

Samuel Hazard: Editor and Archivist for the Keystone State

IN EARLY MARCH 1851, Samuel Hazard (1784-1870), the former curator of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, arrived in Harrisburg. His purpose was to supervise the preparation of the sixteen-volume *Colonial Records* and to edit the twelve-volume *Pennsylvania Archives: Selected and Arranged from Original Documents in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth*. Before coming to Harrisburg on a commission from the governor, Hazard was already widely known for his sixteen-volume periodical entitled *The Register of Pennsylvania* (1828-1836), the six-volume *United States Commercial and Statistical Register* (1839-1842), and the one-volume *Annals of Pennsylvania, from the Discovery of the Delaware, 1609-82* (1850). What these three publications of printed documents have in common is aptly summed up in the sub-title of Hazard's first publication enterprise—"Devoted to the Preservation of Every Kind of Useful Information Respecting the State." To be sure, Samuel Hazard's most important historical undertaking was the *Colonial Records* and the *Pennsylvania Archives*, of which he was both a promoter and editor. His editorial service to state and nation was recognized by his contemporaries; it is rather surprising, however, that no one has assessed Hazard's contribution within the context of his own time and that he has so long remained a neglected subject of study.¹

Born on May 26, 1784 in Philadelphia, the son of Ebenezer Hazard² and his wife Abigail Arthur, Samuel Hazard's life spanned important epochs of American history. He received his early education at the

¹ In particular see Michael Kraus, *The Writing of American History* (3rd Printing, Norman, Okla., 1963), ch. 5; George H. Callott, *History of the United States, 1800-1860: Its Practice and Purpose* (Baltimore, 1970); John S. Bassett, *The Middle Group of American Historians* (New York, 1917); Bert J. Lowenberg, *American History in American Thought: Christopher Columbus to Henry Adams* (New York, 1972), especially ch. XVII.

² Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (DAB) (New York, 1928-1958), VIII, 469. See also Fred Shelley, "Ebenezer Hazard: America's First Historical Editor," *William and Mary Quarterly* (WMQ), 3rd Series, 12 (January 1955), 44-73. His two volumes of *Historical Collections*, . . . , which were published in Philadelphia in 1792-94, are regarded as having laid the "indispensable groundwork for future historians."

Second Presbyterian Church school in Philadelphia and at an academy (1793-1796) at Woodbury, New Jersey. He also spent two years at Princeton College, but left in 1799 because of sickness. Samuel, like his father, became a merchant, taking his apprenticeship in the prominent Philadelphia countinghouse of Robert Ralston, a friend of the family's and a fellow "Old Light" Presbyterian. Success and a desire to make his own mark in life led him to form several years later a partnership with Samuel Cabot of Boston.³ During the War of 1812 he made supercargo voyages to the West Indies, the Mediterranean and the Near East.⁴ From 1818 to 1827 Hazard lived in Huntsville, Alabama and conducted a cotton brokerage and general mercantile business. There while a resident partner of Hazard & Co., he married Abigail Clark Hetfield of Elizabeth, New Jersey. (This marriage of March 18, 1819 would result in nine off-spring, four of whom would live to old age.) Eight years later, in 1826, faced with an unprofitable commission business, he went bankrupt.⁵ Samuel Hazard's financial fortunes did not improve much during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In June 1827, at the age of forty-four, finding it difficult to make a living in Huntsville and preferring books to countinghouse figures, Hazard returned home to Philadelphia to pursue a new vocation.

Inheriting his father's scholarly inclination and interest in book collecting and historical editing, Samuel as a young man showed a predisposition to literary, historical and scientific pursuits. For instance, he was involved in the formation of the American Literary Association (1805) and the Phoenix Social Club (1809).⁶ Laying aside

³ Accounts of Samuel Hazard's life are to be found in the *DAB*, VIII, 472; Willis P. Hazard, "The Hazard Family of the Middle States," in Thomas R. Hazard, *Recollections of Olden Times*. . . (Newport, R.I., 1879), 247-53. The "Articles of Partnership between Samuel Hazard and Samuel Cabot, Jr.," dated Dec. 1806, is on file at the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS).

⁴ Some of young Hazard's activities on the high seas can be gleaned from a reading of correspondence Samuel Hazard had with William B. Crosby of New York. These seven letters, dated July 23, Aug. 6, 1804; Jan 15, Mar. 19, Oct. 16, Nov. 18, 1805; Nov. 19, 1806, are in Misc., Wm. B. Crosby, New York Historical Society.

⁵ See biographical references cited in note 3.

⁶ See Hazard to Wm. B. Crosby, Oct. 12, 1804; Dec. 20, 1805; and June 16, 1806, Special Collections, Dickinson College Library, Carlisle, Pa. In addition to being involved in the formation of clubs and associations, Hazard submitted a scientific tract to the American Philosophical Society (APS) entitled: "Observations of the warmth of sea water, etc. from Smyrna to Philadelphia, containing also an account of a 'falling star'" (May 1818). He was a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture. See items dated Jan. 15, 1812 and Sept. 1, 1814 in Hazard Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

a number of traditional business options, Hazard founded a weekly periodical, *The Register of Pennsylvania*. The sixteen volumes that he was to publish contained a vast quantity of public documents and research materials relating to Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.⁷ Despite his proven ability to work hard the financial outcome of the enterprise was not satisfactory, and the periodical had to be abandoned in January 1836. Perhaps Samuel Hazard's apparent diversity of interests, which are detailed below, deprived him of the time needed to make such a periodical prosperous. Yet this setback in no way diminished his zeal to collect statistical and historical information.⁸

Upon returning to Philadelphia, Samuel Hazard associated with the group which had recently organized the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This Society, which had endorsed Hazard's editing of *The Register of Pennsylvania*, recruited him in 1829 to become its curator, a position he held until 1847.⁹ Hazard, reflecting the tangle of pious, patriotic and civic ideas held by many church-going Calvinist Presbyterians, was also active in a number of humanitarian or benevolent associations established for improving the material and social conditions of Philadelphia's poor. He was, for instance, a member of the Society for Supplying the Poor with Soup, and in 1828 he was elected secretary of the Guardians of the Poor. On top of this he was elected in 1836 as secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Second Presbyterian Church—whose membership included some of the most prominent families of the city—and he served for twenty-eight years.¹⁰ In fact, throughout his life Hazard seems to have belonged to numerous associations.

