

THE 1973 RESEARCH CONFERENCE AT HARRISBURG: TOPICS IN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY PRIOR TO 1800

BY HARRY E. WHIPKEY

SPONSORED by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the research committee of the Pennsylvania Historical Association, the Eighth Annual Research Conference on Pennsylvania History was conducted at Harrisburg on Friday, April 27, and Saturday, April 28, 1973. Sessions were held at the 1769 John Harris Mansion, headquarters of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, Friday afternoon; at the Holiday Inn Town, Friday evening; and in the search room of the archives building, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Saturday. Conferees were informed on current projects and studies relating to the papers and writings of William Penn, on problems and sources in the history of religion in colonial Pennsylvania, on various aspects of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania, and on the growing importance of genealogy as an auxiliary to the study of history. An illustrated lecture dealing with the influence of London on the planning, architecture, and culture of colonial Philadelphia was 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, president of the association and director of the Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Following a welcome by Gerald West, president of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, and a response by Dr. Kent, the conference's initial session, "Scholarship on William Penn,"

*Along with Dr. Hummel, the research committee of the Pennsylvania Historical Association is membered by: Dr. Edwin B. Bronner, Haverford College; Dr. Frank B. Evans, National Archives; Dr. Elizabeth M. Geffen, Lebanon Valley College; Dr. John J. Serff, Bloomsburg State College; Dr. Joseph Walker, Millersville State College; and Harry E. Whipkey, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

featured these speakers: Dr. Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; David Fraser, Haverford College; and Dr. Harrison T. Meserole, Pennsylvania State University. Serving as chairman was Dr. Kent.

Dr. Robbins, chairman of the Papers of William Penn Committee, an ad hoc committee involved in collecting and arranging the papers of Pennsylvania's founding father, observed that there is no modern printed collection of the papers and works of William Penn, 1644-1718. Joseph Besse, 1683-1750, with the assistance of the widow Sowle, published *The Collected Works* in two folio volumes in London, 1726. These were reissued in part or in whole in 1771, 1782, and 1825. Kraus, a reprint house, issued *Select Works*, possibly of the 1825 printing, in 1971. Single letters and pieces, a few anthologies, and some of the better known series of letters have, from time to time, appeared in journals, now mostly out of print. Few of these satisfy modern standards of scholarly accuracy.

Editors have too often reproduced what they thought Penn should have written, rather than the literal text of the manuscript. Most notorious are the modifications effected in the Penn-Logan correspondence, published by J. B. Lippincott of Philadelphia in 1872, where misdating, omission of paragraphs, words, and phrases reveal that there was more anxiety to conceal Penn's remarkable talent for abusive prose than to print what he actually wrote. The Quaker's vengeful wish to pursue the enemy "till he bows or breaks" may not add to the saintly image. But it certainly reveals an aspect of character we might otherwise miss. Besse, it should be noted, did not omit Penn's statement to Baxter that "the scurvey of the mind is thy distemper." The earliest seems to have been among the most honest of Penn's editors.

Stage I of twentieth-century interest in Penn's papers begins around 1910 when Albert Cook Myers planned a full edition of the letters and writings, eliciting generous encouragement for the project from both sides of the Atlantic. Sickness prevented achievement of more than what is now a useful basis for further work. The number of documents as well as repositories to be examined has more than doubled since Myers's activity ceased in the mid-1930s.

Interest revived when the Myers Collection was deposited in the custody of the Chester County Historical Society. Dr. Charles

Wendell David and the late Dr. Roy F. Nichols assembled an ad hoc group from area institutions to discuss policy. In October, 1959, a "Report of a Survey" of the Myers Collection by Mary Maples and Joseph Illick was completed, financed by the generosity of the late Irenée Dupont. Other funding was sought by Drs. Nichols and David, although largely unsuccessful. A promise then made by a generous Quaker couple has since been implemented in ten annual installments of \$1,000 apiece.

Implementation of an excellent plan for editorial administration was frustrated by illness. Although a conference held in 1968 still considered a letterpress edition of Penn's papers feasible, Drs. Nichols and David soon retired, a smaller ad hoc committee took over in 1969, and mounting costs put all thought of publication out of the foreseeable future.

Stage II starts with the present committee's determination to begin the essential work of collecting and organizing all relevant materials. The American Philosophical Society made a grant which made it possible to enlist on a part time basis the invaluable help of Hannah Benner Roach, research associate. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, besides assisting with advice and expertise, has provided office space and files. A typist has been employed as needed. It has also been possible to secure the services of Dr. Isabel Witte Kenrick, a graduate of Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr and currently a resident of London, who has searched British collections and collections in Holland, Germany, and France. Friends have chipped in with advice, news, and occasional copies of letters found.

Stage II, if stage I ends with the modification of plans in 1969, is now nearing completion. The American Philosophical Society's grant has been exhausted. This is the tenth year of the Quaker gift. Funds are badly needed. Fortunately in this crisis a number of kind friends, the timely aid of the Grundy Foundation, and Mrs. Richmond Miller's thoughtful channelling of memorials to her late husband into the committee's treasury have kept the project going. Help that will be much appreciated is being arranged by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

The committee has yet to extract letters from the Penn Mutual Bank. There are still a few copies to be made at the Chester County Historical Society. Single items, known to exist but not yet located, will, it is hoped, eventually turn up both here and

abroad. As of April 12, 1973, 2,870 pieces were accessioned, of which 1,367 were transcribed and, where necessary, translated from French or Latin. Though the committee has sought all documents in which Penn was personally concerned—law suits, accounts, letters to and from him—it has not listed land grants of a miscellaneous character. More than half of the material gathered has never been printed, or has been printed partially, or has been printed very inaccurately. Transcription, which has often enabled separated parts of manuscripts to be united, must be continued. All material and data must be gone over carefully and checked for dating, provenance, and publication. This requires more help than is presently available, but when done the committee will be ready for stage III.

This stage will encompass the process of microfilming the files. Reels can then be bought by interested individuals or institutions. Stage III entails the preparation of a descriptive booklet like that made for the Thomas Penn films, of target cards, and of listings of each reel. Application for financial help has been made to the National Historical Publications Commission. It remains to be seen whether the funds will be forthcoming. Up to two years is thought to be necessary for work on this stage.

Stage IV could well be editorial work on the papers and their publication in some eight to ten volumes at an estimated cost of approximately \$200,000. Meanwhile the reels produced by stage III would afford a relatively economical means of becoming acquainted with the Penn papers for persons remote from the scattered originals.

A few words about methods are appropriate. A list of places visited by Albert Cook Myers was made available by the 1959 "Survey." To this the committee added further suggestions. Numerous libraries in this country have been contacted by Mrs. Roach. Mrs. Kenrick has consulted the list at Quality Court in London, written to all county record offices in Great Britain, searched sales catalogues, advertised, and worked in the Friend's Library in Euston Road, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, and the Dr. Williams Library. She has also examined collections in Oxford, Birmingham, and Northampton.

