

THE 1972 RESEARCH CONFERENCE AT HARRISBURG:

The Anthracite Region, Ethnic Studies, and Women in Pennsylvania History

BY HARRY E. WHIPKEY

THE Seventh Annual Research Conference sponsored by the Pennsylvania Historical Association and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission was held in Harrisburg on Friday, April 28, and Saturday, April 29, 1972. Sessions were held at the 1769 John Harris Mansion, headquarters of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, Friday afternoon; at the Nationwide Inn, Friday evening; and in the Search Room of the Archives Building, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Saturday. These three subjects were treated: 1) research problems and possibilities relating to life and industry in the anthracite region, 2) recent developments in the study of ethnic groups in Pennsylvania, and 3) the role of women in Pennsylvania history. Conferees attending the Friday evening dinner session were favored with an illustrated address on ethnographic patterns among the Amish in Pennsylvania. As in past years, the general chairman of the two-day meeting was Dr. William W. Hummel of Albright College. 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, was in charge of local arrangements. The Chairman, Mrs. Ferne S. Hetrick, and several of the new members of the Commission attended the conference, including Stanley T. Brosky, of Duquesne University, Dr. Albert W. Gendebien, of Lafayette College, and Mrs. James John, of West Chester.

Following a welcome by Gerald West, president of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, and opening remarks by Dr. Robert L. Bloom, the Association's president, the Friday

afternoon session, "Anthracite Industry and Life: Research Problems," was conducted at the John Harris Mansion. In charge of the meeting was Ralph Hazeltine, director of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Speakers were: Dr. H. Benjamin Powell, Bloomsburg State College; Dr. John N. Hoffman, Smithsonian Institution; and Dr. James P. Rodechko, Wilkes College.

Dr. Powell's paper, "Entrepreneurs and Business in the Anthracite Region," focused attention on entrepreneurial and business history that can be written from manuscript sources. It was noted that historical writing in these areas of the anthracite industry dates back several decades. In print are the articles and books of Roland Berthoff, Hal Bridges, Eliot Jones, Marvin Schlegel, and C. K. Yearly. But any comprehensive understanding of the industry must go beyond these few studies to manuscript collections in a number of archives.

For the purposes of this report, Dr. Powell defined the term "entrepreneur" in a broad sense. In addition to leading capitalists, entrepreneurs include a wider group responsible for developing and managing the industry. In a similar way, the term "business" is not restricted here to just coal companies. It covers much broader economic activity.

Turning first to entrepreneurs, Dr. Powell observed that biographies already exist for Franklin B. Gowen, John Markle, Ario Pardee, Charlemagne Tower, Josiah White, and Hendrick B. Wright. While these works provide interesting and important facts, they often fail to assess crucial decisions made by each man. In some cases, such as in the Charlemagne Tower Collection at Columbia University, there is evidence for more careful evaluation. One can conclude that the few existing biographies do little more than scratch the surface.

Work needs to be done on entrepreneurs in each of the four anthracite basins. For the Lackawanna Valley, the Edmund Lukens Collection at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library offers opportunities for biographies of the Scranton brothers. Collections at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society provide information relating to the career of Wilkes-Barre's early coal baron, George M. Hollenback, and for the Dorrance-Reynolds family in Kingston and Plymouth townships, Luzerne County. The Coxe records at the Historical Society of Pennsyl-

vania contain material of interest to one desiring to investigate a family instrumental in opening the Hazleton region. They should also permit the development of a biography of Eckley B. Coxe. Burd Patterson, one of the foremost entrepreneurs in the Schuylkill region, merits serious attention. Unfortunately, his papers have not been located. Collections of Weiss family papers at the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia and at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania offer excellent insights for still other entrepreneurs involved in opening and operating the southern and two middle fields. In brief, manuscript materials exist for important entrepreneurs in all four geographical basins. To understand the subjects fully, historians must examine their roles as community leaders, their political influence, and their economic activity.

In looking for entrepreneurial activity, attention must be given to a number of occupations. Financiers in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston possessed limited knowledge and relied on men in the coal counties for information to make decisions. In an industry where fortunes could be made or lost in a short time, the influence of local experts should not be underestimated. Some big city capitalists such as Henry C. Carey apparently had extensive knowledge of the industry. Did others, such as Moses Taylor, whose papers are at the New York Public Library, possess similar knowledge? Do the papers of Boston's business community at Harvard University contain information to answer this question? What was the relation of big city capital to men responsible for opening mines as well as getting anthracite to market?

In the eight anthracite counties, a number of occupations serviced the industry and promoted production. Local lawyers served as key connections with the outside world. Each county had lawyers specializing in the industry. Dauphin County had Thomas Elder, Luzerne County had Volney Maxwell and Hendrick Wright, Northumberland County had Charles Donnell and Charles Heggins, and Schuylkill County had Christopher Loeser and Benjamin Parry. The Loeser and Parry papers at the Historical Society of Schuylkill County and the Maxwell and Wright Collections at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society provide extensive data for lawyers instrumental in developing mining in their respective counties. For instance, Maxwell han-

dled the legal work for Edward Larkin, a British investor. Maxwell employed surveyors to examine Larkin's estate and to explore for coal. He also paid the bills and taxes. Maxwell's extensive knowledge of business, geology, law, mining, and politics put him in a position to assume such responsibility. Maxwell's law partner, Hendrick B. Wright, engaged in state and national politics and used his influence to aid industrial growth. Wright's collection at the Wyoming Society adds another dimension toward understanding the politics of entrepreneurial activity.

Other occupations in the coal counties deserve mention. Bankers, blacksmiths, cartographers, civil engineers, ironmasters, merchants, surveyors, and tavern keepers each played a role in economic development. They provided services essential to the mining community. They also invested large sums of money in mining. For example, Samuel Hoyt, whose papers are at the Wyoming Society, was a civil engineer, geologist, investor, land surveyor, and mine agent in the Hazleton, Lackawanna, and Wyoming basins. While transportation has received much attention, little is known about marketing anthracite. Who handled the coal trade? Journalism also merits consideration. How did local newspapers and trade journals affect economic growth? The *Pottsville Miners Journal* deserves the same kind of treatment that historians have given to leading newspapers in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Just about every occupation in mining towns and the county seats made a contribution and needs evaluation in terms of entrepreneurship.

Several special occupations emerged to help develop the anthracite industry. If professional geologists antedated the industry, the need for their services increased as anthracite mining expanded. Anthracite entrepreneurs strongly endorsed the first geological survey of Pennsylvania. They also employed geologists to estimate the value of coal land. How did the anthracite industry affect the geological profession? Studying the lives of such men as J. P. Lesley, William F. Roberts, and Henry Rogers, to name only a few, might provide the answer.

Mine agents, engineers, inspectors, and superintendents also fall into this category. What was the nature of each occupation and how did it contribute to develop mining? Little is known about Samuel B. Fisher, Asa Lansford Foster, Peter W. Shaefer,

or William H. Sturdevant. Yet their names appear on many important mining maps and other documents. Will information known by the last great generation of miners who are currently past age 60 vanish? Support is needed for oral history to record the memories of these men. In gathering this information, historians should interview a cross section of various occupations involved in the industry.

