THE 1971 RESEARCH CONFERENCE AT HARRISBURG: PLANS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE BICENTENNIAL

BY HARRY E. WHIPKEY

IN COOPERATION with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the Research Committee of the Pennsylvania Historical Association conducted the Sixth Annual Research Conference on Pennsylvania History on Friday, April 30, and Saturday, May 1, 1971. Three Harrisburg locations were utilized for the conference's four sessions: the 1769 John Harris Mansion, headquarters of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, was the site of the opening session on Friday afternoon; the Nationwide Inn provided accommodations for the Friday evening dinner meeting; and the Saturday sessions were convened in the Search Room of the Archives Building of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. With emphasis placed on matters pertaining to the up-coming Bicentennial, conferees were informed on plans and publications of county historical societies and on problems, materials, and new research relating to the American Revolution. An address on American folk art and a discussion on the quantitative methods of historical research were also featured. The general chairman of the two-day meeting was Dr. William W. Hummel of the History Department of Albright College. In charge of local arrangements was Dr. Donald H. Kent, a vice-president of the Association and the director of the Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Following a welcome by Chester S. Nagel, president of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, and a response by Dr. Kent, the Friday afternoon session, "County Historical Societies: Bicentennial Plans and Publications," was conducted by Dr. Craig Newton of the History Department of Bloomsburg State College. The first of the four speakers introduced by Dr. Newton was Richard C. Shultz, director of the Historical Society of York.
County and a member of the American Association for State and Local History's Revolutionary War Bicentennial Committee.

The Bicentennial plans of the Historical Society of York County are focused primarily on its public gallery and on a display of documents and related items that will illustrate York's part in the Revolution and in the formation of the government of the United States. Arrangements have already been made with the National Archives for the loan of certain materials which pertain to personalities, circumstances, and activities in York in the 1770's and 1780's. Although a considerable amount of planning remains to be done, the society is optimistic that the project will attract the attention of the general public, will have definite educational significance, and will be judged a valuable contribution to the 1976 celebration.

Relevant publications are also being considered. Tentative plans call for the issuance of at least one pamphlet each year between now and 1976. Currently in manuscript form, the first proposed publication is entitled "York County and the American Revolution." Other suggested titles are "The Courthouse in York County," "Occupations in York County," "A Listing and Description of Eighteenth-Century Churches," and "Journalism in York County as Seen in Local Newspapers." Brief biographies of individuals who were prominent in the county in the late 1700's would be ideal. Intended primarily for the general public, the pamphlets are to be attractive and inexpensive, factual but not in great depth.

Looking ahead to 1976, it would be well for each local society to face up to these questions: What source materials are gathering dust in our buildings? Do we have papers and documents that could be of value to scholars? How can the useful items be ferreted out and used? In York, John W. Heisey, as the director of research, is supervising the often arduous task of determining the society's holdings. A comprehensive understanding of the stored resources should be achieved over the next several years and some kind of bibliography will then be published so that historians will be made aware of the materials and will be motivated to do work in the way of publication.

Represented on the Bicentennial Committee of York, the society intends to assist that body in any way it can. There is
a limit, however, to what it can and should do. If it becomes overly involved in pageants, parades, and similar forms of "hoopla," it could lose sight of its basic responsibility of making the 1976 observance an educational experience to be remembered. The society can best achieve its goal by properly inventorying and publicizing its holdings, by preparing interesting and informative publications, and by devising instructive displays and exhibits.

Shultz, in concluding his remarks, reported that the Revolutionary War Bicentennial Committee of the American Association for State and Local History is presently attempting to prepare a manual that will summarize problems and list instructions for historical societies, local Bicentennial committees, and related groups. This is a difficult, perhaps impossible, task. Since the problems as well as the resources of historical organizations vary a great deal, it seems unlikely that a really valid set of directions on how to prepare for the Bicentennial can be devised. One would suspect, for example, that a society located in one of the original thirteen states would have different types of resources and perhaps different inclinations than would a group located in a Midwestern or Western state. In the final analysis, each historical organization will have to seek out its own best way to commemorate the nation's birth.

Next to speak was John W. W. Loose, editor of the Lancaster County Historical Society and a member of the Bicentennial Commission of Lancaster County. Particularly strong over the past seventy-five years in the field of research and publication, the Lancaster County Historical Society has published approximately eighty articles on the Revolution as it affected Lancaster County. While most of these accounts are of high quality, nearly all of them are of pre-1940 vintage and should at this point be reevaluated.

Most of the articles deal with military subjects. This is not to be regretted. There are still numerous aspects of the military history of the revolutionary period that have not been adequately treated. But historians are presently showing a greater interest in social, political, and economic subjects. Attention is being given to questions such as these: What was the nature of social mobility in Lancaster in the late eighteenth century? What
sort of relationships existed between the various economic classes? Who were some of the important physicians, lawyers, artisans, inventors? What role was played by land speculators? Were all aristocrats of a certain political mind? What were the political views of the small merchants? Why did the Quakers in Lancaster cast their lot with the Scotch-Irish rather than with their Philadelphia brethren? These questions should certainly be examined. They can perhaps be best examined if subjected to those historical demographic methods now being used by those who have wed the art of history to the science of statistics.

Until it gets its "house in order," however, the society will find it difficult to proceed very far in this direction. Like too many other societies, it has been slow to take a truly professional interest in its holdings. This is now being remedied. A determined effort is being made to properly evaluate and to correctly arrange records that have been virtually ignored for as many as seventy-five years. Once the society understands the extent and character of its resources, it will be able to proceed at a more rapid pace in sponsoring research and publications.

