CONFERENCE AT SAINT JOSEPH COLLEGE
20 OCTOBER 1990
SECOND CALL

The annual fall meeting of NEHA will be held at Saint Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut, on Saturday, 20 October. The revised program is listed on page two of this newsletter. Pre-registration forms have been mailed to the membership. Campus and area maps and a representative list of local hotels were included in the previous mailing.

Vice President Alan J. Reinerman has arranged the program and John Hunt of Saint Joseph College has been in charge of local arrangements. We are very grateful to Professors Reinerman and Hunt for their efforts on our behalf.

Registration will begin at 8:30 a.m. in the Gengras Center on the Saint Joseph campus, and the morning sessions will be held in that building. Luncheon and the business meeting will be held in McGovern Hall, and the afternoon’s plenary session will meet in Mercy Hall. All buildings are in close proximity and are handicapped accessible. Members will notice that there will be four panels in each of the morning sessions, instead of the more customary three: this is an innovation which may be continued, depending upon response. The plenary session will be a symposium on the distinguished historian Eric Hobsbawn; Professor Hobsbawn will attend the session, which will conclude with his remarks.

The annual NEHA elections and the announcement of the annual NEHA Book Award will take place during the luncheon meeting. Ballots and biographical materials on the nominees will be distributed at pre-registration and at the meeting.

Saint Joseph College is located at 1678 Asylum Avenue in West Hartford, and attendees are urged to enter the campus from Asylum Avenue on the SJC Service Road opposite Auburn Road; if this is done, parking will be on your left and the Gengras Center will be on your right, facing McDonough Hall.

Members are strongly urged to attend.

ADVANCE NOTICE
Spring Meeting
19-29 April 1991
Worcester, Massachusetts

The annual spring meeting will be held at the American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury Street, in Worcester, Massachusetts, on Friday and Saturday, 19-20 April 1991. This is, obviously, one of our biennial two day meetings, with registration starting late Friday afternoon and with sessions continuing until Saturday afternoon. Members coming from any considerable distance might consider overnight accommodations in Worcester.

Association Vice President Alan J. Reinerman is in charge of the program. For information about the program, or for proposals, he may be reached at (617) 552-3814 or (617) 965-3635.

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BOOK NEWS

One of documentary editing's longest-running projects will reach completion this year when the Massachusetts Historical Society takes delivery of the final number in its House Journal series. The Society, has added to the series almost every year since 1919, when it issued the first volume. Over the past 71 years, the Society has published 55 volumes in a total of 65 parts. Each number reproduces a document central to the study of public life in 18th century Massachusetts, the formal, printed minutes of its lower house, complemented by an introduction and an index.

The moving force behind the series was Worthington Chauncey Ford, the Society’s editor of publications between 1908 and 1929. Ford secured seed money for the project in 1919 from William Bradford Homer Dowse; the following year the Commonwealth of Massachusetts agreed to pay a portion of production costs and Dowse eventually made another substantial gift to the Society to underwrite the series until completion. Among editors connected with the project over the years have been Stewart Mitchell, Malcolm Freiberg, and Marjorie F. Gutheim.

The third phase of Sibley's Harvard Graduates is under way at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The project began in the 1840s, when John Langdon Sibley and his assistants accumulated the mass of data which is the nucleus of the "Old Sibley File" at the Massachusetts Historical Society; ever since, for 150 years, this material has been the starting point for the preparation of sketches for Sibley’s Harvard Graduates. The volume currently in progress, number 18, will (continued on page 3)
THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

20 October 1990
Saturday

REGISTRATION

Fall Meeting

Saint Joseph College
West Hartford, Connecticut

SESSIONS

Gong Center

Gong Center


Timothy Keele (Boston College), Kent Newbury (University of Connecticut): "Legal Training in the Early Republic: The Education of Three Sedgwick Brothers, 1795-1808."

Chair: Alan Rogers (Boston College)

2. Prayer and Property: The Appeal of the Reformation in France

Virginia Rembert (Boston College): "Authors and Owners of Early French Reformed Prayer Books."


Chair and Comment: Chartrain Jenkins Blaisdell (Northeastern University)

3. Violence in Twentieth Century Italian Politics


Spencer di Scala (University of Massachusetts/Boston): "Historical Memory and Terrorism."

Richard R. Drake (University of Montana): "The Aldo Moro Murder Case."

Chair: Brian J. Batson (Boston College)

4. Latin America and the United States

Thomas P. Anderson (Barnard College State College): "Special Relations between Central America and the United States."


Danan A. Irish (University of New Hampshire): "The Influence of Individuals on U.S.-Brazilian Relations in the Twentieth Century."

Chair: Joseph T. Cicconi (Boston College)

10:45

SESSIONS

Gong Center

1. Connecticut During the New Deal Era


Chair: Louis D. Stettner (Amherst College)

Comment: Herbert Jauck (Western Connecticut State University)

2. Violence in the Middle Ages

Joseph D. White (Haverford College): "Violence and Power in Medieval France."

Daniel Lesnic (University of Alabama/Blountville): "Social Bandity and Power in the Papal States."