As far as business is concerned, monographs can be written for a number of coal companies. The records of the Delaware and Hudson Company, the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, and the Reading Coal and Iron Company should be acquired before they end up on the scrap heap as did the papers of the Pennsylvania Coal Company. Fortunately, the Smithsonian Institution had the foresight to retrieve some papers of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. How many company records are in abandoned buildings awaiting the dump truck or match stick? Recently historical societies have taken an interest in acquiring these records. The papers of the Lackawanna Coal and Iron Company are scattered among the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, the Lackawanna County Historical Society, the New York Public Library, and Syracuse University. The Eleutherian Mills Historical Library has the papers of the St. Clair Coal Company and Harvard has those of the Buck Mountain Coal Company. The largest collection of coal company records is housed at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre. The society's holdings include the Kingston Coal Company, the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, Ario Pardee, the Plymouth Coal Company, Sharp, Weiss, and Leisenring, and the Smith Coal Company. It is currently in the process of acquiring more coal company records. From these papers will come future business history.

In addition to coal companies, a number of support industries need historical analysis. Monographs on land companies, such as one just completed on the Girard coal estate, treat an important dimension of the industry. The anthracite iron industry awaits careful examination. Manuscripts exist for an excellent history of the Lackawanna Company. While material is scarce for the Montour Iron Works in Danville and the Vulcan Iron Works in Wilkes-Barre, they too merit histories. Anyone interested in industrial archeology will find the Vulcan Iron Works

Collection a gold mine. The Vulcan Company took pictures of all locomotives and mining equipment it ever produced. Does the Coleman Family Collection housed at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission contain material to show important relations between anthracite and the iron industry? The Historical and Museum Commission currently houses two important coal canal collections that need historians: The Schuylkill Navigation Company Papers and the Union Canal Company Papers.

Dr. Powell concluded with a few words about chronology. Historically the anthracite industry can be divided into three time periods: early individual enterprise from 1769 to 1870, corporate domination from 1870 to the 1920's, and the re-emergence of small scale enterprise in the 20th century. Plenty of room is still left for doctoral students to examine the anthracite industry in depth during specific periods. Careful study of business and entrepreneurs in the anthracite industry has barely begun.

The next speaker, Dr. Hoffman, briefly discussed research possibilities in the area of "Mine Engineering and Technology." Much remains to be done in explaining the engineering and technological problems that existed and the developments that took place throughout much of the anthracite industry's long history.

What techniques were employed to free the coal from its natural habitat? How was the coal loaded and moved to the outside? How was it processed? How were operations geared to the need of preparing the commodity so that it could be sold at a price competitive with other fuels? Why has the anthracite miner been one of the lowest producers in terms of tons per man day in the fuel industry? What kind of equipment was used? Who made the equipment? Partial answers to these questions exist. But there are numerous empty spots in the technological history of the anthracite industry.

What can be done? Archival materials relating to policies, techniques, and machinery must, of course, be uncovered. Studies should be conducted to determine why certain mining operations were adopted and why certain equipment was used while other equipment, successful elsewhere, was not utilized. More could be written about the unique features of the anthracite fields. In dealing with problems and questions such as these, the sources

suggested by Dr. Powell would seem to offer rich areas of investigation.

Dr. Rodechko, the session's final speaker, gave his attention to the subject "Immigration and Ethnic Groups." It can be assumed, according to Dr. Rodechko, that when one talks about the immigrant community in the anthracite region in the age of coal one is talking primarily about the Irish and the newer immigrant groups from eastern and central Europe, e.g., the Poles, the Italians, the Lithuanians, the Ukrainians, and the Slovaks. But it is necessary to deal also with those Germans who appeared during the coal age. The Germans, while they were apparently not so numerous or as tied to coal production as the others, were to a degree affected by the industry. One must also refer to the Welsh, who were involved in mine operations, often from supervisory positions. Although they were older immigrants, the Welsh were still ethnically self-conscious.

There are written accounts on the various ethnic groups, such as the Irish and the Welsh, who inhabited northeastern Pennsylvania prior to the anthracite period. These are, however, generally wide in scope, usually dealing with broad geographic divisions and touching only incidentally upon towns and areas identified with what later came to be the anthracite region. For example, we have Michael J. O'Brien's article, "Irish Settlers in Pennsylvania," which appeared in the *American Irish Historical Society Journal* in 1906 and which only indirectly provides information on the anthracite Irish. Unfortunately, these works tend to stress simply a genealogical approach, or they attempt to glorify the role of the particular group in the development of American society. O'Brien's account, for instance, tries to counter native American criticism of the Irish by: 1) showing that there were numerous Irishmen in early America, 2) arguing that the Irish were eminently respectable, and 3) maintaining that the Irish contributed to the making of American institutions in highly significant ways.

One wonders if there might not be a more fruitful approach to the early forerunners of Irish, German, and Slavic immigrant groups, an approach that—taking advantage of some of the work that has already been done—offers a comparison between the conditions the initial groups encountered in early, rural, northeastern Pennsylvania with conditions that larger numbers of

their fellow countrymen encountered in the anthracite period. Basically, this would be a comparison between a rural age and an industrial age.

As for the role played by immigrants in the coal age, a view of the more prominent bibliographic materials suggest that there is a general scarcity of published works. Dr. Norman Wilkin-son's broadly conceived *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History*, a 1957 publication, and John Bodnar's more specialized "Ethnic Bibliography of Pennsylvania History," soon to be published, reveal the failure of ethnic historians to deal with the anthracite region as a distinct entity.

Of those studies that do exist, the areas of consideration have tended to be narrow. For one thing, the role and impact of immigrants on labor organizations have been stressed. In this instance, the ethnic group seems to be an appendage of labor activity, relevant simply to union efforts. This is not to be taken as a criticism of works like Victor Greene's *Slavic Community on Strike*. Nor is it to suggest that sufficient work has been done on labor-immigrant relations. It is merely a reminder that a broader approach to ethnic communities in the anthracite region is possible and desirable. A second theme, one that is far more obviously overworked, concerns the Molly Maguires. For example, in his bibliography, John Bodnar presents 41 published items on the Irish in Pennsylvania. Of these, 19 deal with the Mollies rather exclusively. There is, in fact, no other single work on the anthracite Irish. Given the sheer number of accounts on the Mollies and given Wayne Broehl's rather definitive work, *The Molly Maguires*, one can only hope that ethnic historians will turn to broader areas of concern.

There are clearly some interesting and untapped possibilities. The very nature of the area, with its sweeping geographic outlines, the separation that you find between the anthracite fields, and the features created by industrialization, fostered social disorganization—as Rowland Berthoff suggested in his July, 1965, article, "The Social Order of the Anthracite Region," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*—and presents opportunities for studies of various types.