The Bicentennial Commission of Lancaster County, recently formed with the wholehearted support of the society, has not yet mapped out a course of action. But given all of the historical connections the county has with the revolutionary period, it expects to do much that is noteworthy between now and 1976. Samuel Dyke, the society's president, is currently serving as the commission's vice-chairman.

Ralph Hazeltine, the third speaker, discussed the plans and publications of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Hazeltine, the society's director, is a member of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the 1970-71 president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.

Over the past several years, the society has been busily involved in uncovering and making public the valuable information that is to be found in its extensive manuscript collections. More specifically, it has adopted a program aimed at getting researchers interested in those areas of its holdings that it wants to know more about. Historians are invited to the society's head-
quarters in Wilkes-Barre to study the collections, to develop scholarly papers, and to prepare lectures for the membership. Presently being sponsored are studies calculated to answer many of those questions that can be asked about the area's role in the Revolution. Questions of interest include: What were the prominent men of the Wyoming Valley region doing during the Revolution? What political ideas were being espoused? What were the prevailing social attitudes? Papers relating to such questions will not only be featured in the society's lecture series but will be considered for publication in the *Proceedings and Collections*.

Volume XXIII of the *Proceedings*, the first to be published since 1938, was issued in February, 1971. It is anticipated that future issues will carry articles that will go a long way in explaining the area's involvement in the Revolution.

The society is pleased to announce, well in advance of 1976, that it is nearing the completion of its documentary publication, *The Susquehannah Company Papers*. Volume X of the *Papers* was published in May and Volume XI, the final volume in this significant project, is to be issued in September. This eleven-volume series of documents gives the full story of Connecticut's western claim, emphasizing the activities of the Susquehannah Company in the Wyoming Valley area and the resulting boundary dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

Through the initiative and foresight of Colonel Dorrance Reynolds and Miss Frances Dorrance, who was then the society's director, the important papers that have been used in this publication were brought under the care of the society in the 1920's. Colonel Reynolds and Miss Dorrance set the project in motion. The first four volumes, providing source materials for the years 1750-1772, were edited by Julian P. Boyd and were originally issued in 1930 and 1931. In 1932, the project was halted by the depression. Then in 1936, most of the original editions were destroyed by flood. Only about sixty sets of volumes I to IV in public and private libraries survived.

Not until 1961 was the plan revived. Issued for the society by Cornell University Press, the first four volumes were republished in 1962. The remaining volumes followed. Volumes V and VI contain material for the period 1772-1775. The Revolutionary
The war period, 1776-1784, is covered in Volume VII. Volume VIII includes documents for the years 1785-1786. Material relating to Timothy Pickering's efforts to persuade the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley to accept Pennsylvania's government are presented in Volume IX. Volumes X and XI deal with the period 1788-1803. With financial support for editorial work provided by a special grant from the National Historical Publications Commission, the final seven volumes have been edited by Robert J. Taylor.

Dr. William W. Hummel, the session's final speaker, explained his work as editor of the Historical Review of Berks County. The format of this quarterly publication of the Historical Society of Berks County is rather rigidly defined. The average issue carries two scholarly articles of 2,500-3,000 words each, four shorter articles, and the reports of various committees. Each issue is limited to forty pages, twelve of advertising and twenty-eight of text. So it is a challenge, but an enjoyable one, to edit the Review.

A partial breakdown of the articles that have appeared in the quarterly in its thirty-six years of publication is revealing. There have been 130 articles of various types dealing with biography; approximately fifty accounts of single events or special events, e.g., fires, floods, or "The Day the Silk Mill Blew Down"; a total of fifty-eight articles on ethnic groups, fifty of which concern the Pennsylvania Dutch; and forty-five original documents printed in their entirety. Other articles include: fifty-two on the arts, thirty-five on Reading and Reading's institutions, twenty on family genealogies, forty on the subject of education, sixteen dealing with town or township histories, fifteen on Civil War themes, and twenty-six on various kinds of transportation of which the canals receive the better treatment.

Certain subjects have been largely ignored. Obviously more could be written about the non-Pennsylvania Dutch ethnic groups. And in the field of politics, the surface has only been scratched. Apparently worried about "stepping on toes," local historians have tended to avoid this subject like the plague. Of the nine articles that have been published, none shed much light on the political situation in the Berks County area during the colonial and revolutionary periods. For example, while Berks
County existed some twenty-three years prior to the Revolution, nothing has been published in the *Review* about the actual creation of the county and the problems faced in the legislature at that time.

It is true that twenty-three articles feature colonial and revolutionary subjects. It is also true that some of these, especially those treating the Hessians who were imprisoned at the POW camp located near Reading, must be considered very good. But the fact remains that much more can be and should be done.

One of the society’s projects for the Bicentennial is the publication of a subject index for all of the articles published in the *Review* over the past thirty-six years. Another project is the listing of topics which concern the revolutionary period and which should be covered in the quarterly over the next four or five years. Also contemplated is the reissuance of some of the better articles relating to the Revolution that have appeared in past years, possibly ten or twelve of these will stand the test of time.

The Berks County Historical Society is probably one step ahead of most historical societies in that it knows almost precisely what it has in the form of manuscripts and documents. The society’s library was closed for several months in 1970 and the records were carefully indexed. If present plans work out, a published listing of the holdings will soon be made available to scholars.