In any event, being still committed to his bookish pursuits and able to trade on the prominence of his father, on February 13, 1839, three years after the termination of his first periodical, Hazard founded the *United States Commercial and Statistical Register*. This second *Register*,

⁷ The *Register* (1828-36) was published by W.F. Geddes. See also J.G. Rosengarten to [Isaac Minis] Hays, May 22, 1898 (copy), Archives of American Philosophical Society, APS.

⁸ In 1840 Samuel Hazard was elected as a corresponding member of the American Statistical Association, which was headquartered in Boston. Joseph B. Felt to Hazard, March 13, 1840, Hazard Family Papers, HSP.

⁹ Hampton L. Carson, *A History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1940), I, 146, *passim*; II, 43.

¹⁰ Records relating to these activities can be found in the Hazard Family Papers, HSP. See also J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia 1609-1884*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 620. There are also scattered references to Hazard in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (PMHB).

which was national in its scope, ran until June 1842. For its contents, Hazard seems to have depended on the liberal arrangements developed with the nation's secretaries of state for copies of public documents.¹¹ Even though it contained no strictly local material, the periodical enjoyed strong moral support from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.¹² But this second publication venture, like the first, ended in failure because he was involved in dull, dry publications and he had no sense of what the larger public wanted. In 1847, having no publication to market and having left his underpaid curatorship with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Hazard was desperate. Unable to support his large family Hazard wrote to Peter Force and other antiquarians for historical work.¹³ No job opportunities as a compiler materialized from these efforts. Finally, in 1850, Hazard published his substantial *Annals of Pennsylvania, From the Discovery of the Delaware, 1609-82*. A multi-volume series was promised, but other volumes were never completed.¹⁴ This single-volume publication was the last of Samuel Hazard's private efforts to assemble the historical materials required for a large-scale history of Pennsylvania. Obviously, Hazard's publishing experiences showed that private enthusiasm for America's past would not generate sufficient funds to enable a poor man to earn a decent living by editing historical documents. What he would do thereafter depended upon his ability and that of his friends to raise the State's level of consciousness to support his historical interests.

The effort to publish the records of the Province and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania should be seen as part of a much larger national movement that owed much to the plans developed but never carried out by Samuel's father, Ebenezer Hazard, just after the Rev-

¹¹ See especially Hazard's correspondence with Joseph E. Worcester, June 22, 1838, Dec. 17, 1839, Aug. 21, Dec. 8, 1840, and March 30, 1842, Worcester Papers, MHS.

¹² This weekly periodical, which was also published by W.F. Geddes, ran into six volumes. According to Hampton L. Carson, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania had made arrangements with Hazard to publish in this periodical "such papers belonging to the Society as may be deemed worthy of preservation" but this does not seem to have been the case. Carson, *History of the Society*, I, 176. Samuel Hazard obviously felt the competition of Freeman Hunt and other literary journalists.

¹³ Hazard to Peter Force, March 16, 1847, Peter Force Collection, William L. Clements Library, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

¹⁴ The *Annals* were published by Hazard and Mitchell of 178 Chestnut St. of Philadelphia. Hazard's difficulties in accumulating documents for a volume two and three are detailed in his letter to George Bancroft, March 21, 1853, Bancroft Papers, MHS.

olution.¹⁵ By 1830, however, pride in America, which had been heightened by the War of 1812, the westward expansion of population and the passing of the Revolutionary War generation, stimulated serious interest in the records of the nation's past. Often referred to as the "Great Historical Enterprise," the general impulse in the mid-nineteenth century was to preserve history so that future generations could write it. Benefiting from European examples and the national sponsorship of documentary history projects, compilers in the eastern United States, such as Jeremy Belknap, Jonathan Elliot, Peter Force, Jared Sparks, Jedidiah Morse, John Brodhead, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan and Samuel Hazard, led a movement to preserve by publication important documents of the States and Federal Government. State and local historical societies, which began to appear throughout the country, were also very much a part of this organized effort to preserve, collect and publish valuable historical materials. The effort to reclaim the past and promote history contained, however, a great deal of provincial pride, as states and communities worked on ways to document and make public their unique contribution to nationhood. Typically, Governor Johnston declared in Pennsylvania that:

These records are worth preservation, as containing authentic information of the action of our fathers in the struggle for national existence. In the Capital of Pennsylvania, and with the sympathies of her patriotic people, was independence matured and declared. Her soldiers were most numerous around the standard of the nation, and there were more battlefields on her soil than in the same area elsewhere.

Upon receiving the recommendation of the governor, Henry A. Muhlenberg urged the state not to waste a moment for fear that the documents of this "great State will be irrevocably gone, and our descendants, at some future day, will bitterly execrate the parsimony of their ancestors, who, to spare a *trifling expense* [emphasis mine], which could easily have been borne, have condemned them to remain in ignorance of the authentic history of their native State."¹⁶

¹⁵ Shelley, "Ebenezer Hazard," 44, concludes that his documentary plans were completed. For another view, see Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), 152.

¹⁶ Quoted material is in the "Extract" from the annual message of the Governor, dated Jan. 8, 1851, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 1, 12 vols. (Harrisburg, 1852), 1, 3. The remarks of Henry A. Muhlenberg were made in the State Senate on January 27, 1851. *Journal* (1851), I, 106-111. Muhlenberg quote is on 107. For a general survey of this historical activity, see Kraus, *Writing of American History*, 93-100.

