MEETING DATES

May 3, 1975, Pine Manor Junior College
Brookline, Mass.

If you are not a member of the association you will not receive formal notification of this meeting unless you write the Secretary, Professor John Voll, History Department, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH 03824.

October 4, 1975, University of Maine, Portland Maine.

Program and paper suggestions for the fall meeting are welcome and should be sent to Professor Robert W. Lougee, History Department, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut 06268.

PROGRAM FOR THE SPRING MEETING

Morning Sessions:

I. Nineteenth-Century Chinese-American Contacts
   Fred W. Drake, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, "Elijah C. Bridgman—Intermediary Between Two Cultures"
   Robert P. Gardella, University of Washington, "Yankees Come for Tea: Aspects of the Nineteenth-Century Sino-Western Tea Trade"
   Paul A. Cohen, Wellesley College, Chairman
   Francis Carpenter, Director, Museum of American-China Trade, Commentator

II. Women in the Massachusetts Labor Movement
   Lucille O'Connell, Bridgewater State College, "Mary Kenney O'Sullivan"

Stephen Thernstrom, Harvard University, Chairman
Paul Faler, University of Massachusetts, Boston, Commentator

III. "The Uses of Film and Video-Tape"
    Panelists:
    Keith W. Bird, University of Bridgeport
    "Interdisciplinary Courses in History, Cinema and Journalism"
    C. Stewart Doty, University of Maine, Orono, "Producing and Using Student-Made Video-Tapes and Multi-Media Productions"
    Lawrence Murray, State University College, Fredonia, N.Y. "The Feature Film as Document"

    Martin A. Jackson, Associate Director, Project Center for Film and Humanities, Chairman

IV. Social and Educational Changes in Reformation Europe
    Sherrin Wyntjes, Northeastern University
    "Women in the Netherlands"
    Irene Q. Brown, Hampton, Conn., "The Expansion of Education in its Urban Context, 1450-1650"

    Gerald Soliday, Brandeis University, Chairman
    Mirian U. Chrisman, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Commentator

Afternoon Session:

The Publishing Crunch: The Presses and the Profession
Turning to the institutions of government, behold the similarities!

On the other hand people were filled with and covered by excited tingling, this sensation of freedom. They now, aside from this overall freedom granted by evident family unit dependence, chaffed for freedom. As a young colt kicks his heels, flaunts his mane, and glories in his found ability to walk erect... so did the colonists yearn to be ever free of the bit England by some tariff was forever tightening or new whip of restriction she was forever lashing. Instead of cringing... the colonists tensed under the wielding.

With thanks to those readers of Advanced Placement Examinations in European and American History (1956–63) who collected these bloopers. Courtesy of Gordon M. Jensen, University of Hartford.

NEHA News is the newsletter of the New England Historical Association. It appears twice a year, in April and in September. The deadline for the April issue is February 1; the deadline for the September issue is July 1. Contributions and suggestions are welcome and should be sent to:

Gwendolyn Evans Jensen
Editor, NEHA News
University of New Haven
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West Haven, Connecticut 06516

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Meeting Dates.................................. 1
Program for the spring meeting............. 1
Announcements.................................. 2
Historical Bloopers and other Oddities... 2
Session Summaries.............................. 3
Archives and Manuscript Accessions....... 9
Conference Reports............................ 11
Book Reviews.................................. 14
Minutes......................................... 22
Letter from the President..................... 23
SESSION SUMMARIES: SESSION I - THE BRITISH EMPIRE ON TWO CONTINENTS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BICENTENNIAL

Professor Neil Stout of the University of Vermont opened the session with a paper entitled "A New Look at the Boston Port Act of 1774." He began with a brief review of the salient facts concerning the bill from its origins within the North cabinet to its adoption in March 1774. He pointed out that although originally intended to punish Bostonians for the Tea Party, the measure actually affected the inhabitants of all the towns around Boston Bay. Professor Stout then drew attention to the act's provisions for reopening the harbor. Not only were Bostonians expected to pay for the tea but they were also required to demonstrate "full and absolute submission" to British authority. Such a goal could only be achieved by Boston prosecuting and convicting those responsible for the Tea Party, a feat that not even Britain's highest legal officials thought possible. By imposing such unrealistic terms on Boston, Professor Stout concluded, Great Britain rallied other towns and colonies to the support of Boston and paved the way for the Continental Congress.

Professor Mary Wickwire of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst followed with a paper on the "The Anglicization of Bengal, 1786-1793." In a brief sketch of British involvement in Bengal before 1786, she explained how the method of collecting taxes had become the major issue. When Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General in 1786, he introduced a wide range of reforms, particularly into the system of criminal justice, in an effort to eliminate corruption, inhumanity, and inequity in the operation of government. Most significantly, he established an honest civil service. "Good government, not self-government, was what the British intended for the Indians. And good government," Professor Wickwire concluded, "meant government by the British." The ultimate irony of Cornwallis's reforms was that they led to the establishment of India as a self-governing parliamentary democracy by the mid-twentieth century.

Professor Thomas C. Barrow of Clark University pointed out in his commentary that taxation was a common issue in both cases. His suggestion that economic factors lay at the heart of Great Britain's policy toward America in 1764-76 as well as toward Bengal in 1786-93 led to a lively discussion in which neither the political nor the economic interpreters entirely succeeded in carrying the field.

Benjamin W. Labaree, Chairman
Williams College

The following morning session was also held:

SESSION II - FAMILY STRUCTURE AND FAMILY CHANGE IN 19th CENTURY SOCIETIES

Bengt Ankarloo, University of Lund, Sweden, "Patterns of Familial and Demographic Change in 19th Century Sweden"

Andrejs Plakans, Joel Halpern, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, "Family Structures in East European Peasant Societies in the 19th Century"

Howard Chudacoff, Brown University, "Marriage Patterns in Nineteenth-Century American Cities"

Tamara Hareven, Chairman and
Commentator
Clark University
SESSION III - IDEAS OF RACE

In the session devoted to IDEAS OF RACE, Professors Emiliana Noether, Department of History, University of Connecticut, and Peter Slater, Department of History, Dartmouth College, addressed an audience of nearly fifty people. Noether's paper dealt with the response of Italians both to domestic and to foreign problems in the generation following unification as that response was played out in racist doctrine. Slater outlined the debate over heredity and environment as factors causing somatic change, focussing on the career of American anthropologist Franz Boas. Following the papers, Andrew Lyons, Department of Sociology, Newark College of Arts and Science of Rutgers University, presented a thoughtful, witty, and well-received assessment and commentary. The session closed with questions and comments from the floor.

In her paper, "Latin Decadence: An Intellectual Apologia," Professor Noether argued that many Italian intellectuals, perceiving a newly unified Italy beset with failure, turned to theories of Latin inferiority to mask their own sense of frustration. While united Germany seemed successful, for example, Italy limped along, plagued by corruption, unrest, and revolts from Sicily to Piedmont, and by external disaster crowned by her 1896 Ethiopian defeat.

Stunned by these problems, real and imagined, Italian intellectuals, among them Cesare Lombroso, Giuseppe Sergi, Enrico Ferri, Scipio Sighele, Alfredo Niceforo, and Guglielmo Ferrero, eagerly accepted and elaborated theories that specific racial characteristics could be identified with specific peoples, that life followed a Darwinian survival pattern. These and similar views, Noether pointed out, were widely held by other contemporaries who saw in England, Germany, and the United States evidence of Anglo-Saxon superiority; and in France, Italy, and Spain, of Latin decadence.

Pointedly Italian writers and spokesmen observed that Italians, unlike Northern Europeans, lacked a well-developed martial spirit and conformed to those cranial measurements which denominated criminal types and assigned them most readily to the brachycephalic Italic peoples. They also studied the Italian "Southern Question," contending that the misery, backwardness, and neglect which seemed endemic there were a function of a criminal typology, tied not to environmental circumstance but rather to heredity. As Niceforo pointed out, there were two distinct Italian races, the Northern and the Southern.