Well over 600 items have to this date come from the British Isles. Though the yield from most German, Dutch, and French collections has so far been disappointing, a copy of one letter

has been received from Berlin and another is promised from Marburg. On this side of the Atlantic, Philadelphia and environs hold the greatest number of Penn manuscripts. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania can boast of having more than sixty boxes of Penn papers. Its Cliveden, Cadwalader, Dreer, and Gratz collections have also produced treasures. Items have come from up and down the eastern seaboard. The State Archives and the Bureau of Land Records, both in Harrisburg, have important Penn materials. Further afield, the Clements Library in Ann Arbor, the Macalester Library at St. Paul, the Huntington Library in California, and the Chicago Historical Society have all provided material. Individuals and dealers have permitted photocopy. From such private owners, rather than any other sources that can now be thought of, may yet come missing items or unknown additions to the committee's files.

When a photocopy of a Penn manuscript is obtained, it is given an accession number, put in a jacket, and placed by date in the committee's files. If it has already been printed, a copy of relevant pages accompanies it, together with verbatim and literal transcription and, when necessary, translation. The committee's catalogue drawers contain one for accessions, another for letters by date, and a third for alphabetical listings. Each jacket in the files has an index card with Penn's name in the left corner, the date in the right corner, the name of the person from whom the letter was received or to whom the letter was directed, and information on the collection in which the letter may be found in manuscript, printed version, or both. It may be concluded that the collection at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, affords opportunity for convenient study, reassessment, and discovery.

Ideally, of course, Penn scholars should be familiar with the European intellectual development in which Penn was so deeply versed as well as with the history of the British Isles and the history of colonial America. Penn was interested in a great variety of things and had a multitude of correspondents. The student, if familiar with the essential background information, may find in the committee's files not only fuller illustration of known biographical detail but also unnoticed legal suits over and above the famous Penn-Ford litigation, material about Penn's personal finances, and information about the neglected years, 1702-1712. Penn's concern and involvement in both religious and political

issues, his anxiety about trade, piracy and other matters affecting both his own and the colony's prosperity, and the apparent changes in his personality as the years wore on, along with many other aspects of his life, may now be conveniently and profitably examined, thanks to the work already done by the Papers of William Penn Committee. This should not cloud the fact, however, that the committee needs increased support, i.e., in the form of money, if it is to expand its services and move from stage II to stage III and ultimately to stage IV.

Along with Dr. Robbins, the Papers of William Penn Committee is membered by: Dr. Whitfield J. Bell, American Philosophical Society; Dr. Edwin B. Bronner, Haverford College; Travis Coxe, Chester County Historical Society; Dr. Mary Maples Dunn, Bryn Mawr College; Dr. Richard S. Dunn, University of Pennsylvania; Nicholas B. Wainwright, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Hannah Benner Roach.

Speaking on the subject "The Published Works of William Penn," the next speaker, David Fraser, described his work, currently being conducted in cooperation with Dr. Edwin B. Bronner, in preparing a bibliography of Penn's published materials. Questions involved in this project include: How many printings and states were there of each of Penn's texts? What was the size of each printing? How widely was each printing distributed? How did each of Penn's writings influence his contemporaries? What is the whole of Penn's canon? What may be conclusively attributed to him?

If these are the questions, how does one go about answering them? What sort of bibliography is to be the result of such inquiry? The result, it is hoped, will reflect the approach.

There are two camps of bibliographers practicing today. One will recognize a variation of a text only when it has been completely reset and contains some measure of different material. The other will claim "variation" when as much as a period shifts a millimeter right or left in the printer's chase. Fraser and Dr. Bronner feature themselves closer to the former than the latter. If a period slipped out of the chase or it is suspected that the press had been stopped in order to correct a typographic error, they are not going to "spin and whirl around the room with delight crying, 'variant.'" They expect to remain nonplused as they ask the question: "Is this a stop-press correction, or have we found

evidence in support of yet another printing of an altered text?"

How is it possible to construct answers to such questions as attribution, variations of a single text, the size and distribution of each printing, and influence? Obviously the answer to this will depend on with what there is to work. The Haverford bibliographers have the books themselves but probably not all of the variants. They have the Penn letters and Hannah Benner Roach's card index to all Penn letters containing mention of printed books. Then there is Moxon, published in 1683, who describes in detail the practical nature of the printing trade of his time. The Stationers' Company Rules for Printers and Letter-Founders can also be referred to.

How do the bibliographers use these objects in their inquiry? They compare the books one to another, each supposed copy to each supposed copy. Initially they look for variations in type-setting style. Then they look for type changes within each style. At the same time, care is taken to note any textual irregularities. This will help in determining when a text first appeared and how many times it reappeared during Penn's lifetime. It will also give evidence on how often the text was altered and how it was changed. Attention is also given to the number of texts that cropped up in response to Penn's writings, i.e., the replies. These may not only help in attributing Penn's anonymous publications but will also help gauge his influence.

In the case of some titles, it will be necessary to study such things as watermarks, broken type, unique looking ornaments, typographical style, quirks of composition, binding, and anything else which might provide a clue to printer and date of imprint. This information, which is lacking for approximately seventy of Penn's works, is needed to establish chronology, and in some cases to deny attribution, since in the pamphlet wars, only certain printers were approved by Quakers to do their work. Conceivably, Penn's opposition printers could have printed some babble over his name, just to make him look idiotic. The identity of the printer is at least circumstantial evidence in support of or against a particular attribution.

What is to be the product of all this energy? One must remember that no bibliography is complete, and every bibliography is obsolete the day it is published. With this sobering thought in mind, the bibliographers expect to reveal something of how

Penn's mind worked when he came to writing things down, how he might have tampered with his texts before each new printing, and what import his little pamphlets might have had. They also expect, "rather selfishly," to learn something about seventeenth-century pamphleteering.

Dr. Meserole, literary specialist and associate head of the Department of English, Pennsylvania State University, reported on the bibliography of critical and biographical writings on William Penn which is being compiled at the Center for Bibliography at the Pennsylvania State University. This endeavor, more than two years in development, is intended to complement the work being carried on by Dr. Robbins and her colleagues on the manuscripts and documents written by and related to Penn, and David Frazer's work on Penn's published writings. The goals are to record every significant published critical document relating to Penn and to prepare a 100-200 word abstract for each item; to input these records into computer storage using the MLA computer program, thus establishing a reliable data base for consultation by scholars and students undertaking research on William Penn and his milieu; to keep this file up to date by adding significant materials as they are published each year; to publish in hard copy a selective list of the most important sources in the data base, providing full bibliographical information, an abstract for each item, and a subject and author index.

To date, the center has recorded just over 900 items and has another 100 in the process of verification. Roughly a quarter of the total has been abstracted. The work of abstracting other verified entries is proceeding as rapidly as time and funds permit. The aim is to have a 1,000-unit compilation fully computerized, abstracted, and ready for phototronic processing by the end of 1974. The intention is to produce twenty-five or thirty copies of this material to send to a selected group of specialists for a preliminary critical response. Then, on the basis of the critical evaluation received, the plan is to publish this selective list as the first fruits of the center's labors.