Initially, the private sector took the lead. But, as time passed, the patrician historians and antiquarians looked to the state for direct assistance in the belief that preserving records was a function of representative government. At the 172nd anniversary dinner of the founding of Pennsylvania one toast read was: "May Legislatures patronize and aid each and all Historical Societies whenever established in our country."¹⁷ Special toasts then called upon the state of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia to support history.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century Pennsylvania lagged behind the states of New England. According to Lyman H. Butterfield, Pennsylvania's legislature was oblivious to the claims of historical sentiment.¹⁸ Indicative of this attitude was a Pennsylvania Act of March 11, 1816, by which Independence Square in Philadelphia was to be divided into building lots and sold for the highest price.¹⁹ Fortunately, the city of Philadelphia saved the square and its historic buildings from destruction.²⁰ In 1826, when Jared Sparks made the first archival tour of the United States, he reported the general indifference of state offices to the archives in their custody. In Harrisburg, where Sparks knew an extensive archives had been preserved, he was rebuffed in all his attempts to gain access to such records by the indignant exclamation, "Such a thing was never done before, sir."²¹

In spite of this apathy, precedent existed in Pennsylvania for state involvement in publishing records. During the mid-eighteenth century, for instance, Benjamin Franklin printed an edition of *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania (1682-1776)*.²² But publishing the votes and proceedings and many of the reports of the state was by no means making a commitment to the far-flung activity of gathering and publishing state records to make

¹⁷ See Contemporaneous Records (Newspaper Clippings), Archives of the HSP.

¹⁸ Lyman H. Butterfield, "Archival and Editorial Enterprise in 1850 and in 1950: Some Comparisons and Contrasts," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 98 (June 1954), 160.

¹⁹ Smith's Laws, 6(1812-1817), 340.

²⁰ Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 43 (1953), 30-31.

²¹ Herbert B. Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* 2 vols. (Boston and New York, 1893) I, 472-74. At that time the records were still in the custody of the ever-watchful James Trimble. On Secretary Trimble, see sketch by Mrs. Paul Graff in the *PMHB*, 5 (1981), 82-84.

²² C. William Miller, *Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Printing, 1728-1766: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Philadelphia, 1974), liii-iv.

them more accessible. The publication of archival materials of a broader nature did not actually commence until 1838, some sixty years later. The new program was prompted by self-conscious patriotism and the need to fulfill the desire of interested citizens to promote useful knowledge,²³ not by any catastrophic occurrence or reported neglect—though fire and water damage to manuscripts were potential threats. When this enterprise ended a century later, some nine series and 138 volumes focusing largely on the state's colonial history had been published at a cost of around \$150,000.²⁴

The Commonwealth's decision to publish, and thus by duplication to preserve, records of its development stemmed from a joint memorial addressed by the American Philosophical Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the legislature in December, 1836.²⁵ No doubt Samuel Hazard was interested in this development, but at this early date Peter S. DuPonceau, a scholarly Frenchman of Philadelphia and president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was the prime mover.²⁶ The petitioners met with success, as legislation was passed on April 4, 1837. Subsequent acts of 1838 and 1840 provided for the continuation of the series, and by the end of 1840 three volumes had appeared, covering the Council Minutes from 1682 to 1735.²⁷ According to former State Archivist Henry H. Eddy, "the acts which provided for *Colonial Records* suggest that influential persons rigged them so that they would be inconspicuous."²⁸ In other words, appropriations were made in supplemental or omnibus bills, and in one an appropriation was tied to a resolution relating to the Philadelphia Silk Culture and Manufacturing Company. Unfortunately, the initial effort to preserve and make available the minutes of the Provincial Council and the treaties with the Indians was short-lived. "The publication," writes Eddy, "occurred exactly at the time of the Buckshot War and it is possible that the series fell victim to the bitter party strife

²³ It is noteworthy that this decision coincided with the death of James Trimble, formerly of Philadelphia.

²⁴ I am indebted to Miss Martha Simonetti, Associate Archivist, for developing the cost figure.

²⁵ The joint memorial, dated December 6, 1836, is reprinted in the *Colonial Records*, I, 9-11.

²⁶ Carson, *History of the Society*, I, 146ff; *DAB*, V, 525-26.

²⁷ 1836-37 P.L. 354, Act. No. 107, Sec. 2; 1837-38 P.L. 395, Act. No. 68, Sec. 7-13; 1840 P.L. 748, Res. No. 30.

²⁸ Henry Howard Eddy and Martha L. Simonetti, *Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1949, 1976), 53.

which marked the period.”²⁹

Whatever may explain the legislature’s turning a deaf ear toward the appeals to continue publishing historical sources in 1840, the publication was resumed ten years later in 1850. Credit for this belongs to Samuel Hazard, Edward Armstrong, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania which they represented, and to a few members of the legislature. It was a time—before the day of professional historians, archivists and professional associations and commissions—when antiquarians and politicians took steps on their own to make manuscript sources available through documentary projects in Maryland, South Carolina and New York.³⁰

In contrast to the concerted action in 1837, this new initiative was developed at a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on December 9, 1850.³¹ With Samuel Hazard in the chair, the Society resolved to appoint a three-person committee “to prepare a memorial to the Legislature requesting a continuation of the *Colonial Records* and an examination and arrangement of the papers in the different public offices at Harrisburg relating to the early history of the State.” The second request in the memorial constituted a new project. The signed memorial was forwarded at once to the recently convened legislature, which at the time faced major questions dealing with the tariff, banking, slavery and the selection of a United States Senator.³²

Of particular interest is the large role played by Hazard’s sponsor, Edward Armstrong (1817-1874), the lawyer and author who was elected to represent the city of Philadelphia in the fall of 1850. Armstrong, a leading figure in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, served as its recording secretary, and he was an important antiquarian and genealogist in his own right.³³ Although Armstrong served in the legislature but one year, he unabashedly directed the legislation in the

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ These other documentary projects are summarized in Kraus, *Writing of American History*, 100ff; and in Butterfield, “Archival and Editorial Enterprise,” 160-161, *passim*.