The inventory made it clear that the society had far too much material for its space. A result was that one sizable manuscript group, the Union Canal Papers, was placed on loan-deposit at the Pennsylvania State Archives. These Papers have now been processed and are readily accessible to researchers. Had they remained in the cramped quarters assigned to them by the society, they would have been extremely difficult to use. The point is that historical societies have the twofold responsibility of understanding their resources and of finding ways of making their resources available to scholars.

In the discussion period, concluding this initial session, it was suggested that historical societies desiring to publish worthwhile materials might find it profitable to develop good professional relationships with institutions of higher learning.
Depending on the materials at hand and the arguments that are presented, a society could find a college or university more than willing to take on the cost of publication.

In response to a question regarding the availability of an inventory or bibliography of publications and source materials relating to the Revolution, Dr. Kent stated that to some extent the annual compilations, *Year's Work in Pennsylvania Studies*, prepared by the Pennsylvania State Library are helpful. He also observed that much information could be made available if the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's Division of History could find it possible to continue work on its Bibliography of Pennsylvania History. For the time being, staff limitations have made it necessary to discontinue work on this project. Dr. Benjamin Powell, of Bloomsburg State College, suggested that an appreciation of some of the existing materials can be gleaned from *Historical Abstracts*, published by the American Bibliographical Center—Clio Press, Riviera Campus, 2040 Alameda Padre Serra, Santa Barbara, California 93103.

Dr. Kent pointed out that a number of good publications, not directly related to historical societies, are now being issued for those who are interested in the up-coming Bicentennial. As an example of one of the best of these, he offered copies of *The Bicentennial Chronicle* to those in attendance. The *Chronicle*, published by the Bicentennial Publishing Company, P. O. Box 1776, York, Pennsylvania 17405, is issued eight times a year and is an attractive, well-illustrated publication packed with information regarding Bicentennial activities. Annual subscriptions are $3.00 with special rates for students, history groups and institutions and for educational purposes.

The featured speaker at the Friday evening dinner meeting was Tom Armstrong, curator and assistant director of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Williamsburg, Virginia. Armstrong's subject, profusely illustrated with slides, was entitled "Folk Art as Historical Documentation."

What is American folk art? Very simply, it is the work of untrained painters and sculptors. Although the great collections in this field may be dated from 1913, when the Armory Show was staged in New York City, folk art became a definite category of American art in the 1930's when artists and critics began talk-
ing and writing about that particular form of art which is "created by folk for other folk." The words "naive" and "prim-
itive," as well as "folk," have been used to describe this area of art. But it must be underscored that these words refer to the characteristics of the individuals producing the art and not to the art itself.

Created in response to a social need, American folk art evolved in the nineteenth century. By the early 1800's, a good number of those individuals who had achieved some measure of local prominence or success, be it in the social or economic sphere, became interested in finding some practical way of having their portraits painted. They wanted some visual way to record themselves. They wanted something for posterity that would give evidence of their accomplishments. These folk, while of some standing on the local level, generally found it financially impos-
sible to go to the large economic centers, e.g., Philadelphia, New York, or Boston, for the purpose of commissioning the more popular or more famous academic painters. So they turned to persons less noted, persons in their lives, persons who usually came from the local crafts. While many of these folk artists were extremely incompetent, some turned out great portraits. By and large, they concerned themselves with the rural scene and most often they were totally unaware of sophisticated techniques.

This is how folk art originated. This is the need it responded to. And until the development of the camera in the late 1830's, about 60 percent of American folk art was in the form of portraiture.

Obviously folk art is in art museums and is collected by art connoisseurs because the objects in question are valued as art. The pieces are not collected primarily because they have significance to the historian. But of course, they offer the historian a great deal. For scholars who are interested in the decorative arts of the nineteenth century, the art is full of interesting detail and is certainly of historical value. Folk artists of the 1800's—ignoring or unaware of those English conventions and fashions which dominated the practice of American painting in the eighteenth century—presented people in their natural en-
vvironments. They merely painted what they observed in the best way possible.
Subjects in portraits are presented with the elements in their lives, the window hangings, the painted furniture, the wallpaper, the floor coverings, the costumes of the period. The folk artist often fails—and this is not to be regretted from the standpoint of historical documentation—to make the distinction between what to make prominent and what to make subordinate. The work of the portrait painter, for example, becomes almost totally decorative, so that floor and wall coverings and other items become vastly more interesting than the subject’s face.

Folk art is also a fairly good source for the study of ecology. Some nineteenth-century artists gave considerable attention to small towns. Their paintings can be quite enlightening when compared with modern photographs of the same communities. Folk art can, in short, serve to document the lives of little towns. It can at the same time shed light on the way people lived at a given time in the past.

Observing that many valuable works of art are falling apart as a result of the inadequate care they receive in local depositories, Armstrong declared that it is unfortunate that so much excellent folk art is held by community or regional historical societies. Too many local societies are unaware of the true value of what they have or are totally unprepared to take care of their art objects.

Armstrong concluded his comprehensive and informative account by offering a most interesting view, involving the liberal use of slides, of the so-called Almshouse Painters. These artists, some of them initially house painters by trade, were active for a number of years in and around Reading. Having a thirst for strong drink, they periodically found it necessary to enter the local almshouse to “thaw out.” In the process of becoming sober and in order to get money for more drink, they produced some superb pieces of American folk art.