Some writers, Noether continued, went beyond this internal definition, damning all Italians as inferior peoples when measured against Northern Europeans. The distinction was grounded in the excessive sexual vigor of the Italians, which debilitated them, drained them of energy and, in effect, left the more abstemious Northerners strong and virile, able to command greatness and superior status. Thus at last Italy suffered from Caesarism—rule by the "unproductive classes"—effete and spoiled.

Although some, like Ferrero, ultimately argued that Italian inferiority was not a permanent condition but rather was tied to environment, and that Italians could improve if only they changed that environment, the assertion offered little long-term comfort. In her conclusion Noether commented that racist theories resurfaced in 1917 after Caporetto; and that which had cloaked the dismays of second-rate nationhood paradoxically became, with the nationalism of fascism in the 1930s, a promise "to lead Italy to greatness" and "erase once and for all the stigma of Latin decadence."
In the second paper, "Franz Boas and the Heredity-Environment Problem," Professor Slater outlined the dimensions of the heredity-environment debate. Although Franz Boas accepted the idea that such environmental influences as occupation, athletic exercise, food, and general living conditions caused somatic changes in muscle mass, limb structure, and physical stature, he accepted such conclusions cautiously, following in large the belief of the contemporary scientific community that the basic characteristics of individuals, families, and races were the consequence of hereditary influences.

Between 1908 and 1911, however—and this was the heart of Slater's paper—Boas directed the physical anthropological research for the American government's Dillingham commission. Using as subjects a group principally of recent Southern and Eastern European immigrants living in New York City, Boas reached conclusions startling for the doubt they threw upon the scientific truths of the day. Testing for variations in weight, height, hair color, and cranial measurements between those from the Old World and their offspring in the New, Boas found significant differences which forced him to conclude that there was a "strong and increasing influence of the American environment." "(W)hile heretofore," he said, "we had the right to assume that human types are stable, all the evidence is now in favor of a great plasticity of human types, and permanence of types in new surroundings appears rather as the exception than as the rule." This change in theory, Slater pointed out, lent credence to popular "melting pot" notions and caught Boas uncomfortably between the exaggerated enthusiasms of the public and the opposing doctrines of the scientific community.

Though he quickly dampened his initial enthusiasm, Boas nevertheless continued his research, shoring up the theory that both heredity and environment interact through the agency of a "plastic genetics" whereby "the genetic endowment an individual received from his parents embodied ranges for the expression of somatic characteristics rather than definite settings." Thus the resolution of the debate over heredity and environment was achieved, Slater said. "We know now," he concluded in the words of Boas' student Melville J. Herskovits, "that all genes express their potentialities in ways largely influenced by environment, that it is not characters which are inherited but potentialities, which in different environments will be expressed differently."

Professor Lyons then delivered his comments without benefit of formal text. He kindly spared the chairman the chore of taking detailed notes while trying to monitor such mundane things as room temperature, lighting fixtures, and water for the participants, by providing a summary statement of his remarks.

"He congratulated Professors Slater and Noether on their excellent papers, and remarked that they were representative of a new trend in the historiography of racial thought. It has been the custom for liberal academics to refer to some nineteenth and early twentieth-century writings on racial matters as 'pseudo-science'. One could understand the moral justification for such a practice, but one should realize that many leading nineteenth-century scholars, such as Agassiz, Darwin, Spencer and Galton, believed in the inequality of human races, and integrated their rationales for such beliefs into their scientific philosophy. The history of scientific racism, as many scholars now realize, was a topic of seminal importance to the student of nineteenth century ideas. One could not ignore the stains on one's ancestors' coat-tails.

"Professor Slater was right to note the oscillation between hereditarian and environmentalist attitudes in the nineteenth-century. At its beginning environmentalist attitudes had been dominant, but by 1900 hereditarian attitudes prevailed. Only in such a climate could Boas' claims concerning minuscule alterations in headform amongst immigrant families have attained notoriety."
'Professor Noether's excellent paper showed us that the collective representation of Nordic racial superiority had attained such power towards the end of the last century that Italian anthropologists felt constrained to explain and to apologize for the inferiority of their nation and of the 'Mediterranean' race. The power of Nordicism might also be illustrated by Rathenau's rejection of his own Jewish heritage, and Booker T. Washington's defeatist counsel to American blacks.

'Professor Noether had observed a link between many of the writers she had discussed and the 'anthroposociological' school. Lyons remarked that Otto Ammon and Georges Vacher de Lapouge had demonstrated that the populations of urban areas were more dolichocephalic (long-headed) than those of the countryside, and that the children of urban immigrants were more dolichocephalic than their parents. Ammon believed that the stimulus of urban life attracted the long-heads to the city, where they enjoyed a selective advantage over the stocky broad-heads. However, both he and Lapouge claimed that the city exacted a heavy toll from all its inhabitants, and anticipated that urbanization would lead to the diminution, and eventually to the evanescence of the Germanic Protestant long-headed stock. The Jews and alien conquerors, such as the Chinese, would then be left to rule over the broad-headed Catholic residue. This reactionary science, which owed as much to Gobineau as to Darwin, found its empirical justification in an undeniable difference between urban immigrants and their children. A consideration of Slater's paper would reveal that Boas' conclusions were, as their author himself observed, based on evidence similar to that advanced by Otto Ammon. The political thrust of the two studies was different, inasmuch as Boas attributed to 'limited plasticity' what Ammon attributed to natural selection.'

William H. Pease
University of Maine, Orono

AFTERNOON SESSION: TIME ON THE CROSS

The afternoon session was devoted to a panel discussion of Time On The Cross, a recent and highly controversial econometric study of slavery by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman. The three panel members, Professors Claudia Goldin of Princeton, Stephen DeCanio of Yale and John Bracey of the University of Massachusetts each read a statement concerning his or her reaction to the book and to the critical commentary it had produced. Then, after a very brief discussion among the panel members, the meeting was opened to questions from the floor. The first speaker was Professor Goldin.

(1) My discussion was introduced as a response to Time On The Cross' critics, and I pointed out initially that these reviews stressed sections of the book which I considered less important than others. The parts on family life, diet, and general treatment appear to be more controversial than the relative efficiency and scale economies issues. This was probably due to both the dramatic conclusions of the first and the more technical nature of the second issues.

(2) The data and the methods were reviewed to show how Fogel and Engerman joined enormously varied sources to answer their broad questions. They managed to construct the first general equilibrium view of slavery where no discussion stands alone, where each is buttressed and shaped by the others.

(3) The reviews criticized the use of economic methods, averages, and statistics. I tried to justify these methods but tempered my remarks with the need to incorporate these with more traditional historical findings—we can have both narrative and averages. The average tells us the general treatment of diet, but the narrative gives us some idea how slaves reacted to the extremes.
(4) I rehearsed some of the more obvious criticisms of the book on the treatment of slaves and family life but added that these sections were not the most revolutionary. The final part of the book on the nature of the southern economy is far more important in understanding the essence of slavery in the South. I tried to describe the relative efficiency criterion and criticized it from both theoretical and empirical viewpoints. I then discussed the efficiency statistic computed within the South from which Fogel and Engerman deduce economies of scale. I stressed the importance of this finding—that only slave labor enabled the exploitation of these economies in the production of staple crops. I ended by stating that this finding enables us to explain, in part, the decline in post-bellum income, and therefore *Time On The Cross* has enabled us to pull together all the disparate parts of a confusing literature for both the ante- and the post-bellum periods.

Claudia Goldin  
Princeton University

Given that Professor Goldin pointed out many of the major positive contributions of *Time On The Cross*, most of my remarks dealt with my criticisms and reservations regarding the book.