Consisting of moderately sized urban areas and smaller company towns, the region offered a different sort of urban and industrial experience than that encountered by immigrants in New

York, Boston, or Philadelphia. The situation offers possibilities for comparisons and case studies. Interesting questions deserve answers. What impact did geography have on community structure and, more specifically, on the formation of those types of ethnic organizations that were so important elsewhere? Was the development of ethnic organizations adversely affected in the coal region? If so, was the immigrant repressed by a hostile system, or—given the divisive geography—by his own inability to organize workable institutions? The question also ought to be examined as to whether social disorganization forced a greater sense of individual reliance upon the immigrant.

Related to the above is the issue of mobility, not simply social and economic, but geographic. How and why did movements in and out of neighborhoods take place? What were the influences of such movements on the attitudes of the immigrants? Can geographic mobility be related to social and economic mobility.

More specific areas of consideration would involve questions such as these: How was family structure influenced by economic conditions? Did family ties differ according to particular ethnic groups? If they did, did this signify markedly dissimilar socio-economic roles for specific groups or did it imply different cultural attitudes regarding the values of the family? To what degree did the church in the anthracite fields help to strengthen immigrant communities? Given the conditions of the area, was the church—with particular reference to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches—unable to afford the successful development of parochial schools, temperance societies, charities and aid societies? Was the church too divided in terms of ethnic rivalries, personality clashes, and geographic separation to adequately deal with immigrant problems?

How effective, in comparison with other areas, were ethnic political organizations? Did native Americans overestimate immigrant political strength? What about labor alignments? Was labor violence in the anthracite regions spontaneous or otherwise? How widespread were radical ideologies? How successful were such ideologies? Were some ethnic groups more successful than others in their efforts to develop labor organizations?

Attention must also be given to cultural efforts. One may wonder if those ethnic organizations which were oriented to

science, literature, or art were aimed mainly at showing native Americans that the immigrant was refined, that the Old Country had a culture the equal of, or better than, the Anglo-Saxon's? Were these societies representative of class distinctions among the immigrants, and particularly the upper classes, or were the constituencies broad? What about racial stereotypes? Did the immigrant erect his own racial concepts to defend himself from the Anglo-Saxon racists? Perhaps immigrant spokesmen, those desirous of respectability, used supposed racial stereotypes to instruct their fellow countrymen in existing middle class values. For example, in New York, Irish-American editors were persistent in telling their readers that the Celts were interested in education, non-violent, temperate in drink, and totally committed to democracy. It would be interesting to study the degree to which the various ethnic groups in the anthracite area encouraged and supported the nationalist movements in their respective homelands. Did the immigrant contribute to such movements simply out of love for the homeland or was nationalism relevant to his role in America, i.e., did national independence in the Old Country give him respectability in the coal region?

To aid the historian to develop these topics, to answer these questions, numerous opportunities for research exist. One must, of course, review the more notable standard guides, e.g., Philip Hamer's *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (1961), the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* of the Library of Congress (1962), Sylvester K. Stevens and Margaret Sherburne Eliot's *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in Pennsylvania* (1939), and Irwin Richman's *Historical Manuscript Depositories in Pennsylvania* (1965).

Manuscript collections that are directly pertinent to ethnic groups in the anthracite area are usually drawn from the upper classes. This would be true of the Hendrick Wright Collection and the Hollenback Papers, both at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. These collections provide important views of the immigrants, one sympathetic and the other critical. But both views are from the standpoint of the rich, the aristocracy. Other collections that regard the immigrant from a somewhat distant perspective are the Papers of Archbishop James Frederick Wood at St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, and the Pinkerton Letterbooks at the Library of Congress.

There are some collections that include considerable correspondence drawn from the immigrant laborer. Among these would be the Terence Powderly Papers, the John Mitchell Papers, and the John W. Hayes Papers, all at the Catholic University of America. Overall, however, it is necessary to supplement manuscript sources with other research materials.

Parish histories, city directories, and local and county histories, e.g., Thomas Murphy's *History of Lackawanna County*, Joseph Zerbey's *History of Pottsville*, and Oscar Harvey and Ernest Smith's four volume *History of Wilkes-Barre*, provide valuable information. The importance of oral history is clearly recognized. Useful are: the federal census returns; the reports of the Inspectors of the Mines of Pennsylvania, 1869-1885; the annual reports of the Secretary of Internal Affairs for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: Mine Inspector Reports, 1885-1907; the results of the Second Geological Survey, containing eleven volumes and numerous documents covering the years 1874-1894; and the various reports of the Anthracite Board of Conciliation.

Perhaps the best single source for research would be the newspapers. The researcher should check such guides as Winifred Gregory's 1937 *American Newspapers—A Union List*, Ruth Salisbury's 1969 *Pennsylvania Newspapers: A Bibliography and Union List*, and Dr. Craig A. Newton's "Checklist of Newspapers Available in, and for, Columbia, Luzerne, Lycoming, Montour, Northumberland, Schuylkill, and Sullivan Counties." Dr. Newton's list, revealing numerous papers representing the wide range of ethnic groups in the anthracite region and nearby areas in eastern Pennsylvania, has been published in a recent issue of *The Columbian*, journal of the Columbia County Historical Society.

Unfortunately, it will be found that continuous runs are infrequent among those papers available to researchers. Some holdings are available only at the University of Illinois or at the Free Library of Philadelphia. But a number of the more notable papers are to be found at the Schuylkill County Historical Society and at the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

While bias must obviously be taken into consideration, the value of newspapers, be they of the immigrant press—originating from outside as well as inside the region—or the native American press, is that they can shed considerable light on the nature of

immigrant institutions and on the political, social, and religious values of the various ethnic groups. The papers indicate the changing nature of immigrant communities. They illustrate how ethnic consciousness was encouraged. And the immigrant press, including as it does numerous letters of the immigrant working man, is one of the sources which reveal ethnic opinion directly.

In his closing remarks, Dr. Rodechko suggested that studies of ethnic groups and the anthracite region can do much to fill some of the gaps that now exist in our understanding of Pennsylvania history. Studies of this sort provide opportunities to act upon the advice offered by such noted historians as Dr. S. K. Stevens and Dr. J. Cutler Andrews for research on more recent aspects of Pennsylvania history.

At the Friday evening dinner meeting, the Commission Chairman, Mrs. Ferne S. Hetrick, gave a word of welcome, emphasizing the Commission's concern for archives and research. The featured speaker was Dr. John A. Hostetler, professor of sociology and anthropology, Temple University. Dr. Hostetler's address, profusely illustrated with slides, was entitled "Sectarian Wisdom and the Search for Integrity: Perspective on the Pennsylvania Amish."

In looking for new perspectives in the study of history, Dr. Hostetler would suggest that the counterculture is a promising model. The search for identity in the modern world has taken many forms. Who would have predicted five years ago that there would be a religious explosion among American middle-class youth, that refugees from affluent families would be tripping to the countryside in search of fresh religious traditions? A counterculture is brought into being when people come to believe passionately that what they have been taught is utterly false. When the young discover that they no longer can speak society's language, nor comprehend its logic, nor be governed by its norms, a counterculture will be born.