On Saturday morning, Dr. John W. Huston, of the United States Naval Academy, directed a seminar on “The American Revolution: Problems, Materials, and Recent Research.” Dr. Huston introduced these speakers: Dr. Russell F. Weigley, of Temple University; Dr. John Joseph Stoudt, of Fleetwood, Pennsylvania; Dr. Jerome Wood, of Swarthmore College; and Dr. Harry M. Tinkcom, of Temple University.
Dr. Weigley, as a military historian, discussed some of the similarities that may be seen in comparing modern day warfare with Revolutionary War strategy. In his opinion, there is much in this area for historians to work with. Had a better understanding of the military techniques of the Revolution existed, the forces of the United States might well have been better prepared for some of the experiences encountered in Vietnam. More specifically, Dr. Weigley finds striking similarities between the techniques employed in Vietnam and those used in the South Carolina campaign of the Revolution.

The campaign in South Carolina, from the fall of Charleston to the conclusion of hostilities, was in many ways of an unconventional sort, with sometimes startling parallels to Vietnam. One of the lessons that this country has learned with harsh experience in regard to unconventional warfare in Southeast Asia is that non-conventional war is likely to turn the familiar principles of war that are taught in all military service schools upside down. For example, as part of their orthodox instruction, American officers are taught that the principle of mass or concentration must be observed—that one must concentrate one's forces in the strongest possible bulk at strategic points in order to win victories. The guerrilla campaigns in Vietnam have made it clear, however, that in unconventional warfare the principle of mass does not work.

When the historian turns to the South Carolina campaign of the Revolution, he finds that Nathanael Greene, the American commander, instinctively, intuitively, without being a schooled military man, recognized that the principle of concentration would fail to work in a revolutionary situation in an unconventional war. Indeed, one of the first steps that Greene took upon assuming his command was to divide his small army into two parts. This action was counter to what was even then a basic tenet of war, i.e., that a commander never divides his main force. But Greene's strategy caused the opposing general, Cornwallis, to divide the British army. This had the result of breaking down what had previously been an overwhelmingly superior force into pockets which could be dealt with in some way.

Another standard rule of warfare is that one should strike
offensively at every opportunity. Greene, however, won his major successes against Cornwallis not by taking the offensive but by retreating. After the Battle of Cowpens, instead of standing and attempting to score an offensive victory, as his opponent expected him to do, Greene adopted a policy of strategic retreat. Cornwallis, infuriated as he was, jettisoned his provisions and stormed after the fleeing Americans. This was a serious mistake. The lack of adequate supplies coupled with the difficulties of the march did considerable damage to the British force. The result was that Greene could give his adversary battle at Guilford Courthouse on relatively even terms. With good success, Greene's strategy was used again and again.

Cornwallis was probably the most vigorous and most competent general the British had in North America during the Revolution. He was always intent on bringing his enemies to battle. It was, of course, his desire for decisive battles in the conventional mold that permitted Greene to lure him into long marches, marches which caused the British commander to spend his substance and which permitted Greene to pick the time and the place to fight. It was, in short, Cornwallis' knowledge and skill in conventional warfare that proved to be his undoing.

In guerrilla warfare, any indiscriminate destruction, no matter which side imposes it, will rebound to the advantage of the revolutionaries or guerrillas. This fact the United States has learned only at the cost of bitter and conscience searing experience in Vietnam. A study of the South Carolina campaign might have revealed the same fact beforehand. In South Carolina, it was the British who occupied the position the United States now occupies in Vietnam. It was the British who were seeking to stabilize the situation. The British, however, allowed themselves to be drawn by the circumstances of the campaign into perpetrating destruction on the countryside, on homes, farms, and mills. Although the guerrillas were guilty of the same sort of action, Cornwallis' force appeared as the villain. The British simply played into the hands of the revolutionaries. Their involvement in indiscriminate destruction merely added more fuels to the same kinds of fires of resentment that had caused the guerrilla rising to appear in the first place.

In brief, as this comparison of the South Carolina campaign
with the war in Vietnam shows, a better appreciation of the intricacies of the American Revolution can provide us with fresh perspectives on twentieth-century warfare. The reverse is also true. An understanding of matters pertaining to modern warfare can provide the scholar with the insights to more competently re-examine such important aspects of the American Revolution as the way in which armies were raised, organized, and commanded. An understanding of modern psychology in respect to how soldiers react to situations in the field should permit the historian to substantially deal with questions relating to the morale, the attitudes, and the way of life of the ordinary soldier of the Revolution. The study of the American Revolution and the study of modern warfare can be complimentary studies.

Dr. Stoudt, the second speaker, treated the subject “Revolutionary War Materials and Other Manuscript Sources in the German Language.” German troops were, of course, prominently involved on both sides of the Revolutionary War. While about one-twelfth of the colonial population was German, German soldiers formed approximately one-eighth of the Continental Army and were well-represented in the Pennsylvania Militia. On the other side, about one-third of the British force in America was Hessian. The roles played by the many pacifistic Germans in the colonial population is also of major importance.

A staggering mass of Revolutionary War materials in the German language exists. The scholar should be acquainted with M. D. Learned’s *Guide to Manuscript Sources Relating to American History in German State Archives* (Washington, Carnegie, 1912). A mimeographed listing of German reproductions in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress is also available.