Those familiar with Penn and his times will have already recognized the two principal problems that must be faced in compiling a critical bibliography on the founder of Pennsylvania. Penn was energetic, productive, ambidextrous, even ubiquitous. His interests and accomplishments were so numerous and ranged

so widely that they resist the comfortable labels of "field," "area," "discipline," etc., so dear to modern scholars. In seeking the critical estimates they wish to record, therefore, the bibliographers are casting a very large net. And when they have located, retrieved, and processed the essays, books, monographs, and dissertations that are both relevant to the project and of significant enough value to demand recording in this file, they must order these data within a classification system flexible enough to accommodate the broad diversity of entries and at the same time demonstrably functional enough for scholarly advantage.

To solve these problems, the MLA bibliographical and abstracts electronic data processing system has been adopted as the control for processing, input, storage, and retrieval of data. In brief, this system requires that each element within a bibliographical entry and its accompanying abstract be input separately so that the center then has roughly thirty to fifty points of access to the data. The obvious elements will be input, of course: author(s), title, subtitle, publisher, city of publication, date of publication, inclusive pagination, etc.

To complement these, project personnel shall input not only the entire abstract of each bibliographical record but also an array of thesaurus terms—as many as a dozen or so—that have been assigned editorially. These flags, added to the series of classification designates appended to each entry, will permit rapid, efficient, and economical search of the total data base for a very wide range of potential projects without the limitations imposed by use of a classification system only.

To illustrate, one can use as example Penn's *Letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders* (1683). This *Letter* contains thirty-three discrete parts dealing with such matters as the "frivolous and Idle Stories" circulated about Penn after his departure from England; the soil, water, and topography of the colony; the trees, plants, flowers, fruit, and "Natural Produce" of Pennsylvania; the natives: their language, customs, houses, material culture, and diet; and so on. The *Letter* is, in short, a document of interest to modern students in a variety of fields, and the plan is to so encode this *Letter* in the bibliographical system that it will be retrieved in any search touching upon any one or more of the *Letter's* subjects. The bibliographers will employ similar encoding for the collection of critical essays focusing

on this *Letter*—six have been recorded so far—so that the document itself and the criticism on it will be linked for retrieval purposes.

The work is by no means complete at this time, and thus any preliminary remarks made on the character and range of focus of the materials in the bibliographical file to date must be at best tentative. With that caveat, several observations may be made.

Three areas of investigation seem clearly to have attracted most attention from critics of Penn: first, Penn as a Quaker, or perhaps more loosely, Penn's theology, which subject accounts for more than 400 of the total number of records so far; second, Penn as historical figure, including his involvement with historical events on both sides of the Atlantic; here are recorded 275 items; third, Penn as a figure for biographical studies, including a fair number of genealogical and related inquiries—200 items.

Oddly enough from the point of view of a literary specialist, the center has recorded only forty-five items that can be construed as focusing on Penn's literary activities: his skill as letter writer; the diction, structure, clarity of organization, sentence style, and general quality of his prose; and his keenness as observer. Finally, bibliographical items number only fourteen in the file.

Assuming that the center can complete its work on the Penn bibliography on schedule, and that it can achieve the twin requirements of accuracy of detail and thoroughness of coverage that characterize every good bibliography, the completed project should be of genuine use to scholars.

First, it will provide a well-classified, easy to consult, and up-to-date source for recorded scholarship in the field. Students embarking on theses or dissertations will not have to spend the first six months of their research time locating what has been written. A rapid and relatively inexpensive computer search will provide what such a student needs.

Second, and equally important, it will suggest to specialists in the field what needs to be done in Penn scholarship. Indeed, if this preliminary estimate of the bibliographical file amassed so far is valid, those in literary studies should be chagrined, or pleased: chagrined that so little attention has been paid to the literary art of one of America's foremost early citizens and one

of its most compelling writers; pleased that the field offers so many opportunities for the aspiring student of seventeenth-century American literature.

At the Friday evening dinner meeting, Mrs. Ferne S. Hetrick, chairman, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, offered a word of welcome, stressing the commission's strong support of all responsible archival and historical programs. Introduced by William J. Wewer, executive director of the commission, the featured speaker was Dr. Margaret B. Tinkcom, historian of the Philadelphia Historical Commission. Dr. Tinkcom's talk, beautifully illustrated with slides, was titled "London's Influence on Colonial Philadelphia."

A colonial society commonly mirrors the society of the homeland, and it is not surprising, therefore, that eighteenth-century Philadelphia reflected England's capital city, London, as that city emerged from the Middle Ages after the Great Fire of 1666. Dr. Tinkcom offered considerable evidence in support of the following:

1. Philadelphia's city plan bears direct and obvious relationships to those proposals made for the rebuilding of London after the fire.
2. The regulations adopted by the governing body—the mayor and aldermen—of Philadelphia as well as those proposed earlier by William Penn reflected the regulations embodied in the parliamentary acts of 1667 and 1670 which dictated the terms under which London's "rebuilding citizens" could proceed to reconstruct their houses, their shops, and their society.
3. Philadelphia architecture was dominated by English taste, particularly as that taste was expressed in the work of James Gibbs whose book of designs was published in London in 1728 and extensively used by the members of Philadelphia's Carpenters' Company.

Presiding at the Saturday morning session, "Pennsylvania and the American Revolution," was Dr. Harry M. Tinkcom of the History Department of Temple University. These speakers were introduced: Walter High, teacher and administrator at Drexel University; Lemuel Molovinsky of the History Department of the Capitol Campus, Pennsylvania State University; John Wineland,

Philadelphia; and the Reverend Vernon Nelson, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem. High, Molovinsky, and Wineland are currently completing work for their doctorates at Temple University.

High, with his doctoral dissertation focusing on the relationship between loyalism and the Philadelphia social structure during the American Revolution, offered observations and suggestions on the study of loyalism in Pennsylvania. Perhaps the easiest observation to make is that very little attention has been accorded to the Loyalists by historians. They have been dismissed, for example, as "the ill informed and the misinformed" and, in the view of Tom Paine, as weak and prejudiced men who could not possibly understand the revolutionary position. Objective and factual accounts are obviously needed.

Studies of Loyalists in Pennsylvania are clearly incomplete. Wilbur H. Siebert's *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania*, published in 1920, is a short study with concentration given to the situation in western Pennsylvania. More could be done to explain sympathies and attitudes as they existed along the frontier. But much remains to be done to adequately cover loyalism as it functioned in the heavily populated eastern areas of Pennsylvania, especially in Philadelphia, which was labeled by John Adams in 1777 as a hotbed of Toryism.

For identification purposes, it is often necessary to rely on such sources as printed diaries and the "Black List" of attainted traitors. Despite errors of various sorts, Lorenzo Sabine's *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, published in 1864, is helpful, if used with caution. Regrettably, the studies of contemporary scholars like Wallace Brown are far too general.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania holds a large quantity of manuscript and printed material relating to Pennsylvania Loyalists. Articles published in the society's *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in the 1880s and 1890s, though of secondary importance themselves, are worth investigating because they often give space to diaries written by and correspondence relating to Loyalists. Printed material of consequence is to be found in the University of Pennsylvania's Rare Book Collection. A visit to the Library of Congress would be rewarding particularly because of its new collection of Joseph Galloway material.