There are some interesting parallels in the search for identity today with those in the sixteenth century. In the impending struggle for power between the state church and the great reformers, many people lost faith in the established institutions. Intellectual unrest preceded the Reformation. Landless people were ready to become followers of radical movements. Some of the religious movements solidified into sectarian groupings that

retained a remarkable durability and sensitivity to human values. At first glance, the Amish today are about as far from prevailing varieties of counterculture as they can get. Nevertheless, the Anabaptists originated in direct response to religious confrontation. To practice adult baptism and voluntary membership in the church during the sixteenth century was counterculture.

The Amish today are not in search of identity. The issue of religious liberty has been won, but still very much with them are the ancillary concerns—the practice of brotherhood, simplicity, a primitive, disciplined church, a viable face-to-face community that provides social solidarity in a world of alienation. The live issues are interesting and important. And an intensive look at the Amish should be useful in gaining new approaches for the study of other culture groups.

The Old Order Amish, contrary to popular thought, are not about to become extinct. On the contrary, they have increased from about 8,200 in 1908 to approximately 60,000 in 1970. This survival and growth in the modern world has puzzled sociologists. How long will the Old Order Amish be able to retain their identity, their horse-and-buggy culture, simple farm life, and country schools?

The Amish have a high rate of biological increase. They have no monastic tendencies or scruples against marriage or having children. On the contrary, they want children and are able to care for them. They have access to the natural resources required by their beliefs. Basically this is farm land, to which they bring manual skills and modest capital.

The Amish religion is sociologically functional. The individual who grows up in Amish society is balanced in his relationships between his family, his kinship, his church-community, and the wider world. Alienation, and the sense of social strangulation, is minimized by a way of life which limits technology and contacts with the outer world. For the child, the family structures all relationships. Later in life, the community functions as a "family" in a way that a person is able to relate deeply and personally to a wide range of persons.

The Amish are conservers of the past. By advocating moderation, they have retained some of the finest of the early American traditions. Individual initiative and private enterprise are still honorable and possible for them to a greater extent than to

most moderns in business or in the professions. The ego is maximized by a strong sense of responsibility to the community. For most moderns, the community has vanished and responsibility is optional, restricted or vague.

Throughout their history, the Plain People have been ready to die for their principles, and this ironically has made it possible for them to survive. Their view of the world includes a belief in the end-time. Professing to be strangers and sojourners, they have no notion of building a perfect society in this life. Meanwhile prosperity is affecting their communities. They are not exempt from natural sociological changes. As one Amishman recently stated, "Prosperity is awful hard on a modest life."

The conflict between the simple Amish society and the so-called great society is illustrated well in the field of education. By the May 15, 1972, decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (*Wisconsin v. Yoder, et al.*), the Amish have finally been protected from oppressive requirements of state departments of education. States are now restrained from forcing Amish children into high school. This does not exempt the Amish from training their young. On the contrary, it is an admission on the part of government that education is the dual responsibility of both parents and the state, and that ultimate values are not solely determined by departments of public instruction.

The life view encapsulated in an old Amish proverb, "Self praise stinks," expresses a psychological pattern that is central to the Plain People. Their drive is not individualistic fulfillment or the modern pleasure principle. There is a greater cause, the Amishman feels, than ego fulfillment. The individual is not pitted against his community, but seeks fulfillment in community. Self denial and impulse control have meaning. The rejection of the pleasure principle, along with consumptive spending so incessantly promoted by a worldly society, is still possible and credible.

The growing adolescent does not need to create his community nor strive to belong to it. He is born into a ready-made community. In the dominant society, by contrast, a young person must find or create his community and then strive incessantly to belong to it. He does not belong until he has proven himself.

Does the Amish child have a chance to become an American

child in the sense of being exposed to alternative values? This is an interesting question. But one should first of all ask whether the typical American child is given meaningful alternatives. Does the suburban child today have a chance to become a decent human being in spite of his loss of community? In spite of his unstable family life? In spite of his deep inferiority about belonging to the human family? In spite of deviant subculture and crime?

Amish children, according to a study just recently completed (J. A. Hostetler and G. E. Huntington, *Children in Amish Society*, Holt Rinehart Winston, Inc., 1971), genuinely aspire to do the things their parents are doing. They are not impoverished by their social institutions. They are not denied emotional participation in society at many levels, in challenging work, in ceremony, and in a diversity of age groups. It has also been found that:

- 1) Amish pupils score higher than pupils in rural public schools in the basic skills: arithmetic, spelling, and word usage.
- 2) The Amish teach primarily by example, not primarily by preaching.
- 3) Half of the Amish in this country are in public schools in rural areas. They form private schools only when they are forced into an environment (compulsory high school) where they must choose between being Amish or being American. They want to be both.
- 4) Single handed, the Amish communities raise their children to thrive on cooperation, humility, and the fear of God, rather than competition and pride of intellect.
- 5) Amish pupils have a positive self-image within their culture and identify with the larger American culture without emulating its total likeness.
- 6) Measures of personality traits show Amish types to be quiet, friendly, responsible, conscientious, patient with detail, concerned with how other people feel.
- 7) Amish pupils manifest trusting rather than alienated relationships.
- 8) The Amish will not tolerate the removal of their children from their farm communities where they are *taught skills*

useless to their way of life, and exposed to values, methods, and attitudes antithetical to their own. They will not tolerate conditions where schools *become large and bureaucratic*. They will form their own schools or migrate to Paraguay or Central American which they have already begun.

The Amish have structural reasons for resisting compulsory high school attendance. The status of the Amish youth changes significantly when he reaches the age of 15. No longer regarded as a child, he is treated like an adult and given meaningful work identification and challenging responsibility. To enforce high school attendance is to deprive the individual of a meaningful social status in becoming an adult. To remain in school is for him to be punished and deprived.

The supposition is sometimes made that the Amish will be unable to cope with life outside of their community or that they will be handicapped should they leave the Amish faith. The argument has little foundation, for they readily adjust to the larger culture when they leave the Old Order church. Their manual skills, their emotional training, their attitudes concerning hard work and self reliance are scarce assets in the modern age. Many small industries, given a choice, prefer hiring an Amish person with an elementary education to a high school graduate.

The Amish have retained many qualities of the American past with which we can identify and sympathize. They are one of the numerous "conscience groups" in our society. Minority groups that question the culture of consumption, money making, and self praise, and who place their faith in interpersonal relationships and who deposit their trust in social rather than technological advances are ultimately a great asset to the human community. Rare indeed are religious groups who will adjust their technology in such a manner so as to maximize community self realization.

One of the threats to the Amish society is the tourist industry that centers its commercial theme on the Amish. Pennsylvania has been more guilty of making merchandise of the Plain People than any other state. Lancaster County is virtually a national vacation mecca worth fifty million dollars. Will the Amish, like

so much merchandise, be auctioned off as trinkets at Christmas time? There is a moral issue here, centering on the right of one individual to exploit another for economic purposes when the exploited is not a partner in the bargain. The effect of this commercialization will do more than anything to destroy the self-respect of the young Amish in the community.