³¹ Minutes, Archives of HSP.

³² *Ibid.* The committee consisted of William Duane, _____ Spencer and Judge James T. Mitchell. On the issues before the state legislature, see *The Pennsylvanian* (Philadelphia), Jan. 17, 1851.

³³ Information on what happened to this bill during the legislative process is scanty. See in particular *Journal of the Sixty First House of Representatives*, 3, 69, 260, 263, 279, 285, 311; *Journal of the Senate*, 3, 60, 106-111, *passim*. References to Edward Armstrong can be found in the *PMHB* and in Carson’s *History of the Society*, *passim*. Armstrong’s election to the House of Representatives is in the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), Oct. 10, 1850.

committee and on the floor of the General Assembly. Thanks to his persistent pressure and his connections with Philadelphia's old guard, along with this support of State Senators William A. Crabb (Philadelphia city) and Henry A. Muhlenberg (Berks County), an act was passed that called for the continuation and extension of the publication of the executive minutes to the year 1790. As recommended by the memorialists, an editor was appointed to select items from the files in the offices of the Secretary of the Commonwealth and to arrange for the publication of still another and closely related series to be titled the *Pennsylvania Archives*.³⁴

In appointing Samuel Hazard to the task of selecting and editing the documents that would later be called "Series 1" of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Governor William F. Johnston made an excellent and natural choice.³⁵ Hazard not only came to the position with previous experience as an "accurate and painstaking annalist," but also the well-connected antiquarian had earned the reputation of being "the protector of the early History of our State."³⁶ He was not a historical collector on the scale of a William B. Sprague, Simon Gratz or Ferdinand J. Dreer or an amasser of historical manuscripts and notes for a purposeful writing of history like Lyman C. Draper, Peter Force and I.D. Rupp. Samuel Hazard's zeal to publish documents of the state's colonial and revolutionary times after 1850 was rather directed at the very ancient objective of preserving and making records available in order to spread knowledge and to seek truth. Unlike a great many of his contemporaries Hazard was not a man of independent means. He benefited from political preferment and his initial commitment to this project seems to have been very much tied to his need to make a living for himself and his family. Still, he made a major contribution as Pennsylvania's first commissioned archivist.

Before recounting Hazard's involvement as a pioneer historical editor, a brief comment about his concept of history would seem to be in order. History was local self-consciousness for Hazard. His attitude

³⁴ 1851 P.L. 72 Act. No. 58, Sec. 6. Armstrong, a prime advocate of genealogical publications, also sponsored the bill "to provide for the Registration of Marriages, Births and Deaths." Edward Armstrong, Phila., March 1849, to _____ (circular), Library Company of Philadelphia. 1852, Apr. 14, P.L. (1851) 2.

³⁵ See, for instance, Redmond Conyngham to Hazard, April 20, 1842, Society Small Collections, HSP.

³⁶ The quoted words are in Carson, *History of the Society*, I, 214.

typified a generation of gentleman scholars and antiquarians who operated at a time when scholarship was still unorganized and the mechanisms of duplication and other aids to learning were not yet very advanced. Antiquarians and historians were also distinct professions. In the case of Samuel Hazard, who considered himself as an antiquarian, there are no clues to his belief in the purpose of history because he probably followed no conscious philosophy of history. He read history but was not a historian who thought about how to create literary or scientific history. For example, he did not even make his intentions clear in any preface, introduction or book. He set out to preserve records and documents and not to study and interpret them. In presenting the "unadorned facts" in all their truth, Hazard believed that future historians could form a picture of the past that depicted the origin and development of the state and that drew on the sacrifices made by a people. In this respect Hazard was very much like New York's Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, who selected, arranged and edited the archives of the government of New Netherlands. To be sure, the patriotic and romantic Hazard held generational views on humanity and progress. But, unlike George Bancroft, he did not choose to promote liberty, justice and democracy. He was merely convinced, in an effort to reverse past prejudices, that the publication of a true history of the United States required that Pennsylvania should make accessible to historians the record of the services made to the country. As such, he was satisfied to translate his love for books and appreciation of Pennsylvania's rich colonial history by becoming a traditional editor of documentary materials. Finally, in 1860, many contemporaries understood, as John Spencer Bassett has written, that a documentary history was "the only real way in which history was to be written, having in mind that posterity, if not themselves, would while away its hours of ease poring over collections of laws, state papers, and political correspondence."³⁷ Thus, for every George Bancroft and William H. Prescott recounting the glories of America and Spain, many more persons served history in the more modest but ultimately very useful manner of Hazard. Modern historians sometimes overlook their debts to the genealogists, antiquarians, and compilers who preserved many irreplaceable historical materials.

³⁷ Quote in George H. Callcott's, "Antiquarianism and Documents in the Age of Literary History," *American Archivist*, XXI (Jan. 1958), 23.

Samuel Hazard's responsibilities for the actual publication of the sixteen volume *Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1851-1853) were minimal; he served as what we would term a consultant to the project. Under the act the responsibility of faithfully and literally transcribing the executive minutes (1682 to 1790) fell under the supervision of secretaries Francis W. Hughes, Charles A. Black and Andrew G. Curtin because no editorial preparation was considered necessary. Although this copy job for a printer was entrusted to clerks in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth,³⁸ Hazard probably made himself available to handle certain questions relating to the existence of fair and rough copies of the minutes of the Provincial Council, 1683-1775, those of the Committee and Council of Safety, 1775-1777, and those of the Supreme Executive Council, 1775-1790.³⁹ Further, these original minute books were in far better condition and easier to work with than the loose documents that were to comprise the published *Pennsylvania Archives*.⁴⁰

The *Pennsylvania Archives* comprised original documents, letters, treaties and other papers prior to 1790.⁴¹ The collection, containing about 11,000 distinct papers, was taken mostly from the office of the Department of State.⁴² Being faced with more records (archives) on hand in the secretary's office than he could rightfully publish under the authorization, and aware of certain papers of the executive branch in other state offices, Hazard early on argued for an increase in the number of volumes and an extension of the terminal date of 1783 to the year 1790. He contended that if the project were limited to five volumes "the most important part, a portion of the Revolution, would be omitted. The number of volumes ought. . .," concluded Hazard, "to be regu-

³⁸ This story is fully developed in Eddy and Simonetti, *Guide to the Published Archives*, 54-55. Although later in life Hazard tried to take credit for the publication of both the published *Pennsylvania Archives* and the *Colonial Records*, he wrote that "with these [*Colonial Records*] I have nothing to do." To George Bancroft, March 21, 1853, MHS.

