sources are available through the catalogue of the exhibit presented by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company, and the booklet, *Before The Model City*, published by the Philadelphia Historical Commission. Mrs. Emma Jones Lapsansky, a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, prepared this report which gives a history of the black community and its relationship to north Philadelphia, and includes her working bibliography. The Philadelphia City Archives compiled a list of "Negro Research Materials in Philadelphia" in its February, 1968, *News Letter*. Dr. Maxwell Whiteman is organizing research material, much of it previously unknown, at the Union League in Philadelphia, as reported in his *Pieces of Paper: Gateway to the Past*.

The archives of the Washington march are housed at the Tamiment Institute, Union Square, New York City. Boston University and the Martin Luther King center in Atlanta are both collecting King's papers, although access to the papers is closed at the moment. David Lewis at Morgan State was the last person to see these papers.

Published bibliographies and guides to Negro material are scarce, but the number is gradually increasing. Mrs. Dorothy Porter at Howard University is presently applying her extensive knowledge of sources to the preparation of a bibliography for the Library of Congress. Her *A Working Bibliography on Negro History* has been published by University Microfilms. The Library of Congress Photoduplication Service published a selected list of *Negro Newspapers on Microfilm*, originally compiled by Armistead Pride, in 1933. There is no good index to the newspapers, however. A card index of the *Journal of Negro History* is on file at Howard University.

Thomas Cripps suggested several Negro history projects which could profitably be studied in Pennsylvania and in other states. What happens to the Negro politician when he loses an election?

George H. White, the last of the Reconstruction era Congressmen from North Carolina, and later NAACP legal counsel in Philadelphia, is one of these figures who has been lost, and there are many others. How did the Negro make his living in the various cities of Pennsylvania? Who were the early black capitalists? Did they operate coal and ice businesses in the 1890's, or were they bankers and undertakers? What role have Negroes played in labor history? Studies of the relationship of white unions and Negro strikebreakers, as well as the presence or absence of Negroes in the old-line unions in the steel industry or the Teamsters, are lacking.

We need to discover the lost militants, the persons who demonstrated against Jim Crow streetcar or segregated schools. Paul Worthman has suggested that Negroes who were unable to break into the unions released their frustrations in demonstrations against other segregated institutions. What function did the all-Negro town perform, and what institutional qualities did it possess? A study like William H. and Jane H. Pease, *Black Utopia*, should be done for the post-bellum period. Was the quest for an all-Negro town and the security it represented abandoned?

What degree of rapprochement can be found between blacks and whites? Were there integrationist movements? How many figures like J. C. Napier, a Negro who served on the boards of white banks in Nashville, existed? The essays in Meier and Rutwick, *Making of Black America*, suggest definitions of "black community" which can be applied as case studies to areas of many cities. And, finally, the question of black identity—what it is and who has it—involving the history of psychology and of ideas, is an issue which is familiar to anyone with the slightest awareness of today's news.

Professor Fisher concluded the morning session with the request that anyone interested in presenting a paper at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in October write to him at Morgan State College.

After the Saturday luncheon, Professor Kenneth Hendrickson, Shippensburg State College, chaired a session entitled "Who Needs a Biography?" Dr. Irwin Richman, of the Capitol Campus of Penn State University, examined the need for studies of scientists. Philadelphia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

was one of the nation's centers for medical and scientific research; its depositories are filled with data on scientific projects and men. The Academy of Natural Sciences has published a guide to its collections; among the finest papers are those of Joseph Leidy, a nineteenth-century figure who discovered the cause of trichinosis. There are two guides to the American Philosophical Society, one for its general collections, and one for its Indian material. Almost everyone involved in American scientific history in the nineteenth century is represented in the general resources there. Among the records of the American Swedish Historical Museum are those of John Ericsson, designer of the "Monitor." The College of Physicians, founded in 1786 as the second medical library in the United States, has a Medical School Notes Collection which is invaluable for biographical information. The papers of Samuel Vaughan, Jr., at the Franklin Institute have not been thoroughly studied. At the University of Pennsylvania, the Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection contains manuscripts of many scientists, with emphasis on chemists. The resources of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are well-known, and are listed in the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

Pennsylvania has 110 manuscript depositories outside Philadelphia which offer a surprising wealth of information. At Bucknell University, for example, are the letters of Adam Kuhn, the first professor of *materia medica* at the University of Pennsylvania.