Two types of argument in *Time On The Cross* should be kept distinct on methodological grounds. In places, Fogel and Engerman use the quantitative and nonquantitative evidence to resolve which of several competing historical hypotheses are consistent with the record. This type of test is very much in the tradition of the "new" economic history. In other places, however, the authors simply make use of the results and propositions of certain parts of modern economic theory to interpret historical data. This approach is much closer to some varieties of "old" economic history in which the facts are arranged and put into categories on the basis of a previously accepted theoretical framework. Of course, if the theory is a good one there is nothing objectionable about this method.

Second, several of the calculations contained in *Time On The Cross* are presented in a misleading manner. Many of the final numbers depend on assumptions and procedures as well as on "hard" historical data. The most striking illustration of this is the alleged 12% "rate of exploitation" of slave labor. This figure of 12% is almost certainly too low a measure of exploitation as it is commonly understood, because Fogel and Engerman's lifetime averaging procedure places heaviest weight on the childhood years, when slaves were supported without contributing to output. By this method of calculation, the "rate of exploitation" of free workers can appear to be negative. Alternatively, if all years of the slave's lifetime are given equal weight in computing the average rate of exploitation, this rate rises to 49%.

Third, it is highly questionable that a slave labor system and a free labor system are merely different points on a continuum of labor systems employing different combinations of "force" and "wages" to elicit labor, as is suggested in *Time On The Cross*. Slavery prohibits workers from voluntarily changing jobs and effectively abolishes the competition among employers for laborers. Thus slavery destroys the main bulwarks protecting free workers against exploitation and abuse. Slavery is operationally distinguishable from a system of free labor in this respect. One consequence of this extreme form of "market power" possessed by slaveowners is that slaves can be forced to perform more labor and different types of labor than they would be willing to supply if they were free. Because of their loss of economic freedom, slaves' economic welfare (in the sense of total economic utility) is reduced below what it would be if they were free workers regardless of the material standard of living provided for them by the slaveowners.
Beyond the economic calculations and theoretical points, however, *Time On The Cross* raises issues which are not likely to be settled easily. For example, Fogel and Engerman implicitly argue that the slaves' "achievement under adversity" consisted in their being productive, skillful workers, who to a large degree internalized the values of the work- and family-oriented American culture of their time. But in what sense were these efforts really "achievements"? The answer must depend on some sort of judgement concerning the nature of the institution of slavery itself. Was slavery such an abomination that the only behavior within it which could be categorized as an "achievement" was revolt and sabotage? Or was slavery an industrial system comparable to the other industrial systems in the first half of the nineteenth century, so that the "achievements" of the slaves documented by Fogel and Engerman may be likened to the efforts of the industrial workers and free agriculturalists who struggled to improve their conditions in the face of great adversities or hardships? How, ultimately, are historians to decide whether the responses and adaptations of men and women living under an oppressive social system constituted "achievements" or collaborationism?

*Time On The Cross* provides few guidelines for approaching these fundamental questions, but it raises them in a sharp and provocative manner which should be productive of further thought and deeper insights into this aspect of the history of the human condition.

Stephen DeCanio
Yale University

Professor Bracey opened his remarks with an account of the various historians, extending all the way from Ulrich Phillips through Stampp and Elkins and down to Fogel and Engerman who without exception were convinced that their books would be helpful to the black community. His own reaction to these well-intentioned efforts is best described by the story of the man wrestling with a grizzly bear who pleaded with the bystanders that if they were unwilling to help him, at least don't help the grizzly bear.

*Time On The Cross* is, he felt, a rather pretentious book that offers relatively little that is new. Moreover, it could be used for questionable purposes. His suspicions were especially aroused by the extraordinary reception it received from the national press and television. Why, he wondered, were so many people anxious to be told that things really weren't so bad under slavery. Professor Bracey in no way questioned the right of an historian to deal with any subject he chose and in whatever fashion he chose, but when that subject was slavery, and the author or authors made a major effort to get national publicity for their findings, he reserved the right to have doubts about the purely scholarly character of those findings.

Finally, he argued, the book would have far less influence over the long term than Eugene Genovese's *Roll Jordan Roll*, or than Peter Wood's *Black Majority*, a brilliant study of black life and culture in colonial South Carolina.

John Bracey
University of Massachusetts
as summarized by
Stanley M. Elkins,
Chairman of the session
ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS

SCHLESINGER LIBRARY, RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

In 1974, the Executive Board of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) voted to deposit the organization's archives in the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The early organizational records of the League are currently being assembled for transfer to the Library which is devoted to the history of women in America. Since 1970, the Schlesinger Library has been the official depository for the permanent records of the National Organization for Women (NOW). During the last several years the NOW archives has grown steadily as national, state, and local chapters, as well as individual officers, have deposited their records in the Library. In 1974, Wilma Scott Heide, the third president of NOW, added her papers to the collection.

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

The University of Connecticut has recently acquired nearly one million voter registration records from the City of Hartford. These records, which date back to before the Civil War but are richest for the post-1870 period and especially so for 1912-1968, contain information that is of great interest to historians, urbanists, sociologists, and political scientists.

Data contained in the records include: date of registration; registrant's name; registrant's name change, if any; date of any name change; name and address for women who marry; registrant's street address in Hartford; changes of address, if any; dates of changes of address; ward and precinct number for each Hartford address; sex; occupation; place of employment (firm name or name of individual in the case of domestics and the like); place of birth; date of birth; for foreign born, date of naturalization; party registration; changes in party registration, if any; dates of changes in registration; date removed from the voter registration list; dates of reinstatement, if any; reason for removal from voter registration list (death, moved-out-of-town, disfranchised, etc.); for those who moved from Hartford; the town to which they moved; finally, the cards also contain the registrar's perception of how the registrant will vote.

This data may be brought to bear on questions of occupational mobility, patterns of intra-city migration, ethnic inter-marriage, employment patterns among women, and changes in partisan political attachments among ethnics, to list but a few areas of interest. Preparations have begun to put the records into machine readable form and the process is expected to be lengthy; the records are not easily used in their raw form. These and other historical materials, including interviews resulting from the Connecticut Ethnic Oral History Project, will be brought together as part of the University of Connecticut's "Peoples of Connecticut" Study, recently funded by an initial grant of $100,000 awarded by the U. S. Office of Education's Ethnic Heritage Studies Program. For further information about the Hartford voting data and the "Peoples of Connecticut" Study, write to any of the following: William V. D'Antonio, Department of Sociology and Director, "Peoples of Connecticut" Study; Fred W. Grupp, Jr., Executive Director, "Peoples of Connecticut" Study; Bruce M. Stave, Department of History and Director of Oral History, "Peoples of Connecticut" Study; and Edmond J. True, Department of Political Science, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut 06268.

Bruce M. Stave
University of Connecticut
NATIONAL ARCHIVES MICROFILM IN REGIONAL BRANCHES

National Archives microfilm publications constitute an important part of the holdings of the regional archives branch in Waltham, Massachusetts. In order to make its holdings more accessible, as well as to provide security copies of the original records, the National Archives has reproduced on microfilm many of its most significant records, especially those with high research value. Over 120,000 rolls of microfilm have been produced as part of this program. Microfilm publications help bridge the gap between the expensive printed editions of selected documents and the vast mass of unpublished records and serve the scholar's need for greater access to original source material. The National Archives is depositing select series of its microfilm in its regional branches throughout the country. Already 10,000 rolls of microfilm have been received in the Waltham branch, and additions will be made on a regular basis. The microfilm can be used in the Center and is also available for use in libraries and research centers through interlibrary loan.

The microfilm deposited in the Archives branch contains basic documentation for the study of American history. Included are the papers of the Continental Congress, records relating to United States diplomatic missions, Indian treaties and Indian affairs, material relating to the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, records of the War and Treasury Departments, records of various geological surveys, records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, records of the Supreme Court and the Department of Justice, territorial papers of the United States Senate and the Department of State, German records captured at the end of World War II and World War II war crimes records, and the population census schedules for the Federal censuses of 1850 and 1880.