³⁹ This observation is based on reading his correspondence with George Bancroft, Lyman Draper and others.

⁴⁰ Hazard to Lyman Draper, March 19, 1860?, Draper Manuscripts, Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁴¹ Under the original legislation (1851 P.L. 72, Act. No. 58) the volumes were to be octavo, of not less than 800 pages each, with 1,500 copies of each volume. One thousand copies were to be sold by subscription at one dollar each and the other 500 were to be distributed to libraries, learned societies and to public officials.

⁴² See the "Preface" to the *General Index to the Colonial Records and to the Pennsylvania Archives* (Philadelphia, 1860), iv.

lated by the materials.”⁴³ In March 1852, under Act No. 86, he was given the authority to publish papers after the date of 1783 when he judged a document “to give a clear and comprehensive view of any transaction commencing before that year.”⁴⁴ Hazard used the authorization with great liberality, since twelve rather than five volumes were published.⁴⁵

The story of how the unbound papers were selected and arranged and how Hazard handled his editorial responsibilities is sketchy. Working in Harrisburg between March and December 1851 only as required, Hazard operated from the secretary’s office in the State Capitol where all of the early papers were placed in pigeon-holes and bundles. We do have, however, an intimate view of some of the problems Hazard faced in his new task, which he spelled out in a letter written to Lyman C. Draper during the summer of 1851. The letter reveals a great deal about the state of the profession. Hazard wrote:

When I came here I found all the papers put up in bundles—labeled—but by no means indicating their true contents—either having been put up carelessly or deranged by the frequent examination of visitors—so that my first duty appeared to be to open & arrange into years—then to open each document & from a hasty inspection—to throw aside those which were evidently not necessary to the publication. Upon examination still further—I found that a great many were recorded in the Col. Rec. & of course would be printed with them—this was a very tedious & uninteresting part of the work—& rather mortifying too as from their no. it appeared likely to interfere with a plan I had formed in my own mind for the arrangement into subjects—as well as abridge the interest which they would impart to the archives—as it would be unnecessary to print the same matter twice.⁴⁶

Hazard followed a rather simple editorial pattern. He had hoped to arrange the archives according to subjects, but because the records were

⁴³ Samuel Hazard’s Report, which was submitted to Gov. Wm. F. Johnston, is dated Harrisburg, Dec. 31, 1851. The pamphlet is reprinted in the *Penna. Arch.*, 1st Series, I, 19.

⁴⁴ 1852 P.L. 101, Act. No. 86.

⁴⁵ Briefly, volume I thru III and the first 634 pages of volume IV covered the years 1682 to July 1, 1775. The larger number of volumes (Volumes IV [635-809] thru XII) covered the period of the Revolutionary War, and they consisted largely of the correspondence files maintained by the successive secretaries of the Committee of Safety, Council of Safety and the Supreme Executive Council. Some four hundred pages of the last volume, Number XII, contain papers out of their proper chronological sequence. “They were,” wrote Hazard, “discovered after the period to which they refer had been printed in the preceding volumes.”

⁴⁶ Hazard to Draper, Jan. 22, 1852, Draper Manuscripts, Historical Society of Wisconsin.

endorsed by date and read in council accordingly, Hazard was compelled to select papers and arrange them by date for publication. Documents that were not recorded in the minutes of council were apparently not incorporated in the publication. We also know that after having completed this initial work in the Department of State, Samuel Hazard by hunting in a number of other offices (Auditor General and Land Office) came across a considerable quantity of correspondence for the American Revolution, which belonged to the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Some of this material was added to the stacks of paper before the manuscripts went to the press.

The selecting and arranging of the records occupied Hazard for about nine months. At the end of the year he reported:

Having brought together all of the papers that have fallen into my hands, I now respectfully submit the result in twenty-five bundles or packages of two hundred to four hundred papers each; they are regularly numbered from one to seven thousand one hundred and thirty-eight. Each paper has an appropriate heading, and as far as number four thousand four hundred and seventy-seven is accompanied by a catalogue serving with the corresponding number as a guide to the printer, and showing at the same time the general contents of each paper. This, with a more careful revision of them, has been a work requiring much time.⁴⁷

Although Hazard had "reached the end of the job," to use his words, he nevertheless hoped to stay on in some capacity, such as supervising the printing itself.⁴⁸ Apparently, the legislature was pleased with his editorial work, and, believing that "some accurate and competent person" must superintend the publication, appointed him in March 1852 as the superintendent of the publication at the rate of \$1,500 per annum. His responsibility was "to prepare all necessary notes, indexes, appendixes, and such other matter as may be necessary and proper. . . ."⁴⁹ Subsequent sections of the law provided for expanding the series beyond the prescribed five volumes at the discretion of the Secretary of the Commonwealth and also, as Hazard had urged in his report, for including lithographs of maps and drawings. Although there were some bureaucratic delays in arranging the contract with the state printer, Hazard actually moved the publication along quite well. In the process, he was

⁴⁷ Quoted from Hazard's 1851 "Report" on the Archives, 4.

⁴⁸ Hazard to Draper, Jan. 22, 1852, Draper Manuscripts, Historical Society of Wisconsin.