Imminent in the future are several possible styles of Amish society. Three types are emerging: First there are the assimilating individuals who quietly but often with hard personal struggle lose their identity as Amish.

Second, there is a reactionary neurotic type of response to change by attempting to go back to the nineteenth century. The symbols of orthodoxy once again become rigid. The hair of the men and the dresses of the women become longer. Many of these are migrating to the hindmost parts of rural America.

Third, the main line Old Order Amish will continue to live a stable life in their community in which children will grow up as self respecting and contented individuals. This type will survive if it manages to avoid the holiness piety so typical of the nineteenth century and the secularizing aspects of modern mass media. So long as they remain substantial and biologically vigorous, they will produce enough offspring to lose some to other Protestant groups and to maintain their own group identity.

Presiding at the Saturday morning session, "Ethnic Studies in Pennsylvania," was John Bodnar, associate historian, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Bodnar described the Commission's Ethnic Studies Program and surveyed possible source material for the study of Slavic immigrants in Pennsylvania.

It was explained that the Commission's "Ethnic Bibliography of Pennsylvania History" is being revised for publication. The compilation, containing over 1,400 sources on ethnic groups in the Commonwealth, will probably be published in late 1972. The Ethnic Studies Program has also completed a volume of essays, soon to be published by Bucknell University Press, on ethnic history in Pennsylvania. Included in "The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania" are accounts of the Amish, Jews, Poles, Croatians, Serbs, Swedes, Italians, Negroes, Irish, Ukrainians, Russians, and Bulgarians. Mention was made of the Commission's extensive collection of church history booklets, its slide collection on im-

migrants, and its limited collection of oral history with immigrants and blacks.

Turning to the topic of Slavic immigration in Pennsylvania, Bodnar observed that since most Slavs—Poles, Slovaks, Croats, Ukrainians, Serbs, etc.—were late arrivals to this country, most coming after 1880, it is not possible to exploit the federal manuscript census returns as so many social historians have been doing for the period 1850-1880. In studying occupational and geographic mobility among Slavic immigrants, for instance, one is forced to turn to alternate sources. Church records often provide listings of immigrants, at least in death and marriage books. In most large cities, city directories enable researchers to trace occupations over a period of time. Tax and assessor lists usually enumerate not only freeholders but tenants. Marriage license dockets often provide the occupation of an applicant, his father's occupation, his father's place of birth, and his particular race or nationality. This material is especially helpful in tracing occupational change over two generations and inter-marriage rates among ethnic groups.

The Dillingham Commission study of 1910, although slanted against the Slavs, provides a wealth of information on Pennsylvania's immigrant community. While sketchy on the anthracite area, it is rich in material on steel towns and on the western coal fields.

There is also valuable material to be gained from the reports of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor, especially after the establishment of that Department's immigration section in 1913. The *Pittsburgh Survey* is useful, particularly Margaret Byington's study of Homestead. Other data can be gleaned from the United States Senate Investigations of the 1919 Steel Strike, the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board, the WPA Collection at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the immigrant press at the University of Minnesota, and the ethnic newspapers stored in the basement of the Free Library at Philadelphia.

Important information can be found in the collections held by various church and fraternal societies, such as the Croatian Fraternal Union in Pittsburgh, the First Catholic Slovak Union in Middletown, and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association in Scranton. The George C. Korson Collection at Kings College con-

tains much oral history on ethnic groups in the southern anthracite region. And, among other sources that could be mentioned, materials may be gathered from the papers of the various settlement houses now deposited at the Urban Archives, Temple University, and at the Archives of Industrial Society, Pittsburgh.

Bodnar introduced these speakers: Philip F. Mooney, gifts librarian of the Balch Institute, Philadelphia; Carl Oblinger, doctoral candidate, Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Richard Juliani, Temple University; and Dr. Vince Liddle, Ethnic Heritage Affairs Institute, Philadelphia.

The Balch Institute, as explained by Mooney, is potentially one of the leading centers in the United States for the study of ethnic history. Founded in 1971, it is a private organization, not directly affiliated with any academic, social, fraternal, or political group. Funding comes from trusts established by the late Mrs. Emily Swift Balch and her two sons, Edwin Swift Balch and Thomas Willing Balch. The estates of the Balch family—which traces its American origins to eighteenth century Philadelphia, Maryland, and Virginia—are administered by the Trust Department of The Fidelity Bank, Philadelphia.

At present, a microform reading room, located in Room 1626 of The Fidelity Building, 123 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, is being used as an interim facility until the Institute's permanent quarters are built. Completion of the structure at Seventh and Ranstead Streets, near the Atwater Kent Museum and little more than a block from Independence Hall, is expected in late 1974 or early 1975.

Planned is a major library-museum complex, one which will be devoted to the themes of immigration, racial and ethnic history, and political history. Emphasis will be placed on racial and ethnic history.

The Institute's holdings, as collected by Mooney and Glenn B. Skinner, bibliographer, are designed to complement the already existing nationally renowned library, archival, and manuscript collections in Philadelphia. Mooney has the responsibility, in cooperation with the various ethnic and racial communities in and around Philadelphia, of developing the Balch's educational programs. Serving as the Institute's executive director is Dr. Howard L. Applegate.

Oblinger, the recipient of a special Ford Internship in ethnic

studies, granted by the Institute of Southern and Negro History at Johns Hopkins University, discussed his recent work researching the development of black communities in southeastern Pennsylvania between the years 1800 and 1860. Instead of surveying the varieties of source materials used, he presented specific methodological and substantive findings in the hope of explaining why the use of such material is important in the first place. His efforts to describe actual research material may be found in the 1970 *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* and in an essay in the forthcoming "The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania," edited by John Bodnar.

Concentrating his study on towns in York, Lancaster, and Chester counties, Oblinger was most interested in providing a framework which would help explain differential patterns of family and household organization, variations in wages, who were economically and occupationally mobile and why, and the entirely different types of geographical mobility among the different elements of the black community.

Most research efforts which try to answer these questions use records which deal with families organized into households and hardly, if ever, catch the very large floating population. This problem, as well as census underenumeration, was solved by utilizing not only fixed-place records such as censuses and tax records, which were never designed to catch the geographically mobile, but also records which follow black transients over a lifetime, i.e., almshouse admission and examination reports, vagrancy reports, newspaper accounts of crime, criminal indictments, trial proceedings, and coroner's inquests. The results show, for example, that the United States census takers in 1850 missed over a fourth of the black population in Lancaster and Chester counties. They counted 8,837 blacks. They missed at least 3,100.

The use of almshouse examination and admission reports made it possible to trace a majority of the black transients throughout their often short and varied careers. It was found that most of the transients sooner or later fell into what sociologists call "disreputable poverty," i.e., pauperism, and their patterns of movement differed drastically from the more "stable" black community members. They usually found casual and seasonal day laboring jobs in the spring, summer, and fall; moved to

the cities and almshouses in the winter; and repeated the same pattern the next season. Most died after three years in "disreputable poverty."