Among the Department of State records on microfilm in the Center are the diplomatic despatches from American ministers and ambassadors abroad covering the years 1790 to 1906. Many of the despatches are accompanied by enclosures such as copies of notes exchanged by ministers of foreign states and American diplomatic representatives, copies of correspondence between American ministers and consular officials, correspondence with private individuals, and pamphlets, issues of newspapers and other printed matter. These despatches cover American relations with forty-five nations. Included are 200 rolls of microfilm of despatches from our chief diplomatic representatives in Great Britain for the years 1791 to 1906, and 134 rolls containing despatches from our representatives in Spain for the period 1792 to 1906. Other large microfilm publications containing diplomatic despatches include those from our representatives in Mexico for the years 1823 to 1906, from Japan, 1855 to 1906, from Russia, 1808 to 1906, and from the German States and Germany, 1799 to 1906. Other microfilm publications of State Department records include diplomatic instructions to the above ministers and ambassadors, domestic letters of the Department, and over 1,300 rolls of miscellaneous letters.

In contrast to the large microfilm publications of State Department records and other microfilm such as the 962 rolls containing letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs from 1824 to 1880, and the 550 rolls of captured World War II German records consisting of documents of Nazi cultural and research institutions, there are many microfilm publications consisting of three rolls or less. Among these are the Department of State territorial papers relating to the territory northwest of the Ohio River, 1789 to 1801; the journal of Charles Mason during the survey of the Mason and Dixon line 1763 - 1768; General James Wilkinson's order book for the years, 1796 - 1808; a journal of the voyage of the U. S. S. Nonsuch up the Orinoco River in 1819; letters sent by the Attorney General's Office during the years 1817 - 1858; the document file of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, 1940 - 1941; and the war diaries and correspondence of the German General Alfred Jodl.
For additional information about any of the above microfilm publications or for a list of the microfilm holdings contact the Chief, Archives Branch, Federal Archives and Records Center, 380 Trapelo Road, Waltham, MA 02154

James K. Owens, Chief of the Archives Branch of the Federal Archives and Records Center
Waltham, Massachusetts

Announcements for acquisitions, additions, additions to collections, or new finding aids should be forwarded to James K. Owens, Chief, Archives Branch, Federal Archives and Records Center, 380 Trapelo Road, Waltham, MA 02154

CONFERENCE REPORTS: The Berkshire Conference

The Second Berkshire Conference on the History of Women was held at Radcliffe College in October, 1974. Attendance was much larger than expected (the Conference planned for 1,200; 2,000 registered, and more attended sessions without registering). The program had 52 sessions and an emphasis on what might be called "new history," getting away from traditional political or biographical approaches. The program was, over-all, good history and well-received. A number of major research trends were recognized: for example, women and the family; women's role in industrialization; the historian's new concern with the private spheres, such as sexuality and health; women and the professions; women and social institutions such as church, trade unions, or schools. The program also high-lighted the new methodological developments that are essential to women's history, such as demography, oral history, and psychohistory. While the largest part of the program was devoted to modern western history, ancient and medieval history took seven sessions and had very heavy attendance. A session on the emergence of medieval feminism has been singled out as one of the best of the conference. Early modern studies were also relatively strong, and a session on deviant women in early modern England was highly regarded and well-attended. Some sessions had great appeal (for example, "Prostitution: History and Theory"), raised major questions, touched on a variety of concerns, and attracted large audiences. These were generally exciting sessions, sometimes controversial, but numbers made broad participation in the discussions very difficult. Sessions with narrow focus attracted small audiences (25 to 50), and these often turned into workshops. One (on popular culture) was so exciting that a group of the people who had attended the session scheduled an informal workshop on the subject for Sunday afternoon. Many scholars reported finding greater interest in their research than they had expected and more historians engaged in active research than they knew existed. Therefore an important contribution of the conference was the opening of communication among scholars in new fields. The organizers believe that the total effect of the Conference was a declaration to the profession that the history of women is an important field for research and teaching, and that without it there can be no real understanding of the past.

Mary Maples Dunn, President
Berkshire Conference

Conference of British Studies

The conference on British Studies held its autumn meeting on Saturday, November 9, 1974 at Yale University. Paul W. Schroeder of the University of Illinois presented the morning paper, "Living Off Capital: A View of British Foreign Policy in the Nineteenth Century." Professor Schroeder stated at the outset that his remarks would be skeletal in nature. Like an attorney delivering an opening presentation in a court of law, he said, he would present a thesis and argumentation, but not all of the supporting evidence.
In a tightly-reasoned argument, Professor Schroeder attributed Britain's autonomy and inexpensive empire not to the balance of power in Europe but to the existence of the Holy Alliance, which held the three eastern powers together in a relationship of support and of opposition. The Holy Alliance, therefore, as Professor Schroeder viewed it, was an alliance of restraint, a *pactum de contrahendo*. Herein lay the advantage for Britain. The rivalries between these European powers kept the pressure off Britain. Only Russia or a united Germany would have bid for control of Europe in the nineteenth century. The Holy Alliance prevented this and, indeed, forestalled the development of German-Slavic supremacy until 1914. Professor Schroeder further contended that in her policy opposing the Holy Alliance and doing nothing to prevent the fall of Austria, Britain was in effect living off capital. She might have guaranteed her own freedom of action for a longer period of time had she taken advantage of the alliance that fixed the attention of all of the European powers--France included--on the continent. Could Britain, if the nature of the alliance had been understood at the time, have been able to rally public support for it? Professor Schroeder said he believed that British support for the alliance could have been made acceptable to the public if explained in terms of stability and keeping the peace. "Splendid Isolation" had been conceived of as a short-term policy.

Professors Stephan Koss (Barnard College) and Marvin Swartz (University of Massachusetts) commented on Professor Schroeder's paper. Both commentators were concerned with the title; Professor Swartz suggested "Living with Capital" would have been a more appropriate characterization of the reasons for British success in the nineteenth century. Both commentators criticized the paper for its emphasis upon only one part of foreign policy and for its neglect of nineteenth-century British domestic policy. Professor Koss said it was natural for Britain to seek to destroy the alliance, for its members represented a kind of absolutism that offended liberal sensitivities. Professor Swartz noted further that the whole of the nineteenth century was too long a period over which to sustain the thesis.

Ms. Valerie Pearl of the University of London presented the afternoon paper, "The Environment and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century London." Ms. Pearl began by giving statistical evidence of the rapid growth of the City and surrounding areas between 1600 and 1660. She contended that much of the growth of the suburbs was the result of statutory law passed during the reigns of James I and Charles I prohibiting building within London. Furthermore, unlike Paris, London restricted the division of houses into multiple family units, thus encouraging growth outward rather than upward. Although some areas became more fashionable than others, no social apartheid existed in the City, and rich and poor lived side by side. As the population grew, there was increasing concern about open space, and by 1552, a law was passed against enclosing within three miles of the City. Furthermore, again in contrast with Paris, two royal parks, Hyde and St. James, were opened to the public by the Stuarts. Ms. Pearl argued that population increase did not bring a commensurate increase in indictable crime, explainable in part by the absence of an armed police, the continued effectiveness of parish government, and the presence of a citizen militia, numbering about six thousand in times of peace. Ms. Pearl closed by suggesting that despite fundamental changes occurring in the seventeenth-century, London took great pride in itself, in its sense of community and cultural hegemony. It was, she said, a highly literate city, where "penny universities" and general interest in education thrived.

Between the morning and afternoon sessions the Conference adjourned for cocktails, lunch, and for those who found the time, a look in the Beinecke Library at the exhibit of sixteenth through nineteenth-century manuscripts of British history, arts, and letters, organized from his own collection by James Osborn. Following lunch, a brief business
meeting was held. It was announced that the executive board had appointed Bentley Gilbert as executive secretary to replace Charles Ritcherson, now acting as cultural attaché to the United States embassy in London. The prize committee announced its selection of Richard T. Vann's book, The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655-1755 (Harvard University Press, 1969) for the Conference of British Studies book award.