⁴⁹ 1852 P.L. 101, Act. No. 86, Sec. 3.

involved in renewed sifting of documents and editing even as the bundles lay in the printing office of Joseph Severns & Company in Philadelphia. An act of 1855 authorized the preparation and publication of an index volume to cover both *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*, which was also a feature recommended by Hazard in his 1851 report.⁵⁰ At that time, while each of the twelve volumes of the *Pennsylvania Archives* contained a full index, there was no index to the *Colonial Records*. After much delay this general index, which according to Hazard, was to provide "greater ease of reference" and to "promote a more intimate acquaintance with the history of our State," came out in 1860.⁵¹

By today's standards the publication by Samuel Hazard of the *Pennsylvania Archives* and the *General Index* reveals a narrow concept of the editor's role and the restricted service of these documentary works to scholars. In general, the text was not to be supplemented, collateral documents were not added and there were no comparative studies of a text's correlation to previously dissociated documents. Hazard was not specially concerned with historical problems and controversies within and among the documents. Like so many of his contemporaries who followed a genteel editorial code, he saw the individual documents as "treasures of fact." To furnish the material in its full and unaltered shape was a goal in and by itself.⁵² Since this was not an age of microphotography, and because Hazard was operating under some time and budget constraints, the printers worked right from the originals (handwritten documents) and not from any transcriptions.

In any event, Hazard's work has been judged to have been among the best produced during the mid-nineteenth century.⁵³ He was very conscious of the need to arrange documents according to the chronological sequence, and he saw fit to place enclosures at the back of the cover letter. All salutations, postscripts and endorsements were literally

⁵⁰ 1855 P.L. 221, Act. No. 235. See also Eddy and Simonetti, *Guide to the Published Archives*, 58-59.

⁵¹ Preface to *General Index to the Colonial Records and to the Pennsylvania Archives*, iv-v. Because the index is in two parts but contained in one volume researchers have been confused.

⁵² Lester J. Cappon, "A Rationale For Historical Editing Past and Present," *WMQ*, 3rd Series, 23 (Jan. 1966), 58-61, 65. Julian P. Boyd, "St. Columba, Peter Force, and Robert C. Brinkley: The Lesson They Teach" (unpubl. paper read at a meeting of the SAA, Annapolis, 1939), 5-6. I am indebted to Carolyn Sung for making this paper available to me.

⁵³ Butterfield, "Archival and Editorial Enterprise," 161, 169.

transcribed. Based on a secretary's endorsement, reference was also made to the existence of an original or "A True Copy." He did not tamper with the original texts. In particular, Hazard prepared reference notes for the twelve volumes of correspondence. Averaging three hundred per volume these notations consisted of explanatory notes and of references to the minutes of council. Hazard also placed a heading (in ink) at the top of each document for the use of the state printer. Hazard was aware of "yawning gaps" in these files, especially the early papers of William Penn and his successors, but he did not do anything to locate or describe them.⁵⁴ Most of the later criticism that has been heaped on Hazard was for his *General Index* volume to cover both *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*. This volume, which did not appear until 1860, is generally regarded as inferior in quality to the earlier volumes of the series because of the numerous typographical errors and omissions.⁵⁵ The indexes to the individual volumes of the published *Pennsylvania Archives* are considered superior.

Perhaps Hazard's drawn-out financial battle with the state to receive appropriate compensation for his tedious work, which he called an "ugly job," is related to the breakdown.⁵⁶ Lack of money might also explain why the originals of the papers which had been published were never bound when deposited with the State Library as had been recommended.⁵⁷ Unfortunately the state librarians did not seem to know what to do with the manuscripts that once occupied the office of the Secretary of State. During the year 1863, as Confederate troops approached the capital city (Harrisburg), it was decided to remove the library, along with the three boxes of manuscripts, to Philadelphia where they were placed in railroad cars or fireproof warehouses and stored until such time as it was safe to return them.⁵⁸ Afterwards, State Librarian Wien Forney reported that "not a single volume of impor-

⁵⁴ Preface to *General Index to the Colonial Records and to the Pennsylvania Archives*, iii.

⁵⁵ Roland M. Baumann, "The Pennsylvania State Archives and Research Opportunities in the Era of the American Revolution," *Pennsylvania Heritage*, 2 (Sept. 1976) 13. Eddy and Simonetti, *Guide to the Published Archives*, 58.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

⁵⁷ *Penna. Arch.* (1), XII, vi. "Annual Report of the State Librarian for 1861," in the 1862 Leg. Doc. 725, Doc. No. 30.

⁵⁸ Reference of transfer of these books and records to Philadelphia is noted in the *Harrisburg Telegraph*, June 30, 1863. "Annual Report of the State Librarian for 1863," in the 1864 Legislative Documents, 1170-71, Doc. No. 20.

tance, or paper of value, has been lost.”⁵⁹ Dr. Herman V. Ames’ survey of state records at Harrisburg in 1899 failed to find the manuscript materials used by Samuel Hazard in the First Series. Dr. Ames did, however, discover a legend:

It is reported that at the time of Lee’s invasion of Pennsylvania in 1863, these papers, with many others, were sent to Philadelphia for safekeeping. It may be that a portion of these were never returned, although it is reported that some, at least, were in the library subsequent to the war, but later disappeared.⁶⁰

Although the fate of those old archives remains obscure, several explanations can be advanced. First, it seems clear that once the state printed these materials it lost much of its interest and zeal in preserving the originals. Some have assumed that the printers discarded the original documents once they were printed. As the late Roy F. Nichols wrote: “Either there was a rationalization that, since the documents were now in print [referring here to the *Pennsylvania Archives*], there was no further need to give them space in cluttered offices, or perhaps some interested parties saw a chance for gain.”⁶¹ Second, some persons have concluded that while Hazard may have been forced to return some of the boxes of documents, others remained in Philadelphia.⁶² Hazard was unhappy in later years of his state employ, but it is unlikely that he participated in any way in the sale of these papers to dealers. Nevertheless, some of these public records were acquired by manuscript collectors. A good many, bearing the unmistakable notations of Samuel Hazard, are now preserved in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts (State Archives), Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The records were returned to the State Archives in various ways. Third, some of the documents once held in its custody were purchased.⁶³ The Historical Society of Pennsylvania returned a few,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Herman V. Ames, “Report on the Public Archives of Pennsylvania,” in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1900 (Washington, 1901), II, 282-83.