Chair: Sauln Cahn, Jr. (Bryn Mawr College)

Comment: Robert Miller (University of Michigan Law School)

3. Prelude to War: The Diplomacy of the 1930s

Joel Klein (University of Connecticut/Storrs): "Francoist Italy, France, and the Russian Assassination."

James argueon (Wheaton College): "Mussolini, Goebbels, and Hitler’s Attack in Austria, 1932-1936."


Chair: Alan Cauley (McMaster University)

4. Aspects of Modern Russia

Richard Tanenbaum (Indiana University): "Contemporary Youth Movements in the USSR."

Nicholas Radzinsky (Pembroke State College): "The Education of Russia’s Younger Generation of Russian Clergy."

Raymond McNally (Boston College): "Emancipation of the Staff—Real or Imaginary?"

Chair and Comment: To be announced.

12:30

LUNCHEON

McGovern Hall

2:30

PLENARY SESSION

Mercy Hall

SYMPOSIUM FOR ERIC HOBBSWAIN

Moderator and first speaker: Richard Price (University of Maryland)

Speakers:

Paul Breiter (Boston College)

John Heggstrom (University of Massachusetts/Ashburnham)

Bryan D. Palmer (Queen's College)

Roland Sear (University of Massachusetts/Amherst)

Deborah Vanine (Barnard College)

Pusey Weller (Skidmore College)

Reply: Eric Hobbswain

(continued from page 1)

cover the classes of 1772-1774; the Society plans to continue the series at least through the class of 1800.

The Old Sturbridge Village Research Library Society of Sturbridge recently named William D. Pierson’s Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in 18th-Century New England recipient of the E. Harrod Hoag Memorial Book Prize. This prize is awarded annually to the book judged to make the most significant contribution to the understanding of the history and material culture of rural New England from 1790-1850. According to OSV’s Chief Historian, Jack Larkin, Black Yankees paint "...a powerful portrait of a resilient and persistent Afro-American culture up to 1800 and provides an indispensable starting point for understanding the lives of black men and women in 18th-century New England.

In addition to the Hugo Prize, two other publications were cited by the Prize Committee for special recognition: Katherine C. Grier’s exhibit catalogue Culture and Conflict: People, Passports and Upholstery 1850-1939 and Maine in the Early Republic: From Revolution to Statehood, a collection of local history essays edited by Charles E. Clark, James S. Leamon, and Karen Bowden.

For information on the Hugo Prize, contact: Theresa Percey, Director of the Research Library, Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, MA 01073; (508) 347-3362, x202.

Of international interest, “Visions of Empire: Voyages, Identity, and Representation of Native Americans in the Clark Library in Los Angeles to January 1991 to mark the completion of Bank’s Floridiana (Altoce Historical Editions in association with the British Museum [Natural History]. This is the first complete production and the first printing in color—of the British Museum’s monumenal collection of botanical engravings created with Captain James Cook’s first voyage of discovery. Issued in thirty-four parts over the past twenty years, the edition is limited to 110 numbered sets. The 738 color plates depict plants collected and classified by the botanists Sir Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander during their voyage with Cook to the southern Pacific. The symposium and exhibition at the Clark Library will be coordinated with public programs on the UCLA campus. The public programs on the UCLA campus will include lectures, films, tours, and exhibits; the inter-disciplinary conference at the Clark will examine the emergence of the science of botany as well as connections between the activities of botanists, navigators, administrators, and indigenous peoples. The publication and a volume of the conference proceedings is anticipated.

The seventh annual James Russell Wiggins Lecture in the History of the Book in America’s Culture, Robert Griswold’s Printing, Politics, and the People, is available for purchase from the University of Virginia Press. Scholars and readers researching the history of the book in American culture may now purchase, at a special price, the entire series of Wiggins Lectures. This includes the lectures by David Hall, James Wells, Larzer Ziff, Cathy Davidson, Roger Chartier, John Bidwell, and the recent volume by Guss. Contact: University Press of Virginia, Box 3568 University Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

If you have tried without success recently to buy Clio’s Consort, Louis L. Tucker’s new study of Jersey Hollow and the founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society, you are urged to try again. An error in programming才干 rejected all orders for the book but the mistake has now, it is hoped, been corrected.

Mary H. Blewett’s The Last Generation: Work and Life in the Textile Mills of Southern Massachusetts, 1910-1960, will be published by the University of Massachusetts Press this autumn. Professor Blewett, of the Department of History at the University of Lowell, was the recipient of the New England Historical Association’s Book Award for 1990 for her previous work Women, Men and Work: Class, Gender and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry (see NEHA News, vol. xvi, no. 2, April 1990).