The various state archives of Germany certainly contain much that explains the part played by Hessian troops in the Revolution. A partial listing of the depositories and their holdings would include:

1. Historischer Verein Für Mittelfranken, Ansbach: a diary of a German soldier in the Revolution, songs at the departure of the Ansbach-Bayreuth troops, accounts of moneys paid to officers, and instructions on going to America.


4. Staatsarchiv, Bremen: papers concerning the march of Hessian troops through Bremen on their way to America and information regarding ships on the Weser.


7. Hesse-Kasselische Archiv, Marburg: original letters of George III to the Prince of Hesse, reports and accounts of the Prince of Hesse, information on subsidies from England, orderly books of German regiments, papers pertaining to the march of Hessian forces through other lands, correspondence about transportation, lists of officers of the Jaegercorps, battle orders for the Hessian troops in America, an account of the first Hessian battalion lost at Saratoga, journals of the battles of Charleston and New York, correspondence of the secret Council at Malsburg, literary remains of the Duke of Brunswick (1066 pages), a diary of an officer of Prince Friedrich's regiment, papers of General von Riedesel, diplomatic materials, private letters and journals, miscellaneous accounts, and recruiting lists. This is a very selective list of the great mass of Revolutionary War materials preserved under the care of Dr. Papritz at Marburg. Some 37,916 pages of this material have been photostated by the Library of Congress.

8. Staatsarchiv, Oldenburg: information on governmental acts.


10. Landeshauptarchiv, Wolfenbüttel: von Riedesel papers, list of officers, travel accounts of the First German Division, one reel of a diary, and the marching route of the First Brunswick Division.


These are some of the more important papers in the public domain. Among significant collections still in private hands are
the Lossberg Papers, the Knyphausen Papers, and the Bauernmeister Papers. As strange as it may seem, the British side of the Hessian matter has not yet been properly investigated. There is a wealth of relevant information housed in the Public Records Office in London. George III’s letters to the German princes are there as well as much that relates to official dealings.

Turning to German language materials not directly related to the Revolution, Dr. Stoudt gave his attention to (1) the Papers of August Herman Francke of Halle, (2) Moravian materials, (3) the widely scattered Schwenkfelder papers, and (4) the massive materials pertaining to the nineteenth-century migrations. The Papers of August Herman Francke, chiefly Lutheran in content, are located at Marburg, perhaps at the Staatsarchiv or perhaps at Marburg Castle. The collection includes: reports and journals dealing with Lutheran parishes in Pennsylvania between 1733 and 1769; correspondence with pastors in Pennsylvania, 1762-1795; diaries of H. M. Muhlenberg; Pennsylvania church accounts for the years 1743-1753 and 1767-1776; letters to Pennsylvania, 1763-1791; correspondence and reports of the Salzburgers in Georgia, 1733-1748; papers of German Lutherans in Nova Scotia; and the private papers of August Herman Francke.

There is a large amount of material concerning the Moravians in North America. Those who attended the 1968 Research Conference will recall Vernon Nelson’s description, which was summarized in the July, 1968, issue of PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY, of the several million pages of manuscripts located in the Archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem. Interesting materials are also held by the Moravian Historical Society at Nazareth.

Attention here is given to the valuable manuscripts housed at the Archiv der Brüderunitat at Herrnhut in the German Democratic Republic. The collection, including some 18,000 pages, covers Moravian activities in Pennsylvania, New York, Georgia, and Labrador. Here are just a few of the papers: regional letters to Zinzendorf from Oley, Falckner Swamp, and Tulpehocken; Zinzendorf correspondence with Henry Antes, J. Bechtel, Conrad Beissel, John Adam Gruber, Hildebrand of Ephrata, Christopher Sauer, Conrad Weiser, and Christopher Wiegner; and papers pertaining to Zinzendorf’s controversy with the Quakers, 1741-1742.
As noted above, the original Schwenkfelder papers are widely scattered. Fortunately a sizable number of original manuscripts as well as copies of most of the scattered papers are available at the Schwenkfelder Library at Pennsburg.

Materials in the German language concerning the nineteenth-century migrations to America are massive. Thousands and thousands of pages, some surveyed but many unexplored, are stored in more than a score of archives. The archives at Berleburg contains a considerable amount of uncollocated material relating to religious refugees, such as the German Brethren, to Pennsylvania. Similar materials may be found at Marburg. At the Heimatstelle in Kaiserslautern, there is an extensive card file of those who left the Palatinate. The Bibliothèque Wallone in Leyden has over a million cards relating to Huguenots who fled France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. More than one thousand documents pertaining to the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania are located at the Archives of the Classis of Amsterdam in The Hague.

The Vatican Library in Rome and London's Public Records Office are rich in their holdings. Numerous source materials may also be found at these depositories: the university libraries at Heidelberg and Bonn; the staatsarchiv at Anweiler, Eberbach and Speyer, and the Société de la Histoire de Protestantisme Français in Paris.

There is obviously a great mass of material in the German language which should be used so that the histories of the American Revolution, of the nineteenth-century migrations, and of the German Lutherans, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, and other groups can be more completely and more accurately told. But given the complete inability of so many American scholars to handle German script, how can these materials be used in meaningful ways?

First of all, the Library of Congress should be encouraged to prepare an up-to-date manuscript survey of all pertinent items located in German, French, British, and other foreign depositories. It is necessary to know exactly what exists and where it exists. Second, since American historians suffer so seriously from the language handicap, it would probably be best to have German scholars work with the materials. Scholarships
could perhaps be provided for German historians. Perhaps ar-
rangements could be made with those German army officers
who are detailed to get their doctorates in history. Valuable
service could, of course, be rendered by those archivists who
are charged with taking care of the manuscripts and records
in the German state archives. The important thing is that the
materials are uncovered and used in positive ways.