Closely related to geographical mobility, the collected data also provided much information about vertical mobility. For example, it was learned that a flood of blacks in the late 1840's and early 1850's fell into poverty and usually suffered early death, their numbers only augmented by the many blacks who were annually pushed out of semi-skilled and steady unskilled occupations by the Irish and by the huge number of migrating freemen from Delaware and Maryland. A sizable number of blacks were forced into downward mobility and died in these two decades. Historians have yet to include this dimension in their studies of black vertical mobility and thus to portray accurately the parameters of that mobility.

Oblinger's work, by stressing the differences between transients and "stable" community members, has delineated two different patterns: 1) the male-headed, stable household form as described, for instance, by Herbert Gutman in his work on blacks in Buffalo and Brooklyn, New York, between 1845 and 1860; and 2) a new form which was hardly ever recorded in households and, put simply, was "just a woman floating between domestic jobs and boarding houses usually accompanied by two or three illegitimate foundlings."

The experiences of Rebecca Howard, a black woman who first appeared as an indentured servant in the Chester County Almshouse records in 1816, are typical of those who were caught in the latter pattern. After her indentureship expired in 1830, Rebecca took up housekeeping with a man named Clabber. In December of 1835, the Philadelphia Almshouse authorities brought Rebecca Clabber and her four-year-old illegitimate son, Nicholas, to the Chester County Poor House. Both Rebecca and Nicholas escaped on April 4, 1836, only to return from Willistown Township on May 31, 1837, both now going by the name of Denman. On the same day, Rebecca bore Garret "stillborn." In September, 1838, Rebecca was back from West Chester with Nicholas and her new son, William, eleven days old. On December 22, 1838, Rebecca again left the poor house and took Nicholas with her, leaving William behind. In January, 1840,

Rebecca disappeared from sight though Nicholas, now ten, was brought into the almshouse from East Caln Township.

Combining both the "stable" and "floating" patterns, Oblinger discovered that a majority of black families between 1830 and 1860 in pre-urban and pre-industrial southeastern Pennsylvania more closely followed the "floating" broken pattern. Neither urbanization nor industrialization influenced these families; rather, they were affected by black community formation and maintenance, a powerful inclusion-exclusion process, and a strong downward push because of the consolidation of craft industries and the pressure of the Irish.

In conclusion, Oblinger offered this excerpt of a letter to a Chester County almshouse steward from Ann Brown, a Negro living near Philadelphia in 1855, as best expressing the underlying assumptions of his work:

But the times are so hard among the poor classes at present that they can scarcely find themselves in the necessities of life. O, that someone could record our miseries to tell the eternal ages.

Dr. Juliani's remarks were based on his experiences collecting materials for what was originally a dissertation dealing with the social organization of Italian immigration to Philadelphia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The materials were, essentially, anything relevant to this topic, e.g., previously published studies, contemporary newspaper items, naturalization records, and interviews with clergymen, social workers, and other persons servicing the community.

It was discovered that certain church documents held much more than was at first anticipated. For example, the sacramental records for the oldest Italian national parish of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, established in Philadelphia in December of 1853, were found to contain considerable social information about families in the congregation.

But the most important source of data, and the one to be treated here, was a series of tape-recorded oral histories of aged men who had actually been immigrants during the period under investigation. The youngest individuals interviewed were in their late 60's. Some were in their 90's. As a group, these mem-

bers of an "endangered species" provided a wealth of information which could not possibly be gleaned from other sources.

Sessions were conducted in the summer of 1969 at three selected playgrounds in Italian neighborhoods in Philadelphia. These centers, operated by the city recreation department, featured activities for all ages, including card rooms, bocce courts, and other facilities for old men. Best success was realized in those situations where the talks were held in private and comfortable surroundings and where the subject was introduced to the interviewer by someone he respected and trusted.

While the interviews were designed to allow, insofar as possible, the respondent to tell his own story in his own way, a check list of topics was used in an effort to guide discussions through desirable areas. It was necessary to ask specific questions here and there to insure that important items were covered. So as not to tire or annoy the respondents, who after all were being taken away from their leisure time activities, sessions were relatively short, ranging from fifteen minutes to an hour.

There were, of course, a number of disappointments. Some of those interviewed could in no way appreciate the study's objectives. Others refused to cooperate because they distrusted the interviewer. Most, however, proved to be valuable sources of information.

The historian becoming involved in this area of oral history would do well to heed these suggestions:

- 1) The ideal situation is for the interviewer to speak the language of the ethnic neighborhood and to actually live in the community. He should get to know his subjects in personal and intimate ways so that they will lower their guards, overcome their usual suspicions of the outsider, and talk freely.
- 2) Make use of "contacts," i.e., meet and get to know the respondents through men who are well-known and highly thought of in the community. Work through responsible and influential ethnic organizations. Do not get involved in local factionalism.
- 3) Develop a good explanation, one that can be understood by the most skeptical or suspicious respondent, for the interviews.

- 4) Take advantage of your own ethnic background. If, for example, you are an Italian interviewing Italians, capitalize on that fact.
- 5) Do not hesitate to exploit group pride. You will have better success in getting the respondent to "open up" if you can evidence some understanding of those things that he is especially proud of.
- 6) Develop a "thick skin." Do not allow your ego and morale to be destroyed when the respondent deals with your "stupid question" in a no nonsense way. When interviewing rather earthy, robust, loud, and blunt individuals, you should expect that their answers will be delivered in earthy, straight forward, and colorful language.
- 7) The presence of a tape recorder should not present any kind of a problem. Providing they are not suspicious of the interviewer, most respondents will, in fact, be delighted to have their reminiscences preserved on tape.

The session's final speaker, Dr. Vince Liddle, described the objectives of the Ethnic Heritage Affairs Institute of Philadelphia. About three years ago, a group in Philadelphia, including Dr. Liddle, came to realize that many conflicts, many tense situations, had an element of ethnicity in them, that the dimension of ethnic identity was a very important factor in group tensions and in group conflicts. Resulting from this realization was the development of a series of ideas and programs. These finally culminated in February, 1972, in the establishment of the Ethnic Heritage Affairs Institute.

An independent agency, the Institute is based on one main conception, i.e., that ethnicity is a reality. This is a pluralistic society. The "melting pot" idea is just a myth. There is certainly nothing entirely new about this position. America has always been composed of ethnic groups and these groups have always been aware of their ethnicity. But in our day and age, we are facing a new emphasis which can perhaps be traced back to the end of the civil rights movement and to the beginning of the Black Power movement. At this point, Blacks stood up and said: "To be black is to be beautiful." They declared: "We admit that we are different and we like the difference and if you don't like it—too bad." This is probably the first time

in our history that any one group openly and loudly proclaimed the "melting pot" a myth.