Among specific areas of study which have yet to be adequately

treated, one can point to the careers of certain of those Loyalists who stayed in Pennsylvania after 1783 and who became prominent in the governmental system of the new nation. For example, Tench Coxe was appointed Hamilton's assistant secretary of the treasury in 1789. Benjamin Chew, attorney general and Supreme Court justice before 1776, ends up as a judge and president of the High Court of Errors and Appeals of Pennsylvania. Edward Shippen, a moderate Loyalist who was also Benedict Arnold's father-in-law, served on the High Court of Errors and Appeals after the war, eventually becoming chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in 1799.

There is also a good deal of purely biographical work which should be done. The Allen family certainly deserves more treatment, particularly William Allen, son of the chief justice of the Provincial Supreme Court, who served in the Continental army before raising a regiment of Loyalists in 1778, and his brother Andrew, who went over to the British cause after the Declaration of Independence, having served earlier on the Committee of Safety and on the Continental Congresses. If a good many of the capsule biographies of Loyalists were given more body, quantitative historians could use them to provide a useful composite picture of the group.

Finally, the position of Quaker historians like Jones and Sharpless, who have stressed Quaker neutrality during the war, must be re-examined, particularly in light of the fact that the patriots thought it necessary to send seventeen Quakers to Winchester, Virginia, at their own expense, just prior to the occupation of Philadelphia by the British.

Molovinsky, reporting on his soon to be completed doctoral dissertation on the financial history of Pennsylvania during the War for Independence, explained that the financial history of a state is essentially a study of the receipt and expenditure of revenue, maintenance of an adequate supply of currency, and the regulation of the economy to secure these ends. Wars, however, place great strains on the financial resources of a state, necessitating modification of fiscal policies in order to insure their effectiveness in prosecuting the war. In addition, the manner by which Pennsylvania responded to the financial problems of the War for Independence was further complicated by internal political changes.

The proponents of independence, popularly known as the radicals, led the fight for independence and a new constitution for Pennsylvania—the most democratic of all the new state constitutions. Coming to power in 1776, the radicals remained in control of the Pennsylvania government until the fall of 1780. Besides the task of governing the Commonwealth, the radicals addressed themselves to the financial problems of raising revenue, depreciating currency, and a runaway inflation. Their solutions to the fiscal problems were, for the most part, continuations of the colonial experience.

Those who opposed independence, the conservatives, had been in power in the colony until independence. Many of these men reluctantly accepted independence but were unalterably opposed to the 1776 Pennsylvania Constitution because the document provided for a popularly elected assembly with virtually no check on its authority. Hence, the conservatives organized the Republican party, dedicated to the overthrow of the Pennsylvania Constitution. Furthermore, the Republicans were quite critical of the financial policies of the constitutionalists, and as financial conditions worsened, the Republicans proposed financial policies which they contended would stabilize financial conditions, not only in Pennsylvania, but throughout the entire continent. A continental impost, a single paper currency, and the Bank of North America were some of the proposals which the Republicans made in an effort to improve financial conditions in Pennsylvania, to secure a closer financial and political union of all the states, and to consolidate and expand their political power in the state during the later years of the war.

Thus Pennsylvania's financial history during the War for Independence is interwoven with the political changes of these years. It is hoped, therefore, that a study of the financial history of the Commonwealth during the War for Independence will add, not only to an understanding of how Pennsylvania's financial policies functioned and their effectiveness, but also to a broadening of our comprehension of the relationship between financial policies and politics in Pennsylvania during this period.

Wineland, who is currently concluding a four-year scholarship at Temple, opened his talk by noting that scholarly research abounds with the varying shades of recounted events in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. Monographs, dissertations, and

symposia have explored politics, economics, society, and urban developments. The period of the Revolutionary War and early Republic—a seminal era with Philadelphia as locus of activity—has been studied by a grand assortment of historians. But, new and old alike, questions persist in troubling the historian's quest for understanding.

A fresh direction has been blowing recently—ironically so from the “Mother Country”—forcing new questions and insights about the supposed “inarticulate,” those faceless masses who are colorlessly listed in the census as “shopkeeper,” “taylor,” “mariner,” and “tavernkeeper.” But the study of the inarticulate is just gaining in interest, and the bulk of the work still lies ahead. Spurred on by a curious coalition of British, New Left, “new social,” urban, and economic historians and quantifiers, the masses are emerging as a far more potent and influential group with very definite political, religious, and social notions of what the new Republic might promise for them.

Wineland's dissertation, still in an early stage of development, has come out of a rather persistent question: “A Revolution? So What?” Students of the American Revolution are well acquainted with what the period meant to Dickinson, Franklin, Galloway, Morris, Rittenhouse, and Wilson. But what did it mean to the Irish “workie” who immigrated into the capital city in a turbulent age, set upon making his way in the reputed land of opportunity? How did the Revolution affect his life? What opportunities could he realize to fulfill the promise of the American Revolution?

Records are mute, of course, on the opinions of the masses of people. They were unimportant—except for those who could vote. But there are a great many clues which can be pieced together, and it is these records and these questions that Wineland will use in his study to hopefully draw a social cross section of Philadelphia in the 1790s stressing mostly the patterns of development and behavior in the pre-industrial city.

The inarticulate are not the only ones to be studied. It is necessary first to identify them, and this is partly done by the process of elimination from census and directory lists. Those eliminated, perhaps the larger “establishment,” make interesting substance for generalizations too—not unlike the recent work of Professor Pessen in a later period. The logic following the question, “So

What?," therefore, moves more to certain larger urban patterns rather than more narrowly to one group. It is a study of a city, a very unique and important city in a unique and important period.

Essential questions remain unanswered regarding the city at this time. There is a notion among some scholars that Philadelphia was a deferential, orderly, and mixed eighteenth-century city in which all sorts and conditions of men rubbed shoulders but where men knew their proper stations and the ultimate wisdom of elite leadership. Substantial documentation may contribute to a resolution of this problem. Social organizational patterns, too, may lead to some revision, for the city was rich in membership opportunities.

The great tensions which sometimes became violent in this eruptive era made precedent more important than just to the first president. Secret societies, revolutionary rhetoric, and rapid economic and social movements created a tense crisis in order and disorder, and the need for fundamental self-definition and meaning of "Republican principles" produced new devices for stability, a plethora of activity viewed now as the portent of the great social movements of the nineteenth century.

The session's final speaker, the Reverend Vernon Nelson, discussed the state of historical research on the Moravians and their related experiences during the American Revolution. The Moravians were a small group even in revolutionary times, comprising then perhaps one percent of Pennsylvania's population. Located in such urban centers as Philadelphia, Lancaster, and York, as well as in rural areas, Moravian places were for the most part either scenes of important political activity, or on the fringe of military operations. Location, and the fact that the Moravians kept extensive records which still exist, account for the considerable attention accorded them by historians.

Nearly all Moravian communities have published histories either in book, pamphlet, or article form. Among the many general histories which should be considered are the following:

Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892, with Some Account of Its Founders and Their Early Activity in America* (Bethlehem, 1903). Reprinted by AMS.

Two Centuries of Nazareth (Nazareth, 1940). In Print. Available from the Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth.

Mary Augusta Huebener, "Bicentennial History of the Lititz Moravian Congregation," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XIV, Parts III and IV, 199-271. In Print. Available from the Moravian Historical Society.