1990 BOOK AWARD

The New England Historical Association’s Book Award for 1990 will be announced during the business session at the fall meeting. The nominees are: Ralph Borges, (Concord, Massachusetts), The Fourteenth Amendment and the Bill of Rights, (University of Oklahoma Press); Jerry Demerit, (Amherst College), Gion, Man and the World of Seven Mountains, (Yale University Press); David Hackett Fischer (Brandeis University), Albion’s Seed, Four British Folkways in America, (Oxford University Press); James Terence Fisher, (Yale University), The Catholic Counter-Revolution in America, 1912-1962, (University of North Carolina Press); Benedict Giaimo, (West Hartford, Connecticut), On the Bowery: Confronting Homelessness in American Society, (University of Iowa Press); Regina Hart, (Beacon College), Sigis, Songs and Memory in the Andes, Translating Quechua Language and Culture, (University of Texas Press); James Hoopes, (Babson College), Consciousness in New England, From Partisanship and Idees to Psychobiography and Semiotic, (Johns Hopkins University Press); R. Po-chia Hsia, (University of Massachusetts, Amherst/New York University), Social Discipline in the Reformation, Central Europe and the North, 1517-1700, (Rutgers University Press); Robert N. Kaplan, (Northampton, Massachusetts), The Black Presence in the Era of the Amercian Revolution, (University of Massachusetts Press); David Lago (Dartmouth College), and Charles Wood (Dartmouth College), The Trial of Charles I, A Documentary History, (University Press of New England); Drew McCoy, (Harvard University), The Lust of the Fathers, James Madison and the Legacy, (Cambridge University Press); Matthew C. Moeu, (University of Maine), The Christian Right and Congress, (University of Alabama Press); and Jeanine E. Oleson, (Rhode Island College), Calvinism and the Intellectuals in France, 1560-1660, (Sask questions Press). The committee is chaired by Richard Buel, (Wesleyan University).

The Book Award is given annually for works in history published by authors living in New England, and those who have either died within two years of nomination, during the previous year. All fields of history are eligible. Nominations must be made by presses. Completion for the 1991 award will run from 1 January to 5 April 1991; books published between 1 January 1990 and 31 December 1990 are eligible. Nominations, and four copies of the book in question, should be sent to the Executive Secretary by 5 April 1991.:

Vermont Historical Society
NEWS OF THE PROFESSION...

The Department of History at Loyola University is sponsoring one of the year's major events of change: "The Results and Encounters of Two Worlds," to commemorate the Columbian Quincentennial. Contact: Department of History, Loyola University, Chicago, 6326 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626.

The UCLA Department of Special Collections and Oral History Program announces that all interview transcripts in the Department's collection are now available accessibly through OCLC, ORION, and MILYVL. Contact: Jennifer Abramson, UCLA Oral History Program, 135 Powell Library Building, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1575.

Major portions of thedestroyed S. M. Muskie Archives at Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, are now open for research. Contact: The S. M. Muskie Archives, Bates College, Lewiston, ME 04240.

Black Regiment Papers from the Revolutionary War have recently been restored and a microfilm copy given to the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society for their permanent collection.

The American Antiquarian Society announces the following awards: Todd Steven Gerner, Ph.D. candidate in American Civilization at Brown University, whose thesis has been named a Frances Haft Fellow; Marynna Graham, associate professor of History at Northeastern University is AAS-Northeastern Modern Language Association Fellow; and Scott E. Cooper, Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at the University of Georgia, is Mary Kelley, professor of history at Dartmouth, have been named Kate B. and Hall James Peterson Fellows.

The Antiquarian Society, through its Program in the History of the Book in American Culture, welcomes proposals for papers or presentations to be given at a conference on the history of the book in the United States, which has been named a Frances Haft Fellow; Marynna Graham, associate professor of History at Northeastern University is AAS-Northeastern Modern Language Association Fellow; and Scott E. Cooper, Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at the University of Georgia, is Mary Kelley, professor of history at Dartmouth, have been named Kate B. and Hall James Peterson Fellows.

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The conference will explore the uses of visual imagery in the history of the book. Proposals are welcome from persons primarily interested in the uses of visual imagery in teaching courses in literature, bibliography, or the history of the book as well as from those whose goal is research toward publication on the subject. AAS expects to publish papers given at the conference in a forthcoming issue of the American Antiquarian Society Journal, which is published annually. Anyone interested in contributing to the conference is encouraged to submit a summary of their proposed paper to the conference committee by May 1, 1991. Those interested in attending the conference may write to the same address for further information and registration materials.

The Massachusetts Historical Society will celebrate its 200th anniversary in 1991. Observance of this milestone will include various social events, symposia, publications, a special exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts, and a bicentennial fund-raising campaign. In addition, the society has undertaken several capital improvement projects, including the construction of a new building on the site of the old. The society has also embarked on an ambitious program of藏书, and has acquired a number of rare manuscripts and documents. The society is now seeking to expand its collections, and is interested in receiving donations of books, manuscripts, and other materials. Those interested in contributing to the society's efforts are encouraged to contact the society directly.

The American Antiquarian Society is issuing a formal call for papers in response to the Incorporation of the history of the book. The conference will take place in Worcester, Massachusetts, on Friday and Saturday, 14-15 June 1991. The AAS expects to publish papers given at the conference in a forthcoming issue of the American Antiquarian Society Journal, which is published annually. Anyone interested in contributing to the conference is encouraged to submit a summary of their proposed paper to the conference committee by May 1, 1991. Those interested in attending the conference may write to the same address for further information and registration materials.
building alone is estimated at close to two million pounds sterling.


The Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, Europe’s leading institute of Jewish studies, has announced a ten million pound endowment appeal. The purpose of the appeal is to consolidate the Centre’s financial position and to ensure its continuing pre-eminence in Europe as the leading institution for the study of Jewish civilization. For further information, and for a data pack on current activities and plans for the future, including the Bibliography of nearly 600 books and papers published by Fellows and visiting scholars, contact: The Secretary, Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, Yarnton Manor, Yarnton Oxford OX5 1PV; (0865) 77496.

**NEHA CONFERENCE GUEST**

Professor Eric Hobbswnn will be the Association’s special guest at its plenary session at St. John College this October. He is emeritus Professor of Economics and Social History at the University of London and is widely recognized as one of the most influential historians of the post-World War II era.

The Association has sponsored symposia in the past on such distinguished figures as Eliahu Eliezer and Lawrence Stone, and these have been memorable events. Members are strongly urged to come to the Saint Joseph meeting and particularly to attend the plenary session and the exchanges between President Hobbswnn and the panel.

**NEHA Panel Scheduled for AHA Convention**

The plenary session of last spring’s NEHA meeting, “The European State System at the Eve of the Twentieth Century,” has been scheduled as a panel at the upcoming American Historical Association convention. The panel on this occasion will be: Charles Major, chair, Center for European Studies at Harvard University; Samuel D. Kassow (Poland), Trinity College, Connecticut; Benedict Muciuca (USSR), University of Connecticut; Peter Pastor (Hungary), Montclair State College; and Barbara Jelavic (Yugoslavia), Indiana University. The panel will be Session 92 and will be held on 29 December between 2:30 and 4:30 p.m.

**AT THE SESSIONS**

**CONSTRUCTING REALITY: PSYCHOLOGY AND POLITICS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE**

Comment by Laurie Neusorfer, Wesleyan University.

These two papers afford us the opportunity to compare two very different urbanistic interventions in early modern European monarchies, which took place at almost the same time. Philip II’s plan for Madrid in 1550 capitulates to the chaotic growth enveloping his capital. He departs radically from the traditional, uncluttered, geographically regular urban plans beloved of Renaissance theorists and endorses a walkless city with axial roads stretching out into infinity, along which "strip" development of a modern sort had already taken place. Henry IV’s most important minister, Salvi, founds a new town on one of his seigneuries in central France in 1608-9, which is in a conventional Renaissance enclosure and geometric form. Salvi’s town never succeeds as a town and its urbanism is entirely traditional; eventually he abandons it to write his memoirs. Salvi’s city was a temporal phenomenon, untouched by actual urban politics, but powerfully infused by courtier politics. Philip’s city, by contrast, with its innovative urbanistic principles, was, in a sense, the creation of urban politics—a compromise between the king and his disorderly subjects.

**WOMEN AND ENLIGHTENMENT IN ANTI-BELLUM AMERICA**


Nancy Cott and Barbara Weller have documented the primacy of religion in women’s lives in the early nineteenth century. These papers address the overall experience of the mill girls in Lowell. This paper brings together these two areas of historical scholarship to examine how mill girls’ religiously, formed in their rural New England homes, shaped and was shaped by their experience in the industrial center of Lowell.

Nineteenth churches representing eight denominations were built in Lowell between 1823 and 1846, creating a denominational pluralism that challenged the religious beliefs and practices young women brought with them from their rural country homes. For some, religious traditions were kept alive through the support of their families while others left home as well as by church attendance in the appropriate denominational group in Lowell. For others, the opportunity to experiment within Lowell’s diverse religious culture enriched their inherited beliefs and personal insights. When religion became the labor of a market orientation it generated the central role and significant value placed upon their religious beliefs to direct the market activities. The bonds of female friendship operated at the heart of religious matters. Together the mill girls supported one another in their quest for faith, morality and dignity in the industrial center. Transplanted in the industrial community, the rural religion of the mill girls retained the traditional theology it had possessed in the small towns or northern New England while serving as an initiative to seeking reform of the mill work working conditions. New designs in the habits of religious life were needed to meet the different demands of the emerging industrial world but their religious beliefs and practices rarely strayed far from the warp and weft of religion they had learned in their country homes.

**LITERATE MENTALITIES IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES**

Comment on "Legends and Literacy: The Story of Wulfstan’s Pastoral Sermon" by Lynn Rampton, by Thomas J. Inambue, University of Connecticut.

Professor Rampton’s paper manages in brief space to create an important rethinking what may only be described as an historical miniature: what happens to Wulfstan and his legend mirrors what happens in the larger context of the literate revolution for the medieval world. The eleventh century witnessed a tremendous increase in the volume of archival business, and as the several institutions attempted to accommodate this new industry, the notion of what constitutes literacy shifted in a crucial way. For example, Pope Gregory VII, perhaps the spearhead of the papal reforms of the later eleventh century, defined the twofold purpose of the literate priest: he must be able to “teach others” and “defend himself.” The medieval pastoral sermons—both traditional and monastic one—to read and therefore teach the sacred words. The second is rather more modern, to read the institutional memory and therefore able to defend oneself, whether in academic or legal dispute.