The action of the Blacks caused a number of other segments in American society to begin to wonder why they should submerge their ethnic or racial identities. Why, they asked, should we restrain our pride in our heritage, our culture? Perhaps a related factor here was that certain ethnic groups felt threatened by the gains, or supposed gains, made by Blacks in politics and in the economic sphere and as a consequence attempted to gain a measure of security by reemphasizing their ethnic roots. Whatever the case, we have on the American scene today, especially in the major urban centers, an extremely strong emphasis on ethnicity and this is what the Ethnic Heritage Affairs Institute is trying to deal with.

Ethnicity in and by itself should not be considered a positive factor. If we just let it go and make no effort to direct it, there is the danger that it could become a very polarizing and very destructive force in society. We must work on the premise that ethnicity is neutral. What we do with it will determine how it works out.

The Ethnic Heritage Affairs Institute is developing two types of programs: social action programs and ethnic studies programs. In the first case, the purpose is to mature social action coalitions across ethnic and racial lines so that the various groups may get together for the common good. The ethnic studies programs, now being set up in Philadelphia's public and parochial schools, may be divided into three areas: 1) the language element, 2) heritage studies, and 3) polyethnic studies.

Students, in the Institute's view, should not be restricted to merely learning the language of their ethnic group. They should have the luxury of being able to attend classes that are actually conducted in languages other than English. There is reason to be optimistic that major gains will be made in this area in the near future.

The Institute is currently most deeply involved in heritage and polyethnic studies. The two are considered in a related way. In part, programs here are aimed at aiding children in elementary schools and in high schools to have a healthy sense of identity with their particular ethnic group, to be aware of their cultural background, to be proud of their heritage. A second objective is

to cause students of one ethnic background to appreciate why children of another group have every right to be proud of their heritage. To stress heritage studies and to ignore polyethnic studies is to court polarization and trouble.

How does the Institute operate? Working in multiethnic communities, in both public and parochial schools, and cooperating closely with the faculties of the schools, the staff devises uniform programs. Each ethnic group is studied on the basis of questions such as these: What was the country of origin like? What was it like when the immigrants arrived in this country? What difficulties were faced? What did the common people of the group contribute to American society?

For four days a week, the students in the various community schools study the identical curriculum in their respective classrooms. On the fifth day, groups from public and parochial schools are brought together. This in itself is a learning process. Allowing the students to get acquainted with other schools and with other children, it helps to break down barriers, misunderstandings, and tensions.

Representatives of the various ethnic groups are invited to come in and to speak to the students. They explain what it means to be a Polish-American, an Afro-American, an Italian-American, an Irish-American. The hoped for end result is an understanding of one's own group and an appreciation of the different cultures.

The Institute is faced with obvious and difficult problems. If the programs are to grow in meaningful ways, well-researched, sound, factual, and interesting materials must be placed in the hands of the teachers. If resources are not founded on good historical research and if they are not coordinated properly, nothing is likely to be accomplished but the perpetuation of old myths. There is, in short, a tremendous amount of work to be done by interested historians.

Directing the Saturday afternoon session, "Woman in Pennsylvania History: Research and Problems," was Dr. Frank B. Evans, former state archivist of Pennsylvania and currently a special assistant to the archivist of the United States. The first of the four speakers introduced by Dr. Evans was Dr. Frances Manges, Temple University, who treated the topic "Woman in the Eighteenth Century."

Dr. Manges confined her remarks primarily to women in busi-

ness and, more specifically, to the entrepreneurial woman, i.e., the woman who assumed the risk and management in business. Her study in this area has made it clear that pertinent material is definitely fragmentary. The problem is one of interpretation. What can you really infer from what is written? Occasionally the necessary evidence can be found to allow one to fit bits and pieces together in understandable and important ways. But all too often, the quest for such proof ends in frustration.

There is the initial problem of identification. A woman in business may, for example, be referred to simply as the Widow Jones. Which Widow Jones? Even if a first name is used, the possibility of a number of women having the same name is not at all unusual. The spelling of names can also be a problem. And it is not always easy to ascertain if a specific name belongs to a male or to a female.

Should it be discovered that a given woman was, in fact, involved in entrepreneurial activity, the researcher will no doubt find it difficult to answer such basic questions as these: Why did she work? How long was she involved in the enterprise? How important was her role? Answers, or hints at answers, depend on very careful research.

Colonial newspapers provide the basic frame of reference. Valuable data is to be found in such published notices as those relating to estate settlements, changes of address, auctions, and death notices. Obvious sources are diaries, business agreements, business related petitions, the accounts of business houses, receipt books, certificates of various kinds, and licenses, e.g., tavern licenses. Court records will, of course, shed light on those women who had difficulties with the law.

Tax lists are useful, but not to the extent that one might expect. The freeholders tax list of 1756, for instance, while it mentions some 200 women as freeholders, states the occupations of only 60. Perhaps all 200 were business women. The matter here is more than a little ambiguous. But this is the problem generally.

Next, Dr. Joan Burstyn, Carnegie-Mellon University, gave attention to "Women in the Nineteenth Century." The thesis was offered that the history of women can be divided into two categories: internal history and external history. The first would relate to views, activities, and organizations of women as they

affected or concerned the women themselves. The latter would deal with the wider society, showing the impact of female attitudes, actions, and movements on the over-all society. Work needs to be done on both the internal factors and on the external side. Whatever the field of concentration one goes into in the history of women in the nineteenth century, these two angles should be considered.

More specifically, Dr. Burstyn believes that historians should act to break down the homogeneous view we have thus far been presented about the position of women in society. In Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century, given the large number of ethnic groups inhabiting the state, there was a tremendous variety of modes of life. Life styles clearly changed as time went on. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the roles of women varied from ethnic group to ethnic group, from one segment of society to another, and were altered by changing circumstances. Needless to say, there is much to explore in these areas.

Materials which can be studied to help us better appreciate the place of the female in the family would include birth, marriage, and divorce records; census data and city records for family and household structure; medical literature on women; and letters, diaries, and other personal materials. Child rearing manuals, housekeeping booklets, and similar items used in households may also be enlightening.

To understand the role of women in the work force, it is necessary to investigate the educational systems and the factory records of the nineteenth century. Was the education of the female linked to the home life she was expected to adhere to? Were special courses of study available to train women for work outside the home? Or was there no real connection between the education and the actual work? What kinds of occupations were open to women? Did the ethnic background of the women determine the field of endeavor she would pursue?

What about the professional woman? Was she held at the practitioner level? Or did the opportunity exist to rise to the management, organizational plane. Personal papers, the records of business houses, and the records of the various professions hold some of the answers.

During the nineteenth century women were much involved in

voluntary societies. Work needs to be done to determine the degree to which they acted to ameliorate conditions. Their preventive works, i.e., their efforts to change the ways society was organized, should be analyzed.

Where did the funds come from for organizing things for women? Did the 1848 property act in Pennsylvania, which allowed married women to keep their property, have an effect on how women disposed of their funds? If so, where did they put the money. What kind of things were they supporting? These questions, and many more, deserve appropriate treatment by historians.