Abraham Ritter, *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia from its Foundation in 1742 to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, 1857).

Preston A. Barba, *They Came to Emmaus* (Emmaus, 1959). Note entire chapter on the American Revolution from original sources. Probably in print and available in Emmaus.

Harry Emilus Stocker, *A History of the Moravian Church in New York City* (New York City, 1922).

Important printed matter concerning primarily the revolutionary period would include:

Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, *John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period* (Bethlehem, 1940). Also in *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, XII, Parts III and IV, 85-429. Probably still available from the Moravian Historical Society.

Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States* (Princeton, 1968).

John Wolff Jordan, "Bethlehem During the Revolution. Extracts from the Diaries in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII (1888), 385-406, XIII (1889), 71-89.

....., "Nazareth, Penna., During the Revolution, 1775-1779," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVIII (1914), 302-310.

....., "The Military Hospitals at Bethlehem and Lititz During the Revolution," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XX (1896), 137-157.

The Moravian records that have been most thoroughly researched are those relating to pacifism. Bishop Hamilton's *John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period*, while probably still the best single work on the Moravians and the war, is somewhat misleading since Ettwein was more pacifistic than the typical Moravian. Given Ettwein's strong views, it is quite surprising that he got along as well as he did with revolutionary leaders. Chapter seven, "The Peace Testimony of the Early American Moravians: An Ambiguous Witness," of Brock's *Pacifism in the United States* provides an interesting explanation of the Moravian attitude toward pacifism.

John W. Jordan, in his extracts from Moravian records pertaining to the Revolutionary War as published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, apparently attempted to have the Moravians appear more patriotic than they really were. He deleted passages which indicated pacifistic sentiments. However, prominent Moravians such as Nicholas Garrison, Jr., a Philadelphia shopkeeper and amateur artist, and William Henry, a Lancaster gunmaker, politician, and inventor, avidly supported the revolutionary cause. Actually the Moravians were not pacifists in the same way the Quakers were. The Moravians did not object to participating in the war except in the combatant way.

Moravian activity during the revolutionary period was mainly in Pennsylvania, but other places are important for comparative reasons. This list of places where valuable manuscript materials originated should not be considered complete:

Settlements: Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, Pennsylvania; Hope, New Jersey; Salem, North Carolina.

Town congregations: Philadelphia, Lancaster, and York, Pennsylvania; New York City; Newport, Rhode Island.

Country congregations: Schoeneck, Emmaus, Gnadenhütten, Heidelberg, Hebron or Lebanon, Bethel, Mount Joy or Donegal, Pennsylvania; Oldmann's Creek, New Jersey; Staten Island, New York; Graceham, Maryland.

Indian congregations: One should not forget those Indian congregations which moved to Ohio shortly before the Revolution.

Viewed in general terms, some of the more important manuscript materials are:

Registers: Births, marriages, deaths, receptions, ordinations, etc.

Catalogs: Current lists of members, children.

Congregational diaries: Day-by-day accounts of events, including in the early diaries recordings of political events.

Memoirs: Biographies or autobiographies read at funerals.

Letters: Primarily from ministers in the field and directed to the headquarters in Bethlehem.

Minutes of elders: Mainly on "spiritual" matters.

Minutes of trustees: Mainly on financial matters.

Business records: Inventories of businesses operated by the church and ledgers, journals, cash books, etc., of church businesses.

On microfilm at the Archives of the Moravian Church and at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission are the *Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America*, forty reels, a microfilm publication of Research Publications, Inc., 12 Lunar Drive, New Haven, Connecticut; the *Ettwein Papers*, eight reels, a microfilm publication of Research Publications; and the *Bethlehem Diary*, twenty-four reels covering the period 1742-1871. The latter is a security filming only.

Although a few of the old congregations, such as Emmaus, have retained their records, most of the Moravian materials are located at the Archives of the Moravian Church, 1228 Main Street, Bethlehem. For information on records located in North Carolina, the proper address is the Moravian Archives, Drawer M, Salem Station, Winston-Salem. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and other institutions have in some cases considerable amounts of manuscript material relating to the Moravians. Those wishing to use the Moravian records should be quite familiar with the German language, since most of the materials are written in "Hoch Deutsch."

Directing the Saturday afternoon session, "Topics in Colonial History," was Dr. Frank B. Evans, assistant to the archivist of the United States. First to be introduced by Dr. Evans was Dr. Edward J. Cody, Ramapo College of New Jersey, who dealt with

the subject "Religion in Colonial America: Problems and Sources."

If anything can be said definitively about the study of religion in colonial America, it is that there are more than enough problems to go around. Anyone interested in the subject will soon discover a plethora of biographies in need of writing, church histories in need of composition or revision, theological subtleties in need of elucidation, sectarian controversies in need of exploration, political, social, and economic interconnections with religious institutions and thought in need of connection, and methodological knots in need of untieing. There are so many problems it has become a problem to identify the major problems.

There are, it would appear, five major interconnected problems for students of colonial religion: the problem of homogeneity within heterogeneity, the problem of the meaning of religion to the common man, the problem of psychology, the problem of the Great Awakening, and the problem of religion and the American Revolution.

The most pervasive of these is the problem of homogeneity within heterogeneity. Can we talk in any meaningful fashion about colonial religion, or should we confine ourselves to discussions of colonial religions? After all, there existed such a multiplicity of sects in colonial America with differing theologies and church polities that one is struck immediately with difference rather than similarity. So, if we ever wish to speak of the influence of colonial religion as such, we had first better define the term "religion" in such a way that it becomes a useful analytical tool. Are there any generalizations that can be made about religious thought and institutions in colonial America which will bear up under the test of microcosmic scrutiny and which will at the same time help us explain the interrelationship of religion to other historical factors operating at that time?

This question can probably be answered in the affirmative, but, at the moment, any answer is fraught with problems. Dr. Cody, in his own research, has attempted to construct a general model for "religious thought" in the middle colonies, an area in which heterogeneity of religious belief certainly existed. He has examined the different theologies, abstracted out the discordant factors, and sought common ideas or idea complexes. The results have made clear that certain basic similarities in thought existed

and that the religious thinkers in the middle colonies shared a common religious cosmology if not a common theology in the strict sense of the term. This cosmology, furthermore, clearly dovetailed nicely on a very basic level with Puritan thought which has been so thoroughly explored by Perry Miller and many others. Would the pattern hold true in the southern colonies? There seems no reason to doubt it, but the study must still be done. An interested student would find a world of material to start with readily available on microcard and clearly catalogued in Evans's *American Bibliography*.

If such generalizations about colonial religious thought prove possible, we would arrive at a paradigm for the seventeenth century roughly as follows: God demands that all men follow His will, God demands that men worship Him, God's will is singular, i.e., there exists only one truth and one true church, God punishes both individuals and communities which do not follow His will, and God rewards those who do follow His will.

The central emphasis on this model is on God's will. If we trace the development of religious thought throughout the colonial period, we may find that God's will comes to be viewed in a changing fashion as the colonial experience progresses. At first the emphasis seems to have been on the necessity of belonging to the one true church, which resulted in the sectarian controversies of the seventeenth century. By the early eighteenth century, however, the emphasis begins to shift toward a more general concept of piety which exploded in the revivalism of the Great Awakening and led to the consequent splintering of sects and eventual development of religious toleration. After the Awakening, God's will began to be viewed increasingly in secular terms.