The spring Conference will meet April 5, 1975 at Barnard College, and the fall session will be held at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. on November 15, 1975.

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XIth General Congress of Polish Historians

The invitation to attend the Eleventh Congress of Polish Historians afforded me a double pleasure: the chance to visit Poland again (my third visit) and an opportunity to meet in the flesh the historians whose writings I have been reading over many years. The two weeks I spent in Poland were like an extended festival, for I encountered celebrities in corridors and coffee bars and tried to match faces with names that had become second nature to me in monographs and bibliographies. The General Congress of Polish Historians is held every five years, though there are numerous smaller conferences in the interval. This year's congress, attended by approximately eight hundred scholars, met at the newly-built University of Torun from September 9-13. For the first time, an entire delegation of Polish historians from abroad was invited. All expenses were defrayed by the Polonia Society, a recently-formed organization specifically devoted to facilitating communication between Poland and the thousands of Poles living abroad. Our delegation included eight historians from the United States, one from Italy, one from Australia, one from Brazil, four from the NRD, and five from Hungary. Individual historians were, of course, always welcome and free to attend earlier congresses, but this was the first time a formal delegation of foreign scholars was organized. In addition to our group, there were distinguished guests like Albert Soboul and Michael Francois invited to participate in platform activities. A special colloquium devoted to the history of Polonia (Poles abroad) began a few days before the congress and continued throughout the week. Each group gave a resume of the state of the Polish community in its area and reported on the research projects that were in progress. There was much interest in the development of Polish Studies in the United States and in the Polish communities in Latin America. The tone at these colloquia was neither nostalgic nor nationalistic, but rather a genuinely international one which retained a scholarly character throughout. It was an interesting exchange among persons who had dual nationality identities and an unusual range of scholarly concerns.

The sessions were long and intense, much more so than at American conferences; some lasted four hours or more. There were three kinds of sessions: plenary, section meetings, and specialized colloquia. There were also public sessions (wykłady publiczne) for the townspeople. Soboul gave one of the latter at the Public Library rather than at the university. In the evenings there were social and cultural events, including concerts and films. The highlight of the congress was a special showing of a five-and-a-half hour film of Henryk Sienkiewicz' novel The Deluge, soon to be released internationally. The novel--a sort of Polish War and Peace--is an epic of the Polish-Swedish War of the seventeenth century. Responses of the historians were mixed; some found it highly successful while others felt it was a bit too spectacular, with authenticity giving way to effect. Afterwards there was a symposium on the historicity (or non-historicity) of the film and the expected clash between professional and commercial judgment. The overall theme of the conference was Polish social and cultural history. Though the title
suggests a contemporary emphasis, most of the sessions dealt with seventeenth and nineteenth-century topics. Few of the papers were quantitative in nature, but most Polish historians were knowledgeable about recent quantitative trends. Discussion from the floor was more orderly than at the AHA and generally more worthwhile. For me, the plenary sessions were the most exciting since they had more structure and addressed themselves to broader topics and themes. All said, I found the congress exciting and stimulating, sustaining and enlarging my respect for the seriousness, quality, and integrity of Polish historiography. Some of the Poles, however, felt that the congress was more low-key than others and lacking in ideological debate. There were no dramatic confrontations among scholars and few sharp disputes over methodology or interpretation. The congress ended with a hugh bash (called a RAUT), which entailed a buffet supper, vodka, and even dancing until two in the morning.

After the congress, the foreign delegation was taken on a week's tour of northern Poland: Poznan, Gdansk (Danzig), the Teutonic Knight HqTRS in Malbork, and many small towns with historical cathedrals and castles. In each university city we visited, a special meeting was organized--partly social, partly professional. We all had a chance to meet specialists in our field, received inscribed copies of publications pertinent to our own work, and usually were invited to informal parties at various peoples' homes. The subject of the American Bicentennial came up often. I found myself somewhat embarrassed that our Bicentennial plans seem so haphazard and unspectacular. The Polish Academy seems to be much further along than we are in the United States and much more enthused about the Bicentennial than we. They are planning to hold a big conference in Poland on the American Revolution, with major scholars from Poland and abroad. Naturally, they will be focusing on the Kosciuszko-Pulaski role in the American Revolution, but they also plan to broaden the context by emphasizing the eighteenth-century revolutions from a global perspective. For Poland, they will stress the Constitution of the Third of May and also the international aspects of the Polish Enlightenment. As I browsed through Polish libraries and bookstores, I was amazed to see how many new works on United States history have already been published. I was also impressed with the interest shown in Poland on Latin American and African history. On the streets of Warsaw there are lots of Latins and Africans. In short, my two weeks in Poland was anything but a provincial experience.

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BOOK REVIEWS: Pedagogy and New Studies in Witchcraft 1965-1975

The beginning of an exciting new stage in American studies of witchcraft was marked last year by the publication of Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum's Salem Possessed: the Social Origins of Witchcraft (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), the winner of the American Historical Association's 1974 John H. Dunning Prize. Freed from the constraining blinkers of the liberal-rationalist approach exemplified most recently by Hugh Trevor-Roper's The European Witch Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries & Other Essays (N.Y.: Harper Torchbook, 1969), and the sensationalism of the romantic approach, Boyer and Nissenbaum examine the role of witchcraft within the context of the tensions which factionalized Salem Village between 1672 and 1695. So convincingly do they argue their case that social historians who have not specialized in this particular aspect of the field may safely consign all earlier studies of Salem witchcraft, including Chadwick Hansen's romantic-sensationalist Witchcraft at Salem (N.Y.: Mentor paperback, 1970), to the deepest recesses of their storage cabinets. Salem Possessed, taken in conjunction with Boyer and Nissenbaum's Salem Village Witchcraft: A Documentary Record of Local Conflict in Colonial New England (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1972), can well serve as basic texts in a course on the history of witchcraft accusations and witchcraft belief systems.
Historians, of course, are not altogether alone in this field. Indeed, several of the analytical tools which all modern students of witchcraft must at least consider employing have been developed by social anthropologists in their work in contemporary "primitive," closed societies. The best and most readily available guide to the work done by anthropologists in recent years is the paperback edition of Lucy Mair's Witchcraft (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1969). The Penguin paperback, Witchcraft and Sorcery (Baltimore, Md.: 1970), a collection of readings by historians, anthropologists, and other social scientists, edited by Max Marwick, is also very useful. Another book which some historians may find helpful is Clyde Kluckhohn's Navaho Witchcraft, recently reissued as a paperback (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967). This pioneering study (originally published in 1944) made considerable use of the insights of psychology and contributed significantly to the development of what anthropologists call the "functionalist" approach. This approach suggests that the function of witchcraft accusations is to serve as a means of releasing personal tension and indirectly, as a means of social control. Closely related to this approach is the "structural" approach which seeks to determine how witchcraft accusations reflect tensions between different groups within a society. In addition to the Navaho study, proponents of both approaches drew upon some of the suggestions put forward in the most significant full-length study of witchcraft in the field of social anthropology, E. E. Evans-Pritchard's Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande (N. Y.: Oxford University Press, 1937: still in print). If for no other reason than the nature of the questions which it poses, this book should be required reading for all serious students of witchcraft.