To teach and defend: the tension between those two goals is felt most acutely in the monastery, for there the search for God demands a literate mentality of a certain kind. It requires exactly what Wulfstan was accused of—"simplicities." As St. Bernard of Clairvaux has it, for example, the monk must approach the sacred text with a simplicity that exposes the hidden mysteries of God’s wisdom. All other knowledge is more vanity. But when the monk leaves his cloister—as did Wulfstan—he is faced with the reality of dispute dominated, where the literate mentality of the monastery collides with that of the world. It is that collision which Professor Rampton describes with such clarity. This is a paper in which every sentence is charged with a certainty and steadiness required by disparity. In that world, as Professor Rampton correctly observes, the changes of literacy against Wulfstan’s defined more about the attitudes of the literate readers and the values that inform their time than they do about the saint himself.

**DEFINING HISTORY**

Comment on Shopkow, “History as Literary Genre” by Jan Zielkiowska, Harvard University.

Histories differ from other literature, partly because they make a “truth-claim.” Although English has separate words for history and story, other languages such as German (Geschichte) and French (histoire) do not. The distinctions are similarly blurred in many medieval writers. John of Alta Silva’s Olaus Magnus of the sixteenth century states that making a “truth-claim” in the preface, he changes his tune in the composition. Having listed incredible events from the Bible and mythology, he writes: “The blessed Augustine and the Spanish friar warned that these stories are true. Since the reader cannot deny them, he must accept my story also.” Professor Shopkow pays ample attention to the latter of John’s cautions. In a fuller version she could consider the former, not only for his view of history but also for his notion of charity as applied to reading and writing.

Professor Shopkow proposes that medieval historians reached different conceptions of history through the books they read. Specifically, she argues that Robert of Torigni differs from Dudo of Saint Quentin through “a wealth of sources and models and not a difference in any critical process.” One difficulty here is in deciding which texts would have seemed historical to medieval readers.

The conclusion that “History was becoming a genre, but that genre would not have a philosophical basis until the Renaissance” raises two questions. First, does history owe more to the Renaissance or to the Reformation? Second, should the origins of this habit be sought in the twelfth-century renaissance, which the later Dr. Silva’s Olaus Magnus confirms—read and therefore teach the sacred words. The second is rather more modern, to read the institutional memory and therefore able to defend oneself, whether in academic or legal dispute.

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THE EUROPEAN STATE SYSTEM AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Michael Howard, chair, Yale University; Volker Bergenthal, Brown University; Sebastian Catalogne, University of St. Gallen; Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, University of Connecticut; Peter Pastor, Montclair State College.

The discussion was conducted primarily in response to questions from the audience. The comments focused on the pre-eminence of the economic role and the resulting increase in instability and conflict in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. Eastern Europe was less attention was paid to the future German role in NATO which, in the light of the Soviet implied denunciation of the "Brosnahen declaration in Eastern Europe, was held to be understandable. The view was expressed that unified Germany's role would not only become significantly larger within the concept of "Little Europe"—the current EEC—"but within the "Enlarged Europe" including the East Europeans.

It was pointed out that there were certain inherent dangers of instability due to the potential of increased inter-ethnic belligerence and strife in parts of the USSR, and its apparent inability to control them; but it was held, that, although perhaps painful and costly locally, such strife probably would not serve as sufficient cause for major international involvements and explosions.

Caustions were expressed with respect to expectations of immediate, large "peace dividends" for the Europeans. It was pointed out that the reintegration of Eastern Europe, and meeting coalition parleys for cancelled arms contracts, would sharply diminish this dividend. Therefore, only in the longer run, as the result of increased military expenditures, were such dividends likely.

The need was stressed for a continued significant U.S. presence in Western Europe, together with its willingness to act on the assumption of the interest of the security of Western Europe. It was held that these commitments would require a carefully measured reduced in U.S. military presence in the area. In the light of the past practices of rapid demobilizations, however, the presence of a U.S. military element diminished or disappeared, the possibility of a disproportionately large, and dangerously speedy diminution of U.S. military strength in Europe was a further cause for concern.

Concerns were also expressed about the degree and trends of ecological damage levels in Eastern Europe, and the future directions these trends might take under the impact of increased control of this area with the capitalistic economics. It was agreed that substantial financial resources, and an increased level of international coordination would be needed to alleviate the current dismal conditions.

RACE AND POLITICS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY UNITED STATES


The Voting Rights Act of 1965* (the Act) is generally agreed to be the "most effective civil rights legislation ever passed." It protected the "crown jewels" of our democracy, the right to vote. Before the Act became law, Blacks in the Southern states were victims of a century-old system of legally sanctioned white supremacy, enforced by local and state terror. In all but a few isolated instances, Blacks were excluded from voting and had no influence in the conduct of public affairs.

The years since 1965 have seen a dramatic if slow reversal of this exclusion. Within the first two years following passage of the Act, the percentage of Blacks registered to vote in my home state of Georgia doubled from almost 52 to 37% Today, twenty-five years after the Act's passage, Blacks have begun to participate in electoral politics at levels nearly equal to those of whites.

What follows is an account of the author's experiences with voting rights litigation and the Voting Rights Act, as beneficiary of the Act's provisions and as intervenor and respondent—one of many who have used the Act to advance civil rights for all.