If this pattern proves true of the southern and New England colonies as well as the middle colonies, it should then be possible to explore the interrelationship of religious thought with other historical factors on a total colonial basis. Herein a few questions come immediately to mind. How did the economic, political, and social developments in the colonies contribute to the shifts in emphasis in viewing God's will, and what were the consequences of these shifts on secular thought and institutions? How did different sects when viewed from an institutional perspective respond to changing patterns of thought? What theologi-

cal and/or institutional peculiarities might explain deviant responses?

Briefly stated, the following steps will explain what remains to be done concerning the problem of homogeneity within heterogeneity:

1. We must examine religious thought in the southern colonies to see if it conforms to the general model just suggested.
2. We must test whatever conclusions then emerge against the findings of more specific studies dealing with particular sects and even particular churches within sects.
3. We must then utilize whatever model, if any, that emerges as an analytical tool to explore the interrelationship of religious thought with religious institutions and secular thought and institutions on a total colonial basis and test that against localized studies.
4. Students of colonial religion should also concern themselves with English religious thought and institutions and in the case especially of Pennsylvania with German religious thought and institutions. This should provide clues as to the interaction of imported idea patterns with the American environment.

However, even if this optimistic assessment that colonial religious thought could be defined with some precision and utility were true, there would still remain some very knotty problems. After all, a definition of religious thought would be a simplification of and a generalization about the thought of those who left written records; essentially, therefore, an intellectual elite. As Darrett Rutman has suggested in his critiques of the intellectual historians of Puritanism, the thought of an elite may not have much if any bearing on the thought of the common man. Rutman's critique, it should be remembered, concerned itself with the work of historians who dealt with a homogeneous group—Puritans—and we are now talking about possible generalizations dealing with colonial religious thought. Certainly, this would compound the problem. What we have here, therefore, is problem No. 2: the problem of the meaning of religion to the common man.

It might be argued that the formulation of a definition of

religious thought in the very generalized sense already suggested would solve this problem, for, after all, would it not seem reasonable that just about everyone who was religious would hold to such simple concepts regardless of their theological sophistication. Such an answer, however, in a way, begs the question. If we are going to use it, we must do a number of things:

1. Very detailed demographic investigations, utilizing surviving church records, probate records, private family records, and other sources in all the colonies, are necessary if we are to estimate the number of people who were affiliated with specific churches and who consequently were exposed to and would seem to have accepted at least these basic religious ideas. We have a lot of such data now, but we need much more if we are to talk about colonial religion in general.
2. Studying genealogical records would also be helpful in this regard and would aid us in establishing patterns for fluctuations in the rates of formal religious affiliation as well as shifts in religious affiliation.
3. An examination of essentially secular sources is also necessary. Do court records, public documents, newspapers, almanacs, family letters, and commercial papers, to name but a few, demonstrate that basic religious ideas influenced secular concerns? Is God's will referred to in these sources, and, if so, in what fashion? An impressionistic survey would reveal that God's will was an important concern, but we need studies designed to try to measure the pervasiveness and significance of this concern.
4. Some rather untraditional sources might also be utilized in attacking this problem. Might not studies of colonial folklore and colonial art with an emphasis on religion prove suggestive as to the influence of religious attitudes?

Emphasized in all of the foregoing suggestions is the need to seek data specifically relating to religious thought and institutions. While this certainly results in what H. J. Hester has described as a tunneling effect and a consequent narrowing of our focus of vision, it can be considered a necessary prerequisite to a kind of analysis which will deal with the interrelationship of historical factors.

With that thought in mind, we can now move on to problem No. 3, which has been labeled the problem of psychology. Colonial religious thought, whether viewed in the general terms already suggested or in specific sectarian terms, clearly imparts an important message to the mind, a message of identity, of personal worth, of possible joy, of possible fear, of innocence or guilt, of authority or freedom, and of personal and communal responsibility. These are important psychological messages as well. One significant step, therefore, to avoid tunneling would be to apply the insights of psychology both to the colonial religious experience in terms of individuals through biographical studies and to groups by borrowing from the findings of social psychologists. Studies of the relationship of religious ideology to personal and social identity crisis, of the psychological implications of sin and guilt, of the impact of religious ideology on cognitive dissonance, and of the psychological effects of the application of religious symbolism to secular concerns should prove especially suggestive. Note, we have said suggestive, for the methodological difficulties of such interdisciplinary studies are clearly apparent. Nevertheless, would not a psychohistorical biography of Gilbert Tenney help us to understand the Great Awakening?

That thought, of course, leads us directly to problem No. 4, the problem of the Great Awakening. In recent years, historians of colonial religion have produced a vast amount of literature on this topic. The Awakening has been analyzed in intellectual, institutional, psychological, social, and demographic terms. There are general studies, regional studies, and local studies. There is also confusion. What is needed now is synthesis. However, that is easier said than done because of two nagging problems.

First of all, is it possible to talk meaningfully of cause? The causative process is delineated in many ways. A list of interpretations would include: the Awakening as the result of the interaction of the wilderness and religious thought, the Awakening as response to decreasing social and economic mobility, the Awakening as Americanization, and the Awakening as a psychological response to guilt. While these interpretations might be synthesized by saying that all factors contributed, we will need colony by colony studies from each perspective before we can begin to assert which one predominated for the colonies as a whole.

Secondly, there is the problem of results. Some, of course, are

fairly clear: the splintering of sects, the rise of new denominations, the decline of church authority, and the rise of religious toleration. Other suggested consequences are not as clear. One might think primarily of the impact of the Awakening on the American mind. Perry Miller, Allen Heimert, and others have suggested sweeping consequences in terms of concepts of authority, democracy, and ultimately revolution. These conclusions, however, are challenged by some local studies such as J. M. Bumstead's case study of Norwich, Connecticut, in which he argues that it was often simply a matter of convenience which caused men to take sides in these controversies. Consequently, there would logically be little intellectual impact for these people. We need, therefore, more studies like Bumstead's to help us assess the impact of the Great Awakening on the colonial mind.

Analysis of the results of the Great Awakening is of great importance in relation to our fifth and final problem: religion and the American Revolution. This is especially true in the case of Heimert's thesis that the distinction between the Calvinistic and rationalistic schools of religious thought emerging out of the Awakening serves also as a dividing line between patriot and Tory. We must see if his analysis holds up for the common man and whether the sharp distinction he makes between the schools of thought is really valid. Leonard Tinterud's study of Presbyterianism would indicate this might not be the case. In short, we need to look at Old Light and New Light attitudes toward the Revolution in a much more detailed way.

Furthermore, from the institutional perspective, we might well explore the political and economic relationship of the Anglican church to other denominations in particular colonies. This should add new dimensions to our knowledge of the role of the Anglican church in unwittingly contributing to the Revolution—a role already explained in general terms by Carl Bridenbaugh in *Mitre and Sceptre*.