The ramifications of some of the questions asked by Evans-Pritchard are explored in Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970: distributed in U.S. by Barnes and Noble), a collection of essays edited by the anthropologist Mary Douglas. In addition to Douglas' stimulating introduction, historians will be most interested by Peter Brown's essay on sorcery in Europe during the early Christian centuries and by Keith Thomas's discussion of the relevance of social anthropology to the historical study of witchcraft in England. This essay was written shortly before the publication of Thomas's massive Religion and the Decline of Magic (N. Y.: Scribner paper, 1971). This is the first extensive study of popular beliefs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it will probably remain the definitive work for many years to come. Nearly a quarter of the volume is devoted to a general survey of witchcraft belief systems at the village level. Here Thomas draws upon some of the conclusions presented by Alan Macfarlane in Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England (N.Y.: Harper Torchbooks, 1970). This is another of the books which should be required reading for all students of witchcraft. Macfarlane was the first historian to apply some of the insights of anthropology to a small region with ample records covering an extended period of time, in this case to the witch-rich county of Essex from 1560 to 1680. He found that English witches had few of the characteristics attributed to continental witches by learned theologians, jurists, and members of the inquisition, i.e., overt compacts with the devil, covens, and the use of broomsticks and other suchlike paraphernalia. Instead, the usual witch in old England (as well, I think, as in New England) was a woman past her prime, who tried to insist that the bonds of neighborhood and community be retained in the face of possessive individualism. She frequently pestered neighboring villagers to borrow foodstuffs or household items to supplement her meager income. Then one day a neighbor refused her request, heard her mutter a curse, and shortly afterwards suffered a private misfortune. A child died or butter would not turn, and the neighbor attributed this to the maleficium of the old woman, now a suspected witch.

No historian has yet attempted to apply Macfarlane's brilliant insights into the tensions of life at the village level to the study of witchcraft on the European continent. As in the past, historians in this field remain primarily concerned about the phenomena as viewed, and acted upon, at trials, by educated members of the upper echelons of society.
The two best recent books in this genre are undoubtedly Robert Mandrou's Magistrats et Sorciers en France au 17e Siècle (Paris: Plon, 1968) and H. C. Midelfort's Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany, 1562-1684 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1972). Unlike Jeffrey B. Russell, in his very disappointing, rambling study, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), Midelfort sees a clear distinction between witchcraft and heresy, at least at the pre-trial stage. He stresses that the confessions wrung out of suspects by demonologists at a trial proved nothing. Midelfort is also emphatic in personally rejecting the notion central to any witchcraft belief system: that a human being has command over supernatural forces.

In addition to the long bibliography in Russell's book, students of traditional witchcraft studies will find two recent bibliographical essays useful. They are H. C. Erik Midelfort "Recent Witch-Hunting Research, or Where Do We Go from Here?" Papers, Bibliographical Society of America, LXII (1968), 373-417, and E. William Monter, "The Historiography of European Witchcraft: Progress and Prospects," The Journal of Inter-disciplinary History, II, no. 4 (Spring, 1972), 435-51. But it is from the works mentioned earlier in this essay that we learn that the century-old hex on witchcraft studies is no longer in effect. In fact, the prospects for the serious study of witchcraft have never been better, now that historians have begun to integrate some of the insights derived from social anthropology in to their own work.

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The stated purpose of Mr. Hamilton's book is to explain how and why European intellectuals and artists embraced Fascism. He seeks not to pass judgment but only to present the facts in the hope of clarifying the motives that entered into the decision of various individuals to collaborate with Fascist movements. Happily, however, instead of concentrating exclusively on intellectuals and the Fascist appeal, the author manages to present a much-needed synthetic general history of this unique twentieth-century phenomenon.

The book is divided into four self-contained discussions of Fascism as it developed in Italy, Germany, France, and England. Hamilton explains the characteristics of these four varieties of Fascism and discovers certain basic trends or images that emerge out of the various movements. The author is at his best when dealing with Italy and France; indeed, his essay on Italian Fascism may be one of the best capsule summaries available.

Basically, Hamilton does not see Italian Fascism as a clearly-defined ideology but simply a random collection of essentially idiosyncratic values utilized by Nationalist intellectuals as a vehicle for conservative counter-revolution. Their objective was to create an aristocratic elite of industrialists, financiers, and land-owners who could exercise power after the Fascist state came into being. The Partito Nazionale Fascista was riddled with ideological disagreements (which appears to have been a common feature of all Fascist movements), and the absolute necessity of making compromises with diverse interest groups prevented Mussolini from ever wielding totalitarian power. The Duce's political acumen, his perspicacious manipulation of public opinion, and the disarray of the opposition insured the comparative longevity of Fascism in Italy.
One of the chief differences between the early history of German National Socialism and Italian Fascism was the former's distinct inability to attract intellectuals and nationalists. These elements recoiled in horror at the primitive level, general philistine, and vulgar anti-Semitism of Nazi literature. Once the Nazis gained power, the few writers and artists who supported the party were quickly disillusioned. In their determination to cleanse Germany of "non-Aryan" influences and anything else that might undermine the regime, the Nazis either drove good literature underground or forced it out of the country. The German reading public was regaled with the inanities of Teutonic folk legends, stories of hard-working peasants, and volkisch novels. Hamilton contends that Hitler was never able to construct a wholly totalitarian regime; the fragmented nature of Nazi ideology and deep divisions within the NSDAP prevented him from controlling all aspects of German life. This is an argument that some may feel does not do justice to such definitions of totalitarianism as that proposed by Hannah Arendt. In general, Hamilton may have failed to signalize the qualitative differences between "Hitlerism" and the various other authoritarian movements that marched under the banner of Fascism.

The Fascists in Britain and France never came close to exercising much political power, and partly for this reason, their ideology was even more fragmented and obtuse. One might even argue that there was no such thing as French Fascism. With the exception of Marcel Bucard, the extremists of the Right refused to accept the label. In the words of Drieu La Rochelle: "We received the word Fascism from the mouths of our adversaries, from the democratic, anti-Fascist clique: we took up this word as a challenge." The closest that the so-called French Fascists came to seizing power was after the Stavisky scandal, but disunity and lack of purpose led to failure. Fascism was never a significant movement in England (even Bellow and Pound considered it a foreign import not applicable to Britain) and, as a political alternative, attracted comparatively few intellectuals. For those who flirted with the ideology it was considered, in the words of Mr. Hamilton, "a feather with which to tickle the throats of English liberals."

There were many reasons why writers and artists drifted into Fascism. For some it was an odyssey of egoism. The ambiguity of the ideology enabled them to twist it to their own selfish ends. It also satisfied certain political and aesthetic needs, for Fascism seemed to bring order out of chaos. Pirandello explained that the State needed a Cæsar and an Octavian in order to produce a Virgil. Italian Futurists, German Expressionists, and the artists who followed Vorticism in England were attracted to the activism of the ideology and its sheer rebelliousness, which was aimed at the traditional standards of the nineteenth century. Fascism also provided a solution to the threat of anonymity and rootlessness in industrial society and promised to destroy the type of civilization that held contemporary man in a state of putrefaction. Malaparte saw Fascism as a heroic revival: "Stern, calm men raise their heads from the long sleep and lend their hands to the reconstruction of the earth." Many misunderstood Fascism. Mussolini's Minister of Education, Giovanni Gentile, regarded it as the continuation of liberalism, a revival of the Risorgimento, and described the Fascist State as "the democratic state par excellence."

In Hamilton's opinion, the real fascist intellectuals were the "anti-democrats" (Malaparte and LaRochelle), those who wanted to destroy the hypocritical liberal State and establish authoritarian rule. They saw Fascism as left-wing, a third solution running between Communism and Liberalism that would ultimately create a "bourgeois Socialism." LaRochelle stressed that Fascism was a left-wing movement: "It is obviously amongst groups traditionally supposed to be naturally anti-Fascist: that we find the only men susceptible to Fascism: amongst the young Radicals and the young Socialists and Communists." The line between many Marxists and Fascists was paper thin. Goebbels' friend, Arnolt Bronnen, hoped to use the Berlin S.A. to enforce his own brand of "National Bolshevism," which was to be accomplished by splitting the North German NSDAP away from Munich and developing a right-wing movement allied with the Soviet Union. For these reasons, Hamilton does not consider Fascism to have been a purely conservative or traditional rightist phenomenon.
Most intellectuals, realizing that the actual implementation of their ideas could be disastrous, pulled back from the precipice in time. Thomas Mann, who had long been inspired by Germanic irrationalism, quickly recognized that this tradition was being used for evil purposes by political extremists in the Weimar Republic. Others, like Ezra Pound, pursued their utopias until the end, and therein, according to Hamilton, lay their madness.