⁶¹ Roy F. Nichols, *The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: A History* (Harrisburg, 1967), 5.

⁶² This point is doubtless partly based on legend and partly based on the agreement that it had to be worked out with the legislature in 1861. 1861 P.L. 394, Act. No. 369, Sec. 34.

⁶³ Based on oral interviews with Mr. William A. Hunter, Dr. Donald H. Kent and Miss Martha L. Simonetti, Spring 1981. Nichols, *Historical and Museum Commission*, 5. The history of the losses of the State Archives is a fascinating story. I am in the process of gathering materials for a larger history of the Pennsylvania State Archives, 1903-1963, at which time I expect to give more attention to explaining how these losses occurred.

mostly of a military nature, to the State in the early 1950s.⁶⁴ Other items from these files are still in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as well as in a number of great collections outside the Commonwealth. Third, some public documents of the pre-1790 period were in private hands at the time Hazard selected and arranged materials for the First Series.⁶⁵ Finally, legend has it that VIPs visiting Harrisburg often received, if they expressed an interest, a prominent document or a cache of papers from the Secretary's office as a memento of their visit.⁶⁶

The publication of the *Colonial Records* and the *Pennsylvania Archives* has had a significant bearing on the quantity and quality of subjects as well as on the direction of scholarship in Pennsylvania history. The 1500 copies of each series were widely distributed in the State as per section 5 of the Act, and in his day Samuel Hazard was very much involved with state officials to ensure that copies of the documentary history were adequately and promptly distributed among libraries and historical societies outside the state. No doubt Samuel Hazard, if he were alive today, would be proud of the long list of publications—doctoral dissertations, books, and articles—that exist for the colonial and revolutionary war periods. The condition of Pennsylvania history might, however, be considered less healthy than one might expect.⁶⁷ Because the published *Colonial Records* (16 volumes) and *Pennsylvania Archives* (12 volumes) have long been available, many students have concluded that all records held by the State Archives between the years 1664 and 1790 had been printed. Some researchers have further reasoned that what was not at Harrisburg was in Philadelphia at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania or at the American Philosophical Society. This is not the case. A great many of the older files in Har-

⁶⁴ This data was found in the monthly report of William A. Hunter to H.H. Eddy, June 22, 1951, Administrative File, Record Group 13, Historical and Museum Commission, at the Div. of Archives & Manuscripts (State Archives), Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC).

⁶⁵ William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (Harrisburg, 1960), 31n. William A. Hunter, "Substitute For Truth: Hazard's 'Provincial Correspondence,'" *Pennsylvania History*, 29 (1962), 278-290.

⁶⁶ Oral interviews with W.A. Hunter, Donald H. Kent and M.L. Simonetti, Spring, 1981.

⁶⁷ Harry E. Whipkey, ed., "The 1974 Research Conference: Old and New Approaches to Pennsylvania History," *Pennsylvania History*, 41 (October, 1974), 429-57. Baumann, "Pa. State Archives & Research Opportunities," 11-16; Roland M. Baumann, compiler and editor, *Dissertations on Pennsylvania History, 1886-1976: A Bibliography* (Harrisburg, 1978), iv-vii.

risburg were either not made available to Hazard, or he decided that they did not warrant publication. Hazard, as the editor, was instructed to restrict, under the terms of the legislation, the number of volumes to be produced, and he selected documents according to the biases of his generation for elitist history. Selectivity, which is the interposing of editor between original materials and the scholar who is to use them, can be seen in the First Series. For instance, correspondence directed to the Council bearing the names of lesser-known figures was generally omitted in the First Series, and political and military subjects predominate.⁶⁸ Records that document "history from the bottom up," such as the 2,200 items in the clemency series, were probably deemed unimportant in Hazard's time.⁶⁹ Partially owing to his emphasis we have numerous traditional state histories and biographies or sketches of William Penn, Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse and so forth. We still await modern work by scholars who can develop a more broadly based portrait of Pennsylvania based on sources that have only recently become more widely known and used in Harrisburg or in the courthouses of the Commonwealth.⁷⁰ In a way, then, Samuel Hazard decided which public he would reach and its size. Thus, when doing research today in Pennsylvania history to 1790, one will want to consult not only the published archives edited by Hazard, but also an undetermined number of records at the State Archives that were either never printed or acquired as a result of records management activities during the middle decades of the twentieth century.⁷¹

Realizing that the state was not prepared to fund any additional series of published *Pennsylvania Archives*, Samuel ended his antiquarian career where it began. On February 7, 1862, already seventy-seven years old, Hazard was named the sixth Librarian of the Historical Society of

⁶⁸ In writing about the selection process in his "Report" to Governor Johnston, Hazard noted that he had suppressed about one thousand papers and thus saved the State the expense of publishing one or two volumes (p. 3). See also Roland M. Baumann, ed., *Guide to the Microfilm of the Records of Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Governments, 1775-1790 in the Pennsylvania State Archives* (Harrisburg, 1978), 8-10, 15.

⁶⁹ These records were not incorporated in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. Their use was recently established by Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750-1800," *WMQ*, 3rd Series, 38 (April 1981), 185n ff.

⁷⁰ Baumann, "Pa. State Archives and Research Opportunities," 14-15.

⁷¹ Roland M. Baumann, "Dr. Shenk's Missing Series of the Published Pennsylvania Archives," *PHMB*, 103 (Oct. 1979), 416-17; Frank B. Evans, "The Many Faces of the Pennsylvania Archives," *American Archivist*, 27 (1964), 270.