The few scientific figures who have received adequate biographical attention are those who achieved almost international fame. I. Bernard Cohen's work on Benjamin Franklin; Brooke Hindle's *David Rittenhouse*; Carl Binger's *Revolutionary Doctor: Benjamin Rush*; and Whitfield Bell's *John Morgan* are such studies. Emmett Horine's work on Daniel Drake, Jeanette Graustein's book on Thomas Nuttall, and Dr. Richman's volume about Nathaniel Chapman complete the list of scientific and medical biographies.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, scientists and doctors associated with each other more freely than they do today, as exemplified by the Wistar Club of the American Philosophical Society. In keeping with this tradition, Dr. Richman presented a list of prominent, though biographically-neglected, Pennsylvanians

in both these fields. Among his suggestions were: the Bartrams, John and William; Benjamin Smith Barton, a professionalist in natural history; John Redman; Dr. John Kearsley; Dr. William DeWees, one of the first to specialize in obstetrics; Dr. Robley Dunglison, an early pediatrician; Dr. John Eberle; medical journalists Dr. Isaac and Dr. Isaac Minis Hayes; Dr. William E. Horner; Dr. Charles Caldwell; Dr. George McClellan; Dr. James Woodhouse and Robert Hare, who were primarily scientists; the brothers Thomas and Phineas Bond; the nurseryman Humphrey Marshall; Dr. Samuel Evans, who founded the University of Pennsylvania dental school; Dr. Samuel D. Gross, a pioneer in anatomy and the care of wounds; the surgeon Philip Syng Physick; Caspar Wistar; Drs. William Shippen, Sr. and Jr., active in both natural history and medicine; Thomas Godfrey, an instrument maker; Dr. James Mease; and James Cutbush, a professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania who wrote practical manuals as early as 1814.

This list does not exhaust the possible subjects for biographical study in science and medicine. Many of the persons mentioned by Whitfield Bell in his 1955 discussion of "Needs and Opportunities for Study in Early American Science" have not yet been examined. New insights into our past are waiting to be gained through these men, who are often more representative of their communities than those whose life stories have been continually retold.

Dr. David Wallace, of the National Park Service at Harpers Ferry, spoke of Pennsylvania artists whose lives have not been studied. As E. P. Richardson noted in his PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY article about Jacob Eichholtz in 1959, the modesty of the artist as a human being often fails to challenge the historian. Although Pennsylvania has produced quite a number of artists, no one has compiled a history comparable to French's mid-nineteenth-century *Art and Artists in Connecticut*, or the twentieth-century studies of Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Oregon, and Kentucky. A good start on such a project was made by Harold Dickson in 1948, with *A Working Bibliography of Pennsylvania Art*, and his 1955 catalogue from the Penn State Show. *250 Years of Art in Pennsylvania*, published by the Westmoreland County Museum of Art in 1959, is also a valuable guide.

The lack of a complete general history of Pennsylvania art has caused the state to be under-represented in American art history works. It has also made it difficult to verify the tempting generalizations that arise. Is the still life tradition a characteristic of Pennsylvania art? Its practitioners—the Peales, Roesen, Harnett, Peto, Francis, Demuth—seem numerous. Has there been a dearth of sculptors? Has Pennsylvania had more than her share of artistic families? The Peale, Sully, Sartain, Rosenthal, Calder, Moran, and Wyeth families are only a few examples.

Some Pennsylvania artists have already received outstanding biographical treatment, and are not presently in need of further study. Charles Sellers' definitive study of Charles Peale does not need elaboration. Peale's eighteenth-century contemporaries Matthew Pratt and John Valentine Haidt have also been thoroughly studied. Nineteenth-century artists of whom biographies exist are: David Gilmour Blythe, Titian Peale, Thomas Eakins, Mary Cassatt, Russell Smith, William Stanley Haseltine, Martin J. Heade, Edward Hicks, and Lloyd Mifflin. Published works about twentieth-century figures William Glackens, John Sloan, Franklin Watkins, Alexander Calder, and Andrew Wyeth exist. Studies have been written but not published, at least to Dr. Wallace's knowledge, about P. E. DuSimitière (Paul Sifton, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania), Thomas Birch (Doris Creer, University of Delaware, 1958), Thomas Doughty (Howard Doughty, manuscript at the New York Historical Society), and C. B. J. F. deSt. Memin (W. Campbell). Work is in progress on Emanuel Leutze, Jacob Eichholtz, John Neagle, James Peale, Rembrandt Peale, Benjamin West, J. L. Krimmel, James Bowman, and Jacob Cist.