Not as precise as it might be, yet well grounded in the recent monographic literature on the subject, Hamilton’s essay might well be a useful addition to those teachers for whom other major works on the subject (such as Ernest Nolte’s Three Faces of Fascism) have proven too detailed and ponderous for classroom use.

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Recent Western Civilization Texts

Because of the large numbers of text books available for Western Civilization courses, I have limited myself to reviewing a selection of texts for the first half of such courses, usually Prehistory to 1500 or 1715. Points on which I have judged books are readability, adequate coverage of periods, balance among the various approaches to history (political, social, economic, cultural, intellectual), level of analysis, and, of course, accuracy.

Perhaps the best known of all Western Civilization texts is the late Edward McNall Burns’ Western Civilizations now in its eighth edition (W. W. Norton, 1973). Burns’ prose is basically straightforward but not dull and should present no problems to either good high-school seniors or lower-division undergraduates. Basically his coverage of all periods is adequate, although the new edition has unfortunately shortened coverage of Egypt and Mesopotamia. One of the book’s best features is its balance among the various aspects of history, without which no student can understand any civilization. Burns also gives great importance to historical analysis as well as narrative. Unfortunately he tends to emphasize some rather old-fashioned theories and impose modern values upon his treatment of past religious and cultural systems. On the whole, he is accurate except where he relies on outdated scholarship for interpretation as for example on the reforms of Ikhmaton and on the problems of Roman imperial politics.

The second edition of The Mainstream of Civilization to 1715 by Strayer, Gatzke, and Harbison (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974) reflects many of the positive aspects of Burns. Moreover, the level of analysis is more sophisticated and based upon more recent interpretations. Sentence structure is somewhat more complex, but more bothersome is the small type of the double-column text. On the other hand, the clarity, quantity, and relevancy of the numerous maps and monochrome illustrations are excellent. Another useful feature is the insertion of original sources printed in bold type against a grey background. They are well chosen and given the average student about as much exposure to original material as can be absorbed without taking time to discuss complete works in detail.

Two major criticisms might be voiced. The alternate discussion of political, cultural, or national entities over considerable chronological periods may confuse students, as in the cases of Mesopotamia and Egypt or the developments of the Medieval French and English monarchies. Also, the inclusion of only a single chapter on India, China, and Japan 500-1600 A.D. adds little of value to a course on Western Civilization. The space might have been more profitably apportioned to fuller discussions of some of the other topics such as the Reformation, where the treatment of political, economic, intellectual, and social implications of the Reformation are a little thin.
Another useful text is *The Western Experience*, Vol. I, by Chambers, Grew, Herlihy, Rabb, and Woloch (Knopf, 1974). It is well-written, pleasantly printed, and gives due attention to the various aspects of history. It also presents an analytical approach to the subject matter. For some, however, it may seem too brief in places, as in the cases of the ancient Near East, Greece, and Medieval political developments.

The beautifully-illustrated art essays on the images of man held by various peoples are an interesting experiment but are ultimately unsatisfying. The approach is too restrictive a treatment of art and separates the discussion of several civilizations' art from the other elements of history with which their art was connected.

One of the best texts that I have encountered is *The Rise and Development of Western Civilization* by Stipp, Hollister, and Dirrim, ed. 2 (Wiley, 1972). The writing is sophisticated enough to be interesting but does not overwhelm the student. Its coverage of all periods and aspects of history is excellent in breadth and depth. Interpretation is stressed and in the cultural realm employs well-integrated original material.

Less well balanced is *A History of the Western World*, ed. 2 by Lyon, Rowen, and Hamerow (Rand McNally, 1974). Covering prehistory to 1775 in 484 pages, it devotes some 250 to the medieval period alone. It does encompass all aspects of history in a readable and highly narrative fashion with interesting interpretative sections interspersed.

Three rather unsatisfactory works are *A History of the Western World* by Modell (Prentice Hall, 1974); *Civilization in the West* by Brinton, Christopher, and Wolff, 3rd ed. (Prentice Hall, 1975); and *Western Civilization, an Urban Perspective* by Willis (D. C. Heath, 1973). Modell presents an old-fashioned narrative that tends to be reduced to names, dates, and places. Brinton et al. present a much more sophisticated picture of history in a straight-forward style, but they have compressed the material too much in less than 400 pages from the Old Stone Age to Louis XIV. Willis has tried to capitalize on the recent interest in urban history but has produced a highly-skewed text that does not adequately cover many topics. It could prove useful for supplementary readings, however.

Finally, one of the most interesting experiments in Western Civilization texts is *The Way of the West* by Slavin (Xerox, 1972). The coverage is broad and deep. The intellectual level is very high and challenging. A great deal of effort is spent on analysis to make students think historically. Unfortunately, all of that combined with a rather complex vocabulary and syntax may be too much for the average freshman. Yet, it might make a fine text for honors sections.

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A Few Useful Books on the Administrative History of Victorian England

From the Factory Act of 1833 to the National Insurance Act of 1911 England's central government multiplied in size and power and, in conjunction with an expanding local government, laid the basis of a welfare state. For the ordinary Englishman the growth of a more protective government was as important as the coming of parliamentary reform or Palmerston's victories in diplomacy. But important as it is, it is still too often absent from the syllabi of English History courses. Twenty years ago this absence was partly due to a lack of literature on the subject. That excuse will no longer hold since the literature on nineteenth-century English administrative history has grown prodigiously, a fact that makes it incumbent on English historians to lecture at least once on the growth of government in Victorian England.
In any lecture on that subject at least four questions should be asked: how extensive was that growth? what were its causes? what changes occurred within its organization and practices? and what effect did its expansion have on the ordinary Englishman?

The literature on Victorian administrative history is quite ample for answering the first of these questions. Derek Fraser's Evolution of the British Welfare State (1973) in surveying the expansion of the central government from 1833 to 1948 devotes 163 pages to the Victorian period, thus supplying a concise and intelligent summary. His coverage is, by necessity, selective. For more detailed accounts one must turn, for the period 1833 to 1854, to William Lundenow's The Politics of Government Growth (1971) and my own Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State (1960), and for the period 1906 to 1917 to Bentley Gilbert's The Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain (1966). These two periods saw the most dramatic innovations in the growth of government, the first in the regulation of conditions in industry and in the central supervision of local authorities and the second in the government's assumption of responsibility for the citizen's welfare, whether by old-age and unemployment payments or free lunches for school children. The only period that rivals these two for administrative growth came between 1868 and 1880, but it was a period largely for consolidation and amendment. There was no expansion into new areas except for tentative moves in the field of housing. The best book on this period is Paul Smith's Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reforms (1967).

The above books sketch in quite nicely where, when, and how the central government grew in powers, personnel, and functions. They all agree that it was a rather unplanned, rambling, ad hoc, growth; that in numbers of agencies and powers it was far more extensive than most historians are aware of; but that in many instances the added powers were quite seriously limited by the fear of irritating local government or private enterprise. It was a partnership of the central government with both local authorities and voluntary associations, and not the emergence of a monolithic state, that led to an increased collectivisation.

Though there is no great controversy among administrative historians on the extent and nature of this complex, Gothic-like structure, there is on why it grew, the second of our four questions. That controversy over the question began with the publication of Oliver Macdonagh's A Pattern of Government Growth (1961), a work that not only focused on the government's enforcement of those Passenger Acts that regulated merchant shipping, but offered a model for explaining the overall growth of the central government. It is a model that has stirred up considerable debate. Macdonagh emphasizes two major causes of that growth, the pressures of social problems in an industrial age and the dynamic role of those bureaucrats who increasingly investigated and reported on these evils. Macdonagh minimizes the role of ideas, particularly Jeremy Bentham's, and of the role of rival political parties.