Dealing with the subject "Contributions of Quaker Women," the session's third speaker, Professor Edwin Bronner, Haverford College, pointed to the fact that the Society of Friends pioneered in recognizing, at least in the theoretical sense, the equality of men and women. Quaker women had an opportunity to begin to act out their desires, to carry out their concerns, to do things which women in other religious groups or other ethnic groups were long prevented from doing. They were often very active in important areas of American society. Collections exist to allow the researcher to explore in depth many of their contributions.

Papers relating to the following notable Quaker women of Pennsylvania, and this should not be considered a complete list, are to be found at the indicated depositories:

Eliza Ann Cooper Blaker (1854-1926); educator; Butler University Library, Indianapolis.

Elizabeth Powell Bond (1881-1926); educator; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.

Ellen Starr Brinton (1886-1954); librarian, reformer; Peace Collection, Swarthmore.

Elizabeth Margaret Chandler (1807-1834); author, abolitionist; Michigan Historical Collection, University of Michigan.

Anna Elizabeth Dickinson (1842-1932); orator, actress and reformer; Library of Congress and Cope Collection, Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.

Sarah Mapps Douglass (1806-1882); black Quaker, teacher and abolitionist; New York Historical Society; Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Weld-Grimké

- Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan; Weld-Grimké Manuscripts, Boston Public Library.
- Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker (ca. 1735-1807); minister, wife of Henry Drinker; Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
- Mary Smith Garrett (1839-1925); education of the deaf, child welfare; C. M. Allen Papers, Radcliffe.
- Sarah Grimké (1792-1873) and Angelina (1803-1879); reformers; Weld-Grimké Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan; Weld Manuscripts, Library of Congress; and Weld-Grimké Manuscripts, Boston Public Library.
- Amelia Mott Gummere (1859-1937); editor; Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
- Eliza Paul Kirkbride Gurney (1801-1881); minister; Quaker Collection, Haverford College, and Friends House, London.
- Cornelia Hancock (1840-1927); nurse, educator for freedmen; Clements Library, University of Michigan, and Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.
- Hannah Clothier Hull (1873-1958); reformer; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.
- Anna Thomas Jeanes (1822-1907); philanthropist; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.
- Emily Cooper Johnson (1885-1966); author, reformer; Peace Collection, Swarthmore.
- Jane Elizabeth Hitchcock Jones (1813-1896); women's rights, anti-slavery; Kelly Papers, American Antiquarian Society.
- Rebecca Jones (1739-1817); minister, teacher; Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
- Florence Kelley (1859-1932); social worker, Hull House and U. S. Children's Bureau; Kelley Family Papers, Columbia University, and National Consumers League, Library of Congress.
- Hertha Kraus (1897-1968); social worker; Social Welfare History, University of Minnesota, and School of Social Work, Bryn Mawr.
- Deborah Norris Logan (1761-1839); historian, author; Historical Society of Pennsylvania and American Philosophical Society.
- Hannah E. Myers Longshore (1819-1901); physician; Medical

- College of Pennsylvania (formerly Women's Medical College).
- Lucy Biddle Lewis (1861?-1941); peace; Peace Collection, Swarthmore.
- Rebecca Webb Pennock Lukens (1794-1854); iron manufacturer; Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.
- Clara Marshall (1847-1931); physician; Medical College of Pennsylvania.
- Margaret Hill Morris (1737-1816); minister; Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
- Susanne Morris (1682-1755); minister; Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Quaker Collection, Haverford College.
- Lucretia Mott (1793-1880); reformer; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore; Library of Congress; Columbia University; Radcliffe.
- Sara Louisa Vicers Oberholtzer (1841-1930); author, reformer; Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- Hannah Callowhill Penn (1671-1726); acting proprietor; Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Friends Library, London.
- Ann Preston (1813-1872); physician and dean, Women's Medical College; Medical College of Pennsylvania.
- Sarah Pugh (1800-1884); teacher, abolitionist and women's rights; Weston and Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library.
- Jane Palen Rushmore (1864-1958); administrator; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore.
- Martha Schofield (1839-1916); educator of freedmen; Schofield Papers, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore; National Archives; Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.
- Hannah Whitall Smith (1832-1911); author, feminist, reformer and evangelist; Logan Pearsall Smith Papers, Library of Congress, and WCTU National Headquarters, Evanston, Illinois.
- Martha Carey Thomas (1857-1935); college president; Bryn Mawr College Library.
- Sarah Wistar (1761-1804); diarist, author; Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- Martha Coffin Pelham Wright (1806-1875); women's rights; Garrison Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith.

In private hands are manuscripts pertaining to the careers of Anna Cox Brinton (1887-1969), educator and reformer; Sarah Read Adamson Dolley (1829-1909), physician; Elizabeth Gertrude Levin Stern (1890-1954), social worker, journalist and author; and Mary Morris Vaux Walcott (1860-1940), artist and naturalist.

The papers of these important women have not been located: Anna Elizabeth Broomall (1847-1931), physician; Hannah Pierce Cox (1797-1876), antislavery worker; Lydia Barrington Darragh (1729-1789), nurse and Revolutionary heroine; Abigail Hopper Gibbons (1801-1893), reformer; Phebe Earle Gibbons (1821-1893), author and reformer; Anna Hallowell (1831-1905), welfare worker and education reforms; Elizabeth Price Martin (1864-1932), civic leader; Anna Lea Merritt (1844-1930), artist; Anne Parrish (1760-1800), educator; Frances Slocum (1773-1847), Indian captive; Alice Barber Stephens (1858-1932), illustrator (drawings in Library of Congress); and Mira Sharpless Townsend (1798-1859), reformer. Perhaps a little digging by archivists and historians will uncover papers on these significant Quaker women.

Last to speak was Dr. Earl Schmidt, California State College, who titled his presentation "Archives on Women There and Here." Stating that source materials on American feminism exist in great abundance, Dr. Schmidt deplored the fact that such materials are often overlooked, ignored, or dismissed as unimportant. In American history texts, for example, women get less than one percent of the space. This is hardly fair representation.

While the Library of Congress and the National Archives have hundreds of relevant collections that are catalogued, few of these have been investigated in comprehensive ways. Moreover, one could probably write a dissertation listing the thousands of files on women at these two institutions that are not catalogued or are not classified by sex.

Important, sizable, and processed collections relating to feminism are held at numerous archives within Pennsylvania and throughout the United States. These should be far more popular with historians than is presently the case. Perhaps they should be better publicized. And certainly a determined effort should be made to arrange and to properly identify non-catalogued materials.

Given the roles played by Pennsylvania's women in anti-slavery, missionary, temperance, political, educational, cultural, and a multitude of other movements and activities, depositories of this state should be in the forefront in collecting and making available pertinent records, papers, and oral histories. Those historians treating the history of the Commonwealth should—Dr. Schmidt concluded—take note of what can and should be done to correctly and justly deal with the female in Pennsylvania history.

The Seventh Annual Research Conference provided firm evidence that large numbers of research opportunities exist in areas relating to the anthracite region and industry, ethnic studies, and women in Pennsylvania history. The necessities of seeking out additional sources, of giving materials proper archival treatment, of adequately publicizing resources, and of causing historians to meet their responsibilities in the stated fields of study were substantially explained.