From 1960 until the fall of 1965, I worked for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the organization which played a vital role in the pre-Selma southern voter registration organizing and in increasing public consciousness of the South's blatant denial of the rights to vote and the terror used to enforce white supremacy at the ballot box.

SNCC sent field secretaries to Selma in 1963, two years before Martin Luther King, Jr. arrived. With the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), outlawed in Alabama and the late Medgar Evers the only full time civil rights workers in Mississippi, SNCC field secretaries were often the only professional organizers seen in many rural southern communities as they labored to increase voter registration in Mississippi.

In Selma, as elsewhere, SNCC workers helped to bolster indigenous leadership and local organizations, like Selma's Dallas County Voters League. By 1965, SNCC's organizers had conducted dangerous voter drives in parts of the Black Belt in Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia; had forced a reluctant Department of Justice to take its first tentative steps toward protecting voting rights; and had laid the groundwork for the political revolution that would sweep the South.

The origins of the southern voting rights struggle can probably be traced to slavery. No recasting of the modern movement can afford to ignore the heroic and often unheralded work of the South's Black citizens and the organizers who assisted them.*

The year following the passage of the Voting Rights Act, I was a plaintiff in a case which reached the United States Supreme Court which radically reinforced the right to vote. The case, Bond v. Floyd, grew from my election in 1965 to the Georgia House of Representatives.

Federal lawsuits had reappropriated the Georgia General Assembly, overturning a legislature where cows and horses were better represented than human beings.9 The court ordered new, equal districts created in urban Fulton County and ordered elections for a one year term. As a successful candidate for one of those seats, I was to take the oath of office on January 10, 1966.

On January 3, 1966, Samuel Younger, Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student, was killed in an ambush by members of the KKK while trying to use the segregated basketball at a Tuskegee service station. Younger was a Navy veteran; the irony of losing the life he had offered his country over a segregated toilet prompted the United States Civil Rights Commission to recommend to SNCC's Executive Committee. On January 6, 1966, SNCC became the first civil rights organization to link the prosecution of the Vietnam War with its struggle for black human rights in the United States.

The SNCC statement accented the United States of America's situation in "its claims of concern for the freedom of colored peoples in such countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself."

"The United States is no respecter of persons or laws," the statement said, "when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and purposes."

The statement created a sensation. In the civil rights community, it marked a break in the relationship between the more militant civil rights organizations and the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson and further widened the gap between SNCC and the civil rights mainstream.

The reaction in the white South was even more intense, involving such Southern white liberals, such as Ralph McGill and Lilian Smith, and such Southern conservatives as Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett who competed with their commitment to equal rights for Blacks.

I was SNCC's Communications Director, and when I appeared before the Senate on January 19, 1966, to charge violence and hostility from white legislators was nearly absolute. They prevented me from taking the oath, declared my seat vacant, and ordered another election to fill the vacancy. I won that election and was expelled again; by the time I approached a third election, this time for a two-year term, I had filed suit in federal court.

When Griffin Bell wrote the majority decision for the three judge court which refused to overturn the Georgia Legislative's decision to deny me the seat I had already won twice. His decision was in turn overruled by a unanimous United States Supreme Court, and a year after my first attempt, I became a member of the Georgia House of Representatives.

Before the three-judge court, I was represented by Charles Merhige, Jr. of the Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union, and a former student of Howard Moore. For the appeal to the Supreme Court I secured the services of Victor Rabizowin and Leonard Boudin. I had never been to the Supreme Court, as I sat and listened to Georgia's Attorney General Arthur Bolton argue that Georgia had a right to refuse to seat me, I found myself indulging in argument. Rabizowin elloowed me and whispered, "Stop that!"

Following the hearing, the Justices asked a few questions. When Justice Byron White asked, "Is that all you have? You've come all this way, and that's all you have? I have none had won.

Chief Justice Earl Warren's election in Bond v. Floyd was more than a victory for the First Amendment; it was a reaffirmation of our citizens' right to free choice in casting their votes.

I ran afls of Judge Bell again in 1971. Once more the undecided right to vote was at issue; once again, Judge Bell ruled against me. In Bond v. Fortson, Andrew Young and I challenged Georgia's run-off primary vote provision for members of Congress. Judge Bell granted summary judgment to the State in a one day hearing, citing this was not the place for review, since neither Young nor I knew if we would ever run for Congress.

Finally, I was party to a suit in 1981 in which the Voting Rights Act was challenged. In two decisions, the United States District Court for the Black congressional district in Georgia. Busbee v. Smith sued as an important landmark in voting rights litigation. In Busbee, a federal district court decided that a woman could vote in a voting rights case, requiring creation of a majority Black district for the first time. Busbee grew from my unsuccessful legislative attempts to create a majority Black congressional district in Georgia.

Georgia's 5th Congressional District, encompassing Fulton County and most of the city of Atlanta, was 50.33% Black based on the 1960 census. Andrew Young had been elected to the United States Congress from Georgia's 5th "in the racial afterglow of the civil rights movement"11 in 1972; he served there until he was appointed United States Ambassador to the United Nations by President Jimmy Carter in 1977.