Jennifer Hart's article "Nineteenth Century Social Reform" in the July 1965 issue of Past and Present, attacks Macdonagh's model for its dismissal of Bentham and the role of ideas. Her criticisms, however exaggerated, did point to a salient fact about many administrative histories, namely that they tended to ascribe governmental growth mainly to empirical responses to particular problems. Lundenow, Gilbert, Smith, Fraser, and myself, in the books mentioned above, do adopt some form of this pragmatic view, as do W. L. Burr in his Age of Equipoise (1964) and Royston Lambert in his biography Sir John Simon (1963). Mrs. Hart insists that these historians have overlooked the role of ideas. But since neither she nor anyone else has discovered what ideologies did lead to governmental growth the controversy has largely died out. Even Henry Parris, who in 1960 in the Historical Journal criticized Macdonagh for minimizing Bentham's ideas has
in his Government and the Railways (1965) and Constitutional Bureaucracy (1969), said little of Bentham's influence. For administrative historians the main cause of the growth of the central government was the avalanche of problems released by industrialization. If ideas do play a role they do so, as Lambert shows in Sir John Simon, as advances in science and technology, or as a diffuse growth of humanitarianism, not as the result of a single thinker.

How large the government should be and why it grew so large were often matters of political and intellectual conflict. Not so exciting is the third of our questions, what changes occurred within the organization and practices of the various departments. The most valuable book on this subject is Henry Parris, Constitutional Bureaucracy. It deals with a century of administrative reforms ranging from the increasing use of the civil service examination to the decline in the use of boards, and from the respective roles of ministers and undersecretaries to the creation of administrative law. It examines how decisions are made, how policy is formulated, those who came into government, their background and education. Mr. Parris is a realist, quietly disabusing the reader of many myths, one of which is that key civil servants are the grey eminences who run all. The ministers, not the civil servants, decided the policy of most departments.

The closest work to Parris' in terms of analyzing the internal workings of the central government is Maurice Wright's Treasury Control of the Civil Service, 1854-1874 (1969). It is a thorough, detailed, microscopic study, a work for the specialist. For a much more lively account of the actual working of the various departments one must turn to biographies of the civil servants themselves. R. A. Lewis' Edwin Chadwick and the Public Health Movement (1951) and Samuel Finer's, The Life and Times of Edwin Chadwick (1951) are classics of this genre. Both vividly and perceptively tell of Chadwick's stormy and controversial career as an assistant factory commissioner, secretary to the Poor Law Board, and commissioner of the Board of Health, a career running from 1833 to 1854. Frank Smith's Life of Kay Shuttleworth (1923) is still the best account of the Committee on Education from 1839 to 1850. Numerous other biographies, which can be found in the bibliographies of the above books, tell about the internal workings of the various departments.

What is really lacking in the historiography of Victorian administrative growth are books what answer the fourth question: what was the impact of governmental growth on the average citizen? Lambert, Sir John Simon, Lewis and Finer on Chadwick do touch on that impact, but not systematically. In many ways materials for measuring impact are so diffuse and extensive that only intensive studies of local areas can supply the answer. And though there are some classic works on local government in general, such as Sir E. Keith-Lucas's The English Local Government Franchise (1952), such studies deal more with powers and organizations than with the actual impact of government on the life of the individual. How General Boards of Health or Unemployment Assistance actually worked for the ordinary slum dweller or unemployed awaits the activities of the local social historian. At present historians have spent most of their energies on the first three of the four questions, and have done so with considerable success.

David Roberts
Dartmouth College
MINUTES: BUSINESS MEETING - Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts
October 5, 1974

President John Gagliardo opened the business meeting at 1:30 p.m. The minutes
of the May meeting were accepted as distributed.

After a general Treasurer's Report, the motion was made by J. Pease to increase
the annual dues to $4.00 effective January 1975. This motion was passed.

Gordon Jensen, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented the slate of
nominees and balloting proceeded. The following were elected:

Vice President - Robert W. Lougee
Secretary (3-year term) - Daniel H. Thomas
Treasurer (2-year term) - Armand Patrucco
Executive Committee (2-year term) - Claudia Koonz
                                      Frank Freidel, Jr.
Nominating Committee - Catherine M. Prelinger
                                      Ronald Paul Formisano

It was further announced that the Spring Meeting of 1975 will be on May 3 at Pine
Manor Junior College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

Respectfully submitted,
William F. Allen
Secretary-Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING - Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts
October 5, 1974

The Executive Committee Meeting came to order at 6:30 p.m.

1. It was announced that the Fall 1975 meeting will be at Portland, Maine,
on October 4, 1975, John Gagliardo will notify Joel Eastman who will
appoint a local arrangements chairman.

2. The Spring 1976 meeting will be at St. Joseph's College in Hartford,
Connecticut on May 8 and is in connection with a bicentennial program.

Professor Gwendolyn E. Jensen volunteered to continue as editor of the Newsletter
for a five-year term which begins in the Fall of 1975. (This follows her one-year term
from Fall 1974 to the Fall of 1975.) The Executive Committee accepted the service with
thanks for the work which she has done.

In view of the increase in dues to $4.00, the question was raised about the effect
of this cost upon student membership, and the Executive Committee made the following inter-
pretation: in raising their own dues to $4.00 for regular members, the Association
did not wish to make it more difficult for student members; therefore, the Executive
Committee interpreted this action as retaining a $2.00 student membership. This inter-
pretation will be subject to ratification at the spring meeting.

Discussion of the general thrust of the spring meeting continued and ideas were
given to the vice president.
President Gagliardo was to target other organizations to join us for specific sessions in the future. In other words, the NEHA is not going to take the holding company approach of the AHA. The Archivist group would be the first to be invited to join us.

President Gagliardo was to explore holding the Fall 1976 meeting at Exeter Academy.

Respectfully submitted,
William F. Allen
Secretary-Treasurer
University of Bridgeport

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

I would once again like to extend my personal invitation to membership in the NEHA to those of your colleagues and acquaintances, professional and otherwise, who have not as yet joined our organization. The development of the NEHA in recent years has demonstrated a continuing fulfillment of the original promise of the association as a regional forum within which the broadest range of interests and concerns of historians of the New England area can effectively be contained. The variety of the programs of the fall and spring meetings of the association has evinced a steadily growing attention to the scholarly and pedagogical interests and problems of the very diverse sources of our membership, while the publication (and expansion) of the NEHA News now provides an appropriate and long-awaited medium for the exchange of news and views among the membership. The real needs and desires that can be met by the strengthening of regional associations of historians have been recognized by the leadership of the American Historical Association, which in December called together a meeting of the heads of the various regional associations at the AHA convention in Chicago, with the aim of exploring ways in which the national and regional groups might assist one another in their mutual concerns. While no earth-shattering conclusions emerged from this initial meeting, it was agreed that such contacts are indeed useful, and that they should be regularized in the future.

It is my hope that as many of you as possible--old members as well as new--will plan to attend the NEHA spring meeting on May 3 at Pine Manor Junior College, to help carry on the permanent work of improving the association and its programs and services. A membership application is appended, which should be sent to our new Secretary, Prof. John Voll, at the Department of History, University of New Hampshire, Durham, N.H., 03824. Prof. Voll has agreed to serve as Secretary by presidential appointment to replace Prof. Dan Thomas of the University of Rhode Island, elected last fall, whose present situation does not permit him to occupy the position. Prof. Voll's appointment will be subject to ratification of the membership at the spring meeting. Current officers and members of the Executive Committee of the NEHA will be happy to answer any inquiries about the association.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Gagliardo
President
Boston University
ANNUAL DUES.....$4.00

NAME______________________________________________

AFFILIATION_________________________________________

MAILING ADDRESS_________________________________________

_________________________________________ ZIP________

Please make checks payable to The New England Historical Association and mail
to: John Voll, Secretary, New England Historical Association, History Depart-
ment, University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH 03824.