Dr. Wood explained (1) why historians should give more
attention to the role of the “common man” in the American
Revolution and (2) the need for more objective studies on
the Revolution. He observed that Clio, the muse of history, has
been a very biased lady. Exceedingly snobbish about her asso-
ciations, she has preferred to choose as recipients of her favors
the wealthy and socially prominent, the principal members of
a given society, the leading families of a given community. She
has generally spurned the majority in order to concentrate her
attention upon the minority at the top.

Historians, in treating the Revolution, may be correctly charged
with generalizing too much on the basis of evidence drawn only
from the upper layer of society. The revolutionary movement is
almost always viewed in respect to its leaders, their ideas and
actions. It has been suggested that the majority of the people
in the eighteenth century held a deferential attitude toward
those in control, that the “little guys” deferred to their “betters”
in terms of political power and in terms of running the society.
Is this true? Do we know for a fact that Tom, Dick, and Harry
accepted the notion that government was the prerogative of
the rich, of the wellborn?

In point of fact, there is some evidence that the “common
man” believed in government by the people as well as govern-
ment of the people. It appears that Tom, Dick, and Harry
often shared a sense of frustration and futility with regard to
the possibility of political change. Why? Perhaps they could
see that a movement in the direction of full democracy was
being restricted by those who were in control of revolutionary
activity. To what extent, one might wonder, did the “rank and
file” accept the arguments of Tom Paine? Did a sizable number
desire a political system that would guarantee a perfect equality
of rights?
The point is that Clio, her bias showing, has ignored many interesting and important questions. If we are to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the Revolution, we need to know more about the “common man.” What was he saying? What was he thinking? How did he act? How did he live? Historians need to view the Revolution from a different perspective. They need to concern themselves with questions that are different from those that have been dealt with so thoroughly down through the years.

The use of new techniques of historical analysis will permit the scholar to learn more about Tom, Dick, and Harry. Statistical studies of populations, including such specific tools as tax lists, can, for example, shed considerable light on how the “common man” lived.

Along with being a snob, the muse of history has been an opportunistic lady. She has tended to side with the winning causes, with the successful groups, rather than with the losing parties. In respect to the Revolution, one of the most obvious examples of this has been Clio’s treatment of the Loyalists. Until relatively recently, historians have handled these defenders of the old regime in narrow and prejudicial ways.

Clio has been overly inclined to “show the flag.” She has been too narrowly nationalistic and patriotic in her interpretations of the Revolution. While often ignoring motives and other background causes, many modern historians, like so many of their predecessors, tend to justify the actions of the patriots. They often fail to ask relevant questions. It is necessary to be a little more objective. How was the Revolution actually carried out? In what ways was it a subversive movement? More specifically, how was legally constituted British government subverted?

A general history of the provincial congresses has not yet been written. Nor do we have a general study of the Sons of Liberty. To a degree, scholars will have difficulty in understanding just exactly what some of the major provocateurs were up to. This is true since many of the papers of some of the more active participants, such as Samuel Adams, were destroyed, often by the individuals themselves. While this is to be regretted, it remains a fact that the material that has survived can be used in objective ways to give us a more balanced view.
While such a view will not deny that there were real colonial grievances, it will perhaps show that certain of the arguments of the Tories and Loyalists were correct and legitimate. Our objective should be one of viewing the Revolution from all angles.

Dr. Tinkcom, the session's fourth and final speaker, gave attention to that important transitional period which included the severance of ties with England, the problems of the Confederation, the ratification of the Constitution of 1787, and finally the dawning of the more settled Federalist era. During this period, the political dislocations were at times dramatic. But how much basic change in political behavior actually occurred? To what degree did fundamental changes occur in social and economic life? Much remains unanswered. When more answers are found, a synthesis might be prepared which may put the whole period into a more meaningful and comprehensive perspective.

An examination of the transitional stages in this period should emphasize those that were most critical or most productive in the over-all pattern of change. These stages were marked by decision making of a peculiarly vital and significant character. After all, conditions demanded the making of important adjustments and the plotting of new directions.

Dr. Tinkcom offered this hypothesis: the significance of any historical epoch is properly determined by the degree to which it embodies the relevant past, resolves present urgencies, and conditions future developments. The importance of an era, in other words, should be determined in accordance to the degree with which it serves as both a period of summary and a point of departure. In American history, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, forces and events, antecedent as well as contemporary, were stimulated by convergent circumstances and suddenly assumed strength and direction. These forces and events established the course of American development. The ones that have been given the greatest attention, and justifiably so, were political and constitutional in nature. These, of course, resulted in the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of 1787, all of which il-
illustrated intelligent use of history by their creators, took into account current problems, and pointed to the future.

If viewed in respect to "summary and departure," the ideas and occurrences of the revolutionary period and the periods immediately following could prove to be excellent exercises for budding historians. The objective would be to show development, growth, progress, and how those who created history were using history. In this context, Pennsylvania must be considered a rich field of study.

Pennsylvania was exceedingly important in its commercial, industrial, and financial contributions. It was strategically located. It also contained Philadelphia, the largest city in the country and the one that first demonstrated urban power in war. In brief, the thesis of summary and departure could well be applied to Pennsylvania, within both local and national spheres.