Finally, the symbolic and psychological impact of religious thought on the revolutionary drive needs a great deal of study. Can we accept Perry Miller's statement: "What carried the ranks of militia and citizens was the universal persuasion that they, by administering to themselves a spiritual purge, acquired the energies God had always, in the manner of the Old Testament, been ready to impart to his repentant children." Can we explain the

seeming paranoia of the Boston minister who spoke of his as well as the citizenry of Boston's response to the Stamp Act in the following terms:

They saw a heavy cloud hanging over us, big with slavery and all its dreadful attendants. They looked upon it as the darkest day New England ever saw. They considered also the near connection there is between our civil and religious privileges, and every true lover of Zion began to tremble for the ark of God. For they saw, while our civil liberties were openly threatened, our religious shook; after taking away the liberty of taxing ourselves, and breaking in upon our charters, they feared the breaking in upon the act of toleration, the taking away of liberty to choose our own ministers, and then imposing whom they pleased upon us for spiritual guides, largely taxing us to support the pride and vanity of diocesan Bishops, and it may be by and by making us tributary to the See of Rome. . . .

What impact did such a statement have on his congregation? Was the Revolution in any sense a religious war? We need to attack these questions directly, and to do so we must borrow from the insights of psychologists, cultural anthropologists, art historians, and others. Furthermore, we especially need to study these questions in the middle and southern colonies for most of the previous attention has centered on New England.

Next to be introduced by Dr. Evans was Mrs. Hannah Benner Roach, research associate, member of the Papers of William Penn Committee, and a vice-president of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Roach, speaking on the subject "Resources for the Study of Genealogy and the Importance of Genealogy to History," pointed out that the scholarly historian, basically interested in events and trends, will, of course, be familiar with such sources as the many extensive manuscript collections of historical personages, and with all the published material relating to a particular period or geographical area. But when he is faced with the need to identify a person who was not a "mover and shaker" of events, and about whom nothing had ever been written, or when he is asked to update and document previous accounts of a better known person, he is often at a loss as to what appropriate sources will provide him with the necessary information.

Genealogists are primarily interested in people, facts about people, as distinct from the historian, with his interest focused on trends and events. The problem is that the historian keeps running into "people facts" in the search for "historical facts." Only when all these facts are put together in their proper chronological order can a viable thesis be developed; if the researcher is honest, he will develop his thesis on the basis of his facts, not, as some researchers have done, ignore the facts which do not develop his preconceived thesis.

There is really no reason why genealogists and historians cannot be mutually helpful in their search for the facts of history. If the historian disdains the labor—and it is labor—of searching in genealogical source material, he should be willing to court the genealogist who will—for a fee—search for the facts the historian needs to flesh out his project. There is no reason, of course, why the historian should not be trained to use the sources of the genealogist. Then, as he does his own searching, only his integrity will determine what, or what is not, germane to his project.

The sources for genealogical research are basically primary in nature. Some of the more important of these may be briefly identified as follows:

Church records: The value of church registers, those relating to births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths, should be obvious. Other useful materials would include sexton's records, cemetery inscriptions, membership lists, confirmations, removals, and dismissals.

Land records: Deeds and patents can be very important. The information that can be gleaned from a deed, once the researcher has learned to ignore the "legal garbage" in it, includes the subject's place of residence and his occupation at the time of the record. Sometimes a prior place of residence will be given. Mortgages and sheriff's deeds will often give clues on the financial status of the mortgagee and on the reasons for the sheriff's sale.

The transfer of a piece of land, according to Pennsylvania law, is supposed to recite the previous transfer of that property. Often it will give a long recital. Questions answered will include: How exactly did the seller get his land? What right did he have to sell it? Consideration money, which is always mentioned in a transfer, indicates the type of property, whether it is improved or

unimproved. If there is no mention of a building, it can be assumed that the land in question is of the latter sort.

Witnesses who sign land records are often significant because they are likely to be relatives or neighbors of the person being studied. This sort of information provides added help in putting people in their proper time and place.

Court records: A will, as a document executed by a person in anticipation of his death, will perhaps be quite useful in providing facts about a family. The trouble is that wills are often quite vague. For example, it is not unusual for such a document to declare that everything is to be left to the spouse, with no mention of the spouse's name or the names of any children. It is often easier and more profitable to study someone who died intestate. With the lack of a valid will, the matter has to go into the orphans' court, an administrator has to be appointed, and rather detailed records result. If there are minor children, these are listed in the orphans' court record. Guardians and trustees are mentioned. Facts pertaining to property are stated.

Tax assessment lists: An initial step that should be taken when one begins a search for an individual is to seek out the printed version of the tax assessment lists in the *Pennsylvania Archives*. Specifically, one should first scan the index of the Third Series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*. Possibly three or four men bearing the same name will be found, necessitating additional detective work in tracking down the correct person. If at all possible, the researcher should not rely solely on the printed lists. He should go to the originals, which offer a great deal more information. A considerable number of original tax lists are located at the Pennsylvania State Archives. Additional ones are to be found at the Philadelphia City Archives and at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Nineteenth-century tax records are usually found at the county courthouses.

City directories: These are extremely useful for the nineteenth century, especially if the researcher is working in an urban community. Knowing the area where an individual lived will give the investigator some idea of his economic status. It can also be determined if a person was a "settled sort" or a "rolling stone."

Census records: Federal census records from 1790 to 1850 show the names of the heads of households only. Other family members are tallied merely by age bracket, male and female. The

1850-1890 schedules include the name, age, and state, territory, or county of birth of each free person in a household. The 1790 census for Pennsylvania was published by the federal government in the early 1900s and has since been privately reprinted. It may be consulted at most major reference libraries. Microfilm copies of other schedules, up through the 1880 census, are available at many historical societies, libraries, and archival centers. Several county historical societies, such as the Montgomery County Historical Society, are currently involved in publishing the 1850 schedules for their respective counties.

Ship passenger lists: Individuals hunting immigrant ancestors should give attention to the revised edition of *A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists 1538-1825*, compiled by Harold Lancour and revised and enlarged by Richard J. Wolfe, under the auspices of the New York Public Library, 1963. This is a comprehensive guide to existing published lists of immigrants. It does not contain names in itself but serves as a reference work to what lists are available in book, serial, or periodical form.

For the colonial period, the most popular source is Strassburger and Hinke's *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, a publication of the original lists of arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808. These lists, compiled from the original records in the Pennsylvania State Archives, contain the names of approximately 38,000 persons, the names of the ships, the dates of arrival, and the places of origin. Originally published in three volumes in 1934 by the Pennsylvania German Society, this definitive work has been reprinted, except for the omission of the reproductions of signatures in Volume II, by the Genealogical Publishing Company.

A list of other important publications would include Faust and Brumbaugh's *List of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies* and Amandus Johnson's *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*.

Military service records: Based on service in wartime between 1775 and 1855, federal bounty-land-warrant application files are located at the National Archives. The National Archives also holds pension application files based on service between 1775 and 1916. State military service records from the revolutionary period through World War II are housed at the Pennsylvania State Archives. Useful to the experienced and knowledgeable re-

searcher are the Fifth and Sixth Series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, which carry lists for both the Continental army and the Pennsylvania militia. The novice, however, will have more than a little difficulty in determining what the various lists mean. One would be well advised to read Mrs. Roach's "The Pennsylvania Militia in 1777," an article which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1964.