Although this seems quite an extensive list, there are many other Pennsylvania artists whose lives have been neglected. Examples from the eighteenth century are: Gustavus and John Hesselius; John Wollaston; William Williams; James Claypoole; George Rutter; Jeremiah Paul; Robert Edge Pine, an English artist who emigrated to Philadelphia; Edward Savage; David Edwin; and Joseph Wright, the painter and sculptor son of Patience Lovel Wright. The refugees from France and Haiti, although amateurs, often had to support themselves by their art work, and would make an intriguing research project.

Artists from the early and mid-nineteenth-century are: Thomas Sully; Raphaelle Peale, the "black sheep" of the family; Rubens Peale, who managed the museum; the Peale girls; William Rush; Bass Otis; James R. Lambdin and sons; the literary-artistic Leslie family, Charles Robert, Anne, and Eliza; William Russell Birch; Thomas, Edward, and Peter Moran; Thomas Buchanan Reed; James Hamilton, Bayard Taylor, novelist, diplomat, translator, and artist; Thomas U. Walter, who designed the dome of the United States Capitol, the first PSFS building, and several West Chester buildings; the Rosenthal family, Louis, Max, Morris, Simon and Albert; the Sartain family; the Street family; and Stephen J. and J. L. G. Ferris.

There are also neglected figures from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: Thomas P. Anshutz; Charles Demuth; members of the ashcan school Robert Henri, George B. Luks, and Everett Shinn; the illustrators N. C. Wyeth, Maxfield Parrish, Violet Oakley, and Howard Pyle; Edward Redfield; Sterling Calder; and Samuel Murray.

The source material for many Pennsylvania artists can only be found in local depositories. Dr. Wallace compiled a geographical list of many such artists, and suggested that research be undertaken on them immediately. Bethlehem: Arthur Armstrong, Rufus Grider, Gustavus Grunewald, W. C. Reichel. Bucks County: Samuel F. Dubois; Jonathan and William Trego; Dr. Henry Mercer. Carlisle: Thomas S. Officer. Chester County: Wm. M. Swayne; George Cope. Easton: Mary Elizabeth McCartney. Erie: Calista Ingersoll Cara. Greensburg: Alex Fletcher. Harrisburg: J. Augustus Beck; George Storm. Hanover: S. E. Stettinius. Honeybrook: Augustus Neynabor. Lancaster: John Henry Brown; Peter Lehn Grosh; Philippe Peticolas. Marietta: Arthur Armstrong; John Jay Libhart. Mercer: James Bowman; Samuel Bell Waugh. Pittsburgh: Isaac Craig; Emil Foerster; C. A. C. Gengembre and Sophie G. Anderson; Jasper Lawman; Alfred S. and Wm. Coventry Wall; John White Alexander; Johanna K. W. Hailman; George Hetzel; A. Bryan Wall. Reading: G. A. Behne; James A. Benade; F. C. Bischoff; E. Luigi and Gennaro Persico; Hiram Dwight Torrey. Waynesboro: B. F. Reinhart, Washington: George Harrison. Wellsboro: William Bache. Wilkes-

Barre: Jacob Cist. Williamsport: S. Rosen. York. John Fischer; Lewis Miller.

David Bowser, a Negro artist in Philadelphia in the nineteenth century, and Horace Pippin, of Chester County in the twentieth century, deserve study. Similar men may be found in James A. Porter, *Modern Negro Art*, and the New York Graphic Society's *Negro Artists in America*.

Harold Dickson's 1948 *Working Bibliography*, and a master's thesis completed at Penn State about the same time suggest resources for developing the story of a Pennsylvania artist. The *Dictionary of American Artists* gives bibliographical references published prior to 1957. Articles in the journals of local historical societies and of the Pennsylvania history groups can provide insight into an artist's life. County histories may be helpful, if used with care, for the post-1860 period. The Archives of American Art in Detroit comes closest to being a central depository of reference material. The Archives has been actively collecting such material for about ten years, and has encouraged other institutions to microfilm pertinent records for inclusion in the Archives.

Dr. Hugh Cleland, of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, presented the final talk of the afternoon, on labor leaders whose biographies are needed to illuminate both the men and their eras. There are more depositories with material for Pennsylvania labor history outside the state than within it, such as Johns Hopkins University, the Library at the Department of Labor, the Historical Society of Wisconsin, the economics division of the New York Public Library, and Catholic University of America. Schools which have long-established Institutes of Industrial and Labor Relations, such as Cornell, the University of Michigan, and the University of Illinois at Champaign and Urbana, also provide valuable source material. The business records at the Baker Library at Harvard can be used to investigate the management side of labor disputes.