While the drama of the Revolution in Pennsylvania has attracted many historians, the period from 1783 to 1800 has certainly not been ignored. In the area of politics, to list just a few examples, we have Russell J. Ferguson's *Early Western Pennsylvania Politics*; Robert L. Brunhouse's *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790*; and the famous work, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787-1788*, by John B. McMaster and Frederick D. Stone. Probably these and similar studies, along with more general works, provide students with adequate secondary material relating to political aspects in the post-revolutionary period. What is needed is supplementary research on social and economic developments.

Considering possibilities in the economic sphere, it is important to note that good works exist for the pre-revolutionary period. Many of these, such as Alfred S. Martin's *The Port of Philadelphia, 1763-1776*, could be extended up through the Revolution to 1800.

Topics that should be given additional study include: the impact of the federal policy of coercion, commercial relations with neighboring states, the nature of inland trade and transportation, the commercial and financial influence of Philadelphia, Philadelphia's conflict with agrarian interests, and the role of labor.
In the field of social history, studies on class structure and ethnic groupings are needed. To what degree did economic and political change influence the social structure in Pennsylvania in general and in Philadelphia in particular? More could be done to explain poverty and poverty-related crime. Much remains to be written about the social impact of Philadelphia.

The social or economic historian who chooses Philadelphia as an area of investigation will find much in the way of research material. He will, for instance, find invaluable the large number of insurance survey records and state inventories which are on file in the office of the Philadelphia Historical Commission.

Indeed, in most cases, the raw materials are available. It remains for the historian to come up with the finished product. In dealing with the topics mentioned, it would be most valuable if the researcher could keep in mind the thesis of summary and departure. The transitional character of forces and events should not be ignored.

In a brief discussion period, this question was posed to Dr. Wood: “Where can materials be found on the “common man” of the revolutionary era? Dr. Wood suggested that contemporary newspapers, official documents, and correspondence of officials can shed considerable light on the views and activities of Tom, Dick, and Harry. Personal correspondence is, of course, quite valuable. The “little guy” was not as inarticulate as we sometimes tend to believe.

Dr. Weigley pointed out that a considerable amount of published material exists, albeit often buried in old scholarly journals, which proves that the common soldier of the Revolution could often be quite articulate. If such published materials as diaries were studied and if depositories were searched for unpublished papers and records, it should be possible to get a remarkable amount of information on how the war looked to the enlisted man. Hopefully someone will do something on the Revolutionary War soldier that is comparable to Bell Irvin Wiley’s Civil War studies, The Life of Johnny Reb and The Life of Billy Yank.

Noting that it is possible to find not only the names but also the service records of men who were in military units during the Revolution, Dr. Weigley suggested that historians—if they
were willing to do some hard work—could bring this information together with other data that is available in tax records, court records, and similar official documents. As they correlated the information, they would learn who it was who fought in the Revolution. They would discover interesting facts about the enlisted man. Here, of course, modern computer and quantitative techniques are suggested.

Presiding at the Saturday afternoon session, "Possibilities for Using Quantitative Data in Local History," was Dr. Samuel P. Hays of the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Hays reported that increasingly studies based on quantitative research have been appearing that have tended to revitalize local history. Perhaps the best of these have been developed in Massachusetts, where nineteenth-century inhabitants collected a large amount of data on their local communities.

The studies have utilized a lot of statistical information on births, deaths, property ownership, the construction of houses, and other personal and physical developments within communities. The collected evidence shows the relationships of individuals, within the family and within the community. Interesting questions relating to the shifts which occurred from one generation to another in a given locale can be raised with considerable assurance that they can be answered. To what extent, for example, are the people who are dominating the political life of a particular town in 1900 the descendants of those who controlled that town's government in 1750?

Quantitative research in support of local history should not be something reserved exclusively for graduate students. There is a real possibility here of involving, and in very significant ways, high school students and students on the undergraduate level. But enough technical work in the development of data must first be done so that students will be provided with sufficient information. It is necessary that the quantitative materials are not just collected and preserved but in such stages of development that will allow students to go very quickly to projects wherein they can make some real contributions in the field of local history.

The major educational institutions within cities and regions are, of course, the ideal centers for quantitative research. Col-
lege and university history faculties, working perhaps with
genealogists and local historical societies, should take the respon-
sibility of collecting the statistical information, of making such
data available, and of promoting the use of the material. At
the University of Pittsburgh, a program is presently under way
to computerize the census information for Pittsburgh for 1860,
1870, and 1880. Eventually it will be possible to produce alpha-
betical print-outs of everyone in the city for the years in ques-
tion. If this sort of data is already computerized, it will be
relatively easy to take high school students or college under-
graders, especially those who have some interest in statistics
and computers, and enable them to find things out about their
home communities.

Lauding the work being done by genealogists, Dr. Hays noted
the amount of effort that is being given to the project of index-
ing the 1850 census. Through very laborious hand methods,
genealogists have thus far indexed the census for 800 counties
in the United States. Since genealogists are obviously important
in the field of local history, it seems entirely proper for history
students to be interested in genealogy. It is a very legitimate
thing for students to get interested in history by studying the
social involvements of their families over several generations.

These speakers were introduced by Dr. Hays: Theodore
Hershberg, of the University of Pennsylvania; and Van Beck
Hall and Robert Doherty, both of the University of Pittsburgh.
Hershberg, the director of the Philadelphia Social History
Project, discussed the use of quantitative data in urban com-
munity history.