Miscellaneous records: A list of other sources of information would include necrologies, apprentice records, records of indenture, road petitions, and tavern records.

The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania holds over one thousand reels of microfilmed material. The majority of these were filmed by the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in seventeen Pennsylvania county courthouses and local historical societies. Included on the films are recorded deeds, mortgages, wills and administration, orphans' court records, tax and assessment lists, transcripts of church records, and some civil marriage and death records for the nineteenth century. With the restriction that the purchaser must have the approval of the holder of the original records, any number of these microfilm reels may be purchased from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This organization is currently involved in microfilming county records in additional Pennsylvania counties.

The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania is presently involved in a program of filming such church records of all denominations in the Commonwealth of which no transcript or copy now exists. This project is funded by a grant from the Richard King Mellon Foundation.

In closing Mrs. Roach quoted a definition of a "good genealogist" which would appear to be equally applicable to a "good historian." A "good genealogist" is "a full-time detective, a thorough historian, an inveterate snoop, and at the same time a confirmed diplomat, a keen observer, a hardened skeptic, an apt biographer, a qualified linguist, a part-time lawyer combined with quite a lot of district attorney, a studious sociologist, and—above all, an accurate reporter."

Dr. Evans, beginning the session's final talk on the subject "Resources for Colonial History in the National Archives," suggested that there are two forms of neglect in the area of historical

research. The first is the neglect by the senior professor and by his graduate students of primary sources available for their use. A vast amount of original documentation is available on microfilm at most major repositories throughout the country. Local government records filmed by the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and such microfilm publications as *A Guide to the Microfilm Collection of Early State Records*, collected and compiled under the direction of William S. Jenkins, consisting of official records, a good portion of which cover the colonial period, on over one hundred thousand feet of microfilm, are being virtually ignored by the present generation of scholars. It is an unfortunate fact that grants are now being given by governmental agencies and various other institutions to in effect duplicate what has already been microfilmed, simply because proper bibliographical control over existing materials does not exist.

Microfilm publications of archives and historical manuscripts, such as the *Guide to the Microfilm of the Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Papers*, and the *Guide to the Microfilm of the Records of the Provincial Council, 1682-1776, in the Pennsylvania State Archives*, are being made increasingly available with the assistance of grants from the National Historical Publications Commission. Since one of the conditions of a National Historical Publications Commission grant is that the completed microfilm be obtainable through inter-library loan, scholars can use these materials without having to dip into their own research funds. The micropublication of out-of-print works is also becoming popular with commercial publishers out to capitalize on the upcoming bicentennial.

Scholars are not keeping abreast of the information explosion. At one time it was said that most historiography courses had turned into bibliography courses, and now apparently the bibliography part has fallen by the wayside. Perhaps one of the most useful projects that could be promoted on the state and local level in connection with the bicentennial would be an attempt to gain bibliographical control over existing source material.

The second area of neglect is the failure of archival repositories to perform one of their basic obligations, which is the publication of adequate guides to their holdings. The last guide published by the National Archives was in 1948. One, however,

is now at the press. The Library of Congress never has published a comprehensive guide to the holdings of its manuscript division. *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, based on voluntary contributions, is highly selective and not at all comprehensive. Philip Hamer's *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*, compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission, is twenty-two years out of date, and it will probably require two more volumes to at least list in summary fashion all the materials acquired by repositories in the last quarter century.

There is not one state archival agency along the eastern seaboard that has published a guide which is at all current. Maryland put out a catalog to its holdings in 1942. Pennsylvania published a preliminary guide in 1959.

It is imperative that the historian and genealogist support in anyway possible the program of their local archival agency or manuscript library. Only when the archivist is given the necessary resources to do his job properly will those engaged in historical or genealogical studies be able to do the kind of research they would like to do.

Though most people might tend to discount the National Archives as a repository for doing research in colonial history, the archives has in its custody approximately one million pages of material pertaining to the colonial period. Its largest body of colonial documents, consisting of the records of the Continental and Confederation congresses and the Constitutional Convention, are contained in RG-360, out of which three microfilm publications have been made. A multivolume index to these records is being prepared with the assistance of a Ford Foundation grant and will probably be finished by 1975.

Among judicial records in the National Archives, the case papers of the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania date back to 1740. These records were, of course, inherited by the court in the performance of its official duties. Also, in RG-21, Records of District Courts of the United States, are records of the early Admiralty Court of New York dating back to 1685. Materials pertaining to prize cases can be found in the case files, which are also on microfilm, of the Courts of Appeals in Cases of Capture, 1776-1786.

There is a large quantity of isolated documents and series

such as the Journal of Hugh Finley, 1773-1774, surveyor of post roads; impost books for the Collection District of Philadelphia from 1783 on; the Journal of Mason and Dixon, 1763-1768; postal records dated 1775-1780, which include Benjamin Franklin accounts; and an unbound copy of an account of a visit to the Indians made by Friends at the time of the Treaty of Easton in 1761. This latter item found its way into the files of the Department of State, and eventually the National Archives, thanks to the action of the United States Consul in Bristol, England, who had a copy of the diary sent to the United States in 1930. There are financial records dating back to 1776 in the records of the Bureau of Accounts in the Department of the Treasury and records of the Bureau of the Public Debt. Certificates of enrollment and registry, 1774-1776, are among the records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation. The Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library contains an area file dating from 1648.

The two major bodies of records relating to the colonial period in the National Archives, outside of RG-360, are RG-93, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, and RG-15, Records of the Veterans Administration. Though most of the Revolutionary War records of the War Department were destroyed by a fire in 1800, Congress ordered the transfer of all military records pertaining to that period to the department in 1892. These records, out of which two major microfilm publications are being made, are mostly original rolls, rosters, oaths of allegiance, clothing returns, and orderly books. They came primarily from the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of the Interior.

Among the records of the Veterans Administration are approximately 80,000 pension and bounty warrant application files for Revolutionary War soldiers, sailors, and marines. These can be of tremendous value to those studying the social, military, and economic history of the period. The files contain such diverse items as statements of service, narrative accounts of battle, letters, journals, and discharge papers. They are available in two separate publications. One is a complete filming of all the files. The other is a selective publication of the most important genealogical records in each file.

Dr. Evans, in the discussion period which followed the session,

responded to a question of Mrs. Roach concerning the threatened closing of all federal census records. He noted that negotiations were now going on, and that the thinking was that a period of restriction of seventy-five years was something everyone could live with. Both Mrs. Roach and Dr. Evans complimented the Philadelphia City Archives for its magnificent guide, *Descriptive Inventory of the Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia*, prepared by John Daly, under the direction of Allen Weinberg. Similar guides, it was strongly suggested, should be developed.

Giving adequate evidence that numerous research opportunities exist in the pre-1800 period of Pennsylvania's history, the eighth annual research conference gave attention to certain of the problems to be faced by historians involved in specific areas of study. Substantially explained were source materials, providing both "historical facts" and "people facts"; the financial needs of and the benefits to be gained from such current scholarly projects as those associated with William Penn; the responsibilities of historians to keep abreast of the information explosion; and the related responsibilities of archivists and manuscript curators to properly publicize the records and papers in their charge.