To the District from which Young was elected was drawn only after the Attorney General of the United States had imposed a Section 5 objection to pre-clearance of the 1970 reapportionment of Georgia's Black population. My white colleagues in the Senate and House also introduced a variety of plans—in each one, the 5th Congressional district was drawn in basically the same fashion. In almost all of the plans submitted by white legislators, the 5th followed the lines drawn in 1971: it stretched from north to south, with part of East Fulton County lying in the 4th Congressional District. In three plans, Fulton County was divided between the 4th and 5th, In each plan submitted by white legislators the Black population percentage in the 5th District remained between 51 and 52 percent.

On August 17, 1981, the House Reapportionment Committee adopted a plan which gave the 5th District a Black population of 51.73%. Five days later, I introduced in the Senate Reapportionment Committee a plan which would have created a 73.39% Black congressional district encompassing the Black communities of Fulton and DeKalb Counties. I had waited until disputes involving eight of Georgia's ten Congressional districts were resolved. The eight—District 1 through 6 and 3 through 6—covered Fulton and DeKalb Counties, creating a predominately white downtown area surrounded by two heavily Black counties. The hole in the doughnut would
be my playground and battlefield.

The Bond Plan's rationale, I told my colleagues, was "to put together a large, harmonious, homogeneous block of votes by putting all of Fulton and DeKalb Counties who share a common income generally. The Senator (with a showy display of characteristic gestures) added, "If a certain minority representative would be 'ineffective.'" Senator Paul Coverdell was shown in an editorial cartoon in a graveyard, unearthing the undertaker in the foreground. The legislativeippetory was accused in the media of trying to move Blacks from the 5th to the 4th, solidifying the already Democratic strength of the 5th while increasing Republican hopes in the 4th.

Republicans were willing to help Black legislators—all Democrats—create a Blacker 5th. Blacks were eager to accept whatever assurance was offered, and little was forthcoming from members of our own party.

After trial, the district court concluded that the 5th Congressional District was drawn to suppress black voting strength in Georgia. "The arguments against my plan in the Georgia legislature and the trial testimony in Rabbe are richly illustrative of the Congressionalargument which went over against us," he said throughout discussions of members from our own party.

Today, the fact that the Act has been held to be facially unconstitutional is a reminder of the American political process and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In cases like this, the Constitution requires that a proper Act must be facially unconstitutional to create a valid claim.

Notes:


3. President Ronald Reagan, 18 Weekly Comp. Dec. 46 (June 29, 1982).


6. Unidentified v. Wood, 295 F.2d 772. After SNCC worker John Hardy was pistol whipped by the Walthall County, Mississippi, registrar John Q. Wood and arrested for disorderly conduct, the Justice Department sought and won a temporary restraining order to block Hardy's prosecution. On January 1, 1963, SNCC Field Secretary Robert Moses, Sam Block, and Holika Watkins filed suit in Washington against General Robert F. Kennedy seeking an injunction ordering the police to not disband the SNCC. On July 1, 1963, Assistant Attorney General John Doar issued an injunction ordering officials of Greenwood, Mississippi, to vacate the scenes of eight SNCC workers as illegal interference with the right to vote. On May 20, the Federal Government filed a suit to enjoin the general in the Carter Administration. Maynard Jackson, who saw the 1970 Georgia legislature set the 5th District line one block past his house, served as Mayor of Atlanta from 1972 to 1980; in November 1989, he was elected Mayor again. He succeeded Andrew Young, who served from 1990, and who is now a candidate for governor in Georgia's Democratic primary. One of his opponents is Lt. Governor Zell Miller.

7. The source of this information is a part from the Peace Corps. The comments on Carter's views are from the Peace Corps. For more detail, please refer to the book: Peace Corps, "Carter's Peace Corps Reform."
There are several points I want to make. First, that firm and enduring economic links between the Mother Country and the colonies were not forged without and until slavery. By Mother Country I mean the future United Kingdom: England, Ireland, Scotland, and the English colonies in America. I include the British West Indies, which were separate colonies as much as Connecticut and considerably more important. I argue that the era of privatization, of chartered companies, and early staple trade was over without saying that this has nothing but un promising beginnings leading to stagnation. Second, voluntary labor was slow to migrate to the colonies; capital hard to generate or attract; the profit crops slow to appear, and when they did, free labor was relatively cheap compared to slavery.

Third, African slaves provided much of British colonial America's labor input, attracted by far the larger share of capital invested here to support colonial government, horticultural endeavors, and, compared with free labor, conferred greater wealth and value on those places and times where slavery was established. Finally I will try to show that this pattern of development was not simply adventitious but is explained by inherent difficulties associated with colonization where land is cheap and natural resources are abundant—e.g., the easy free labor; slavery was the best means to make them the jewel of the imperial crown. Before the Europe either Maryland or Virginia flourished, and the years of exclusively free-grown tobacco were few; expansion depended on slavery. Georgia and South Carolina developed step by step with slavery. When Boston and Newport began to trade with Africa and the West Indies, the rise of the New England merchants, and the middle Atlantic states can claim significant development independent of slavery—and recall that even they depended on slave colonies for markets for 42 percent of their commodity exports, hardly an insignificant contribution to their free-man societies. And places where the English colonists might or may not be more profitable than free labor, there are no links to slavery—say Connecticut or North Carolina—remained in colonial times economic backwaters.