Involved in a study of social mobility in Philadelphia for the
years 1850 through 1880, Hershberg and his staff have utilized
such resources as city directories and the federal manuscript
census returns for 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880. They have thus
far gathered at the computer center at the University of Penn-
sylvania specific information on over 330,000 individuals. By
the end of 1972, data on approximately one million persons will
be available. Some 2.5 million entries would be required if the
project attempted to deal with all of the individuals who lived
in Philadelphia between 1850 and 1880. This is not considered
practical or necessary at this point.
Although the data relates primarily to male inhabitants, large samples of households and families are included. So it is possible to talk about family structure as well as to trace individuals. It is also possible to examine industrial development, neighborhood characteristics, and the social stratification of the entire population.

Central to the project is the attempt to identify neighborhoods by ethnic density and to relate the progress over a period of years of the individuals within the various neighborhoods, i.e., to relate the social mobility of individuals to the kinds of neighborhoods they lived in. How did ethnic groups, such as the Irish, develop? What happened to individuals who settled in ghetto areas, in subcore areas, in integrated communities?

With the application of sound quantitative techniques, other important questions may be answered. What kind of job opportunities existed? What were the educational facilities like? What kind of transportation was available? Without considerable quantitative data it is impossible to properly identify neighborhoods. It is likewise impossible to trace a large body of people over a sizable period of time for the purpose of determining what happened to them.

The use of quantitative data in the reconstruction of the characteristics of an entire state was briefly explained by Van Beck Hall. Having had considerable experience in Massachusetts, Hall is now implementing quantitative techniques in Virginia. His objective is to gain an understanding of the individual units within the state and an appreciation of the relationships of the various units.

Information is presently being gathered to answer questions of this sort: How does a particular county compare with other counties in respect to religious orientation, political ideology, voting trends, and rate of population growth? When measured with other counties, what is the degree of commercialization and urbanization of a given county?

Questions of this type, restricted to a stated time period of perhaps twenty or thirty years, may be answered by the proper use of federal census materials, church records, voting lists, gazetteers, postal receipts, tax records, and a variety of other sources.
Robert Doherty, the final speaker, discussed his efforts to reconstruct the internal characteristics of selected towns in Massachusetts. He has been working with different types of towns, from the most commercial to the very subsistent.

As a starting point for any study of the internal structure of communities, it is necessary to be restricted to a given time period. The period, perhaps ten or twenty years, must be long enough to allow the observer to view some degree of change in the community's structure. It is also useful to compare different types of communities.

A study of a town's structure will, of course, involve data on such basic demographic items as births, deaths, and marriages. It should also include: an understanding of population growth or decline over a period of years, including an appreciation of what kind of people remain and what kind of people move; information on the distribution of the population in terms of age, sex, and family size; data pertaining to religious behavior and political views; and material on such economic factors as transportation, use of land and space, types of occupations, distribution of wealth, and social mobility. All of this information should be put together in a related way.

Records that are useful in such a study include: federal census materials, city directories, social registers, tax records, probate records, local political records, jury lists, judicial records, church records, newspapers, family and business records, gazetteers, local histories, and the records of such administrative agencies as fire companies and water companies. The problem is not one of a lack of material. The problem is one of collecting the information and using it in appropriate ways.

A discussion following these presentations revealed that the Michigan Consortium of Social Sciences has a considerable amount of Pennsylvania county census information on tapes. The Consortium also has county election data dating from 1824 for every county in the United States.

Responding to a question raised by Dr. Wood regarding the preservation of the valuable historical records of county government, Dr. Kent stated that the Commonwealth's County Records Committee is presently developing records retention and disposition schedules for each county office in counties of the sec-
ond A and third to eighth class. Schedules, devised to establish more effective records management systems and to preserve the valuable materials of county government, have already been issued for prothonotaries and clerks of courts.

Dr. Kent explained that a second committee, the Local Government Records Committee, has recently been formed for the purpose of establishing schedules for the retention and disposal of public records in cities of the third class, boroughs, incorporated towns, townships of the first and second class, and any municipal authority created by any of these municipalities. Both of these committees are receiving the authorized cooperation and assistance of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

The views and suggestions offered at the Sixth Annual Research Conference underscored the fact that there is very little time to waste if appropriate plans for the Bicentennial are to be made and implemented. Each historical society should give serious and immediate thought as to how it can best celebrate the nation's 200th anniversary. Given its resources, it may decide to inventory its holdings, sponsor relevant publications, or design instructive exhibits. Whatever the decision, each society's observance—be it on a large or small scale—should add something of a positive sort to the over-all observance.

The conference offered substantial proof that historians have not fully covered all phases of the Revolutionary War period. With source materials in abundance, interesting and important subjects await proper scholarly treatment. In certain of the suggested studies, such as those relating to the "common man" of the Revolution, the use of quantitative techniques would obviously be in order.

It is not necessary, of course, for historians and historical societies to restrict themselves to the revolutionary period. Along with commemorating the events of 1776, the Bicentennial, as a celebration of the nation's total history, would be enhanced by programs or studies on such topics as the nineteenth-century Germanic migrations to America, the roles played by the various ethnic groups in the nation's development, the evolution of towns, and the nature of American folk art. In these areas, as in many others, there is much for scholars and historical organizations to work with in Pennsylvania.
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