Terence V. Powderly, whose very complete papers are housed at Catholic University, needs to be examined for his role in local and national politics, and for the way in which his career illustrates the dis-utility of strikes in the nineteenth century. James A. Maurer, Populist, twice candidate for governor, and twice candidate for vice-president, served sixteen terms as president of

the state Federation of Labor. What made him so invulnerable? What was the base from which he became so powerful? He may be studied through the Socialist Archives at Duke University, the Tamiment Institute, the Norman Thomas collection at the New York Public Library, and through such newspapers as the Reading *Labor Advocate*, the Pittsburgh *Iron City Socialist*, and the Pittsburgh *Iron City Trades Journal*.

John Kane, a political leader from Allegheny County, served first as a leader of the Pressmen's Union, and later as its president and international organizer for the state of Pennsylvania. This was the base for his political activity, as the leader of a local Labor Party in the 1920's, a key supporter of LaFollette in 1924, and later as a member of the state legislature, Pittsburgh City Council, and county commission. Although there has been no Labor Party in the United States, it is cases like Kane which suggest that the Democratic Party has served America as a labor party might have.

Clinton S. Goldman, from Pottsville, worked in the mines, on the railroads, and as a machinist before serving Gifford Pinchot as labor adviser. President of the Philadelphia Labor College and regional adviser to the NLRB, he also prepared the cases on which the Supreme Court upheld the Wagner Act. In his later years he became regional director and then vice-president of the United Steelworkers. A trustee of Antioch College, a professor at Harvard, and adviser to Truman on the Marshall Plan, he was the author of many books and articles and deserves a thoughtful analysis.

Philip Murray would provide an interesting psychological study, as he spent most of his career in the shadow of John Lewis before breaking with Lewis and going on to become a leader of the mine workers and the CIO. His papers are at Catholic University; the Archives for Steelworkers recently begun at Penn State should be of use for Murray and many others.

James Carey of Philadelphia, long the secretary-treasurer of the CIO, and twice head of the Electrical Workers Union, can be studied through the CIO records at the headquarters of the AFL-CIO in Washington. David J. MacDonald, also a Pennsylvanian, would be a fascinating subject for any biographer.

Professor Cleland suggested several movements in labor history which deserve research by the Pennsylvania historian. An obvious field is the history of nationality organizations and their relation to the labor movement. There are about a dozen of these groups—the Croatian Fraternal Union, the Slovenian National Benefit Society, the Hungarian group now renamed in honor of Benjamin Franklin—which in their early days were purely workers' organizations, formed mainly to guarantee insurance benefits. A secondary function was to provide a training ground for parliamentary procedure, constitution writing, newspaper publishing, and methods of managing an organization. All this experience transferred readily to the labor movement itself. Such projects await one who can solve the language problem, as did Victor Greene for *The Slavic Community on Strike*. The unemployed movement in the 1930's was also a training ground for future labor leaders, and its treatment in relation to today's interest in a "poverty culture" could be enlightening.

What function did the "company union" of the 1920's and 1930's perform? Between the time when the IWW frightened management into creating these unions and the time in the late 1930's when they were absorbed by the labor movement, did they play a demonstrable role in settling grievances and adjusting labor disputes? What can be learned of the settlement houses, like the Kingsley House in Pittsburgh, which later became the headquarters for unemployment organizations? A cultural history of the coal miners, in the style in which David Brody treated the steelworkers, is badly needed.

Questions posed to Dr. Cleland brought out the fact that an excellent study of William Wilson, first Secretary of Labor, was recently completed as a doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University by Clarke Wilhelm, and that a recent biography of John Mitchell has been published by Catholic University. No scholarly biography has yet been done about James Davis.

The Philadelphia Longshoremen's Union of the IWW was predominantly Negro, and elected the only Negro member of the Executive Board for many years. Ernest Rice McKinney was a Pittsburgh organizer of steelworkers in the 1930's who wrote a weekly column for the Pittsburgh *Courier*. His memoirs are in-

cluded in the Columbia Oral History program, and his papers are located at Harvard University.

The undeveloped potential of historical research in Pennsylvania was again demonstrated at the Fourth Research Conference. Students of modern political history, the Negro in American life, and leaders and movements of science, art, and labor can find ample opportunity for research and writing in Pennsylvania history. What generalities can be supported? What assumptions can be challenged? What hypotheses can be tested in Pennsylvania? As more of these studies are undertaken, there can only be an improvement in our viewpoint of American history on a national level.