If we wish to visitualize Massachusetts or Rhode Island without their links to the West Indies and Africa we have only to think of Connecticut in the 18th century: no banks, credit, money shortage so severe that payment in kind persisted; few exports, slowly growing agricultural production; population of 170,000 in 1770, which remained substantially without industry until 1818.

Let me start with something true: American history is not strongly associated with slavery. Even if it were true that in some places, at some times, slavery may or may not be adopted if profitable (or ended if unprofitable); you don't know it unless you look at the whole historical record. But you know what to look for. This way of viewing British colonial America reminds us of the fact that there is no such thing as a settlement with free land, points you in fruitful directions and makes a better conceptual framework for colonial history than most of the alternatives, both old and new.

For the older let me choose Charles M. Andrews: The men who founded the colonies were Englishmen, the incentives that impelled them to migrate were English in their origin, and the forms of colonial life and government they set up were reproductions of institutions already established and adaptations already pioneering in one way or another at home.

In its modern statement, the conclusion is simply put of the three elements of a simple agricultural society—Free Land, Free Labor, and a Land-owning Class, only two but not all three classes seem to me the best rendition of description of British colonial America that you can find: ample land exists, in the North with free labor, in the South and the islands with a landed aristocracy and coerced labor. It goes without saying that this model is an abstraction, devised to capture central tendencies, not a literal reproduction of reality. In colonial times, unimproved land was not literally free. Land with differential fertility or locational advantage will always command a premium. A colony depends upon salable capital inputs. There is little to say about commodities or specific practices. The model's simple conclusions do not hold. There certainly were positive rents and tenants farmers in colonial America. The crucial feature of the northern colonies was not that of a landed aristocracy with tenants or laborers, and the essential nature of the southern colonies like Georgia and South Carolina and the West Indies was not that of a free white labor force.

Notice that this is not a scheme of economic determinism; it doesn't say which combination will occur. That is left to a million and a half histories. The market is not necessarily the most important—political, social, and ideological factors. The profitability of slavery depends on costs and productivity; slavery may or may not be more profitable than free labor in any given case. Even if very profitable, slavery may not be adopted; a decision that is a human decision; it depends on a whole host of factors. But the "free land" framework is not economic determinism, it is not a simple term: it is not simplistic; it is not vacuous; it simply says, "Look here, these assumptions hold, it will be hard to get people to work for others voluntarily." And take it from there. Slavery isn't caused by free land; slavery is the result of free land. See if that isn't true. Slavery may or may not be adopted if profitable (or ended if unprofitable); you just don't know until you look at the whole historical record. But you know what to look for. This way of viewing British colonial America reminds us of the fact that there is no such thing as a settlement with free land, points you in fruitful directions and makes a better conceptual framework for colonial history than most of the alternatives, both old and new.

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Now the men who founded the colonies were not Englishmen; they were not all European—they were not all even men. The "incentives" of the slaves were not English; they were not even incentives. The forms of colonial life were not modifications or reproductions of the landlord and tenant manorial system so widespread in 17th and 18th century England—attempts to reproduce that system in the western expansion. At the same time the typical form of colonial life consisted in the main of family farms and plantations, neither of which prevailed at home, and none of which was unknown.
HONORS BESTOWED

SYMPOSIUM HELD IN HONOR OF LEWIS U. HANKE

A symposium entitled "Reflections of Social Reality: Writings in Colonial Latin America" was held 19-21 April in honor of Lewis U. Hanke, Clarence and Helen Haring Professor of Latin American History emeritus at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, a former president of the American Historical Association. The event was a Five College Symposium and sessions were held at Amherst, Smith, Mount Holyoke, and the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

There were eight sessions and five keynote addresses. The speakers represented fifty-six colleges and universities from throughout the United States and Canada, as well as representatives from the Universidad de los Andes, Bogota. The keynote speakers were Walter Mignolo (Michigan), Rolena Adorno (Michigan), Raquel Chang Rodriguez (CUNY), Enrique Pupo-Walker (Vanderbilt), and Ansonin Lavrin (Howard).

Professor Hanke taught as an instructor in history at Harvard University from 1934 to 1939, after which he served from 1939 all 1952 as Director of the Hispanic Foundation at the Library of Congress. He was later the Institute of Latin American Studies and Professor of Latin American History at the University of Texas/Austin from 1951 to 1958, and then taught at Columbia University from 1961 to 1967 and at the University of California, Irvine, from 1967 to 1969 before joining the University of Massachusetts as Hiring Professor. He has been emeritus since 1975. He is the former editor of the Hispanic American Historical Review and of the Handbook of Latin American Studies.

Among Professor Hanke’s publications are: The First Social Experiments in America: A Study in the Development of Spanish Indian Policy in the Sixteenth Century (1955), Las Teorías Políticas de Bartolomé de las Casas (1953), The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America (1949), Bartolomé de las Casas: An Interpretation of His Life and Writings (1951), Bartolomé de las Casas: Bookman, Scholar, and Propagandist (1952), and Bartolomé de las Casas, Historian: An Essay in Spanish Historical Geography (1952).

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Address inquiries to the Executive Secretary.

NEHA NEWS

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