Pennsylvania, succeeding Townsend Ward.⁷² Upon entering his duties, Hazard declared that he had done so “without the advantage of a catalogue, or a knowledge of what books were in our possession, and in the absence of a classification.”⁷³ So he prepared a statistical statement of the condition and extent of the library, and developed an elaborate arrangement and classification system for the nearly seven thousand volumes. It was a system that would remain in effect through succeeding decades until modernized in 1908.⁷⁴ But failing eyesight, owing to the long and steady use of his eyes in reading, writing and editing, had taken its toll on an old man. In early 1864 Hazard made it known to his friends that he would not stand for re-election.⁷⁵ In addition to his failing health, his wife of forty-five years, Abigail, had died the preceding September.⁷⁶ With the completion of his history of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia in 1864, Samuel Hazard also resigned from its Board of Trustees after twenty-eight years of service. Because he kept the minutes and preserved the church records, he has always been regarded as one of the founders of the Presbyterian Historical Society.⁷⁷

The last six years of Hazard's life were difficult. Blind for all practical purposes, there was not much that he could do. He seems to have settled all of his affairs, with the exception of preparing a will. In 1868, for instance, because of need, he sold his library of rare books, pamphlets, maps, charts, handbills, original letters and books printed by Benjamin Franklin. The thirty-one page printed catalogue, which divided approximately one thousand titles into nine sub-units, carried the title *A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS: Being the Rare, Curious and Interesting Collection of Historical, Antiquarian and Miscellaneous Books, Papers &c. of Samuel Hazard, Esq.* (Philadelphia, 1868). Of special interest is the “Antiquarian Collection,” containing some 234 items, which was described as one that could never be brought “together again for any money.”⁷⁸ The two-day library auction, which was held on

⁷² Minutes, Archives of HSP. There is an appointment paper dated in the Hazard Family Papers.

⁷³ Minutes, Archives of HSP. Carson, *History of the Society*, I, 322-23.

⁷⁴ Minutes, Archives of HSP [Feb. 9, 1863].

⁷⁵ Minutes, [Jan. 11, 1864], Archives of HSP.

⁷⁶ Hazard, *Recollections of Olden Times*, 256.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 251-53.

⁷⁸ The catalogue was printed by King & Baird. Under Samuel Hazard's name were listed his publications, including the *Colonial Records*.

March 25, 1868, doubtless helped to sustain Hazard financially.⁷⁹

Two years later, on May 22, 1870, just a few days before his eighty-sixth birthday, Samuel Hazard died at his home on Woodbine Avenue in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Judging from the local papers, which carried no detailed obituary, his death occasioned little fanfare. His death notice stated that "his male friends and those of the family are invited to attend his funeral from his late residence."⁸⁰ Several weeks later at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Edward Armstrong, with whom Hazard had worked so closely to get the state to continue its commitment to preserve and make available its records in printed form, read a eulogy. In the several resolutions read before the society, Samuel Hazard was credited with being one of its distinguished members and the state's "most eminent historical student."⁸¹

* * * *

Samuel Hazard's chief claim to fame was his twelve-volume edition of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, later known as the First Series. Although we do not know how much he participated, editorially, in the publication of the *Colonial Records*, in later years he personally took much credit for it. A contemporary, John F. Watson, called the *Colonial Records* and the *Pennsylvania Archives* "monuments of his [Hazard] industry and perserverance and of the State's liberality."⁸² To succeeding generations of historians in early Pennsylvania history, Hazard rendered an incalculable service by promoting and editing the documentary publication. His work forms a basic source for students investigating the history of Pennsylvania and colonial America up to 1790. There might never have been an "Eighth" or "Ninth Series" had there not been a "First Series" of the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. Ultimately, over three-quarters of a century Pennsylvania produced 138 volumes. This documentary history was clearly one of the better state-sponsored historical enterprises of its day. Since a state archival

⁷⁹ The *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), March 25, 1868. The auctioneers were M. Thomas & Sons, of 139 and 141 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia. A careful check of the catalogue was made to determine if it contained any state documents (manuscripts). Except for state reports, which were printed in large numbers and made available to the public, there is no reason to assume that Samuel Hazard sold anything questionable at this auction.

⁸⁰ The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 23, 1870; *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 24, 1870.

⁸¹ Minutes, [May 23, June 13, 1870], Archives of HSP.

⁸² John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time*, enlarged and revised by Willis P. Hazard, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1879), III, 90.

unit was not founded until 1903, each new published series of the archives represented one more effort to preserve the records of the Province and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Although historians are surely grateful for the publication of the *Colonial Records* and the *Pennsylvania Archives* (Series I-IX), especially since it constituted the only state archival programming to speak of for the years 1838 to 1903, one must wonder what would have happened if the legislature had not agreed to fund the *Colonial Records* and the First Series of the *Pennsylvania Archives* during the 1850s. Some persons have argued that the publication of records gave the public a false sense of security and that this fact delayed the development of modern archival programming and records management. Others point to the alienation of public records that followed publication and suggest that many more of these priceless documents would probably be still in the custody of the Pennsylvania State Archives today if the archives had not been exposed to the publication process.

Samuel Hazard's career illustrates that public support for the preservation of historical materials rests on a fragile base. He understood that records had intrinsic value, which is to say that records in their original physical form have qualities and characteristics that would not be preserved in copies or in a documentary publication. He tried to organize the scattered public support for history or records preservation and he persuaded lawmakers to publish the records of the state as the best possible way to make them accessible. Surely, he was one of a few men of vision who collected and saved the nineteenth-century archives of Pennsylvania.

Historical preservation then as now does not have great mass appeal. One might claim that much of what Hazard dedicated his life to is presently embodied in the "Coalition to Save Our Documentary Heritage," founded in 1981, as a consequence of the federal budget cuts to the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The large-scale editorial projects that have multiplied in the United States since World War II are firmly rooted in our past. Historians and archivists must, like Samuel Hazard, exert pressure to insure that records continue to be made accessible to researchers and writers.

