

NEHA NEWS

The Newsletter of the New England Historical Association

Vol. XVII No. 1

Fall Issue

September 1990

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 Hobsbawm; Professor Hobsbawm 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. □

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
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THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

20 October 1990
Saturday

Fall Meeting

Saint Joseph College
West Hartford, Connecticut

- 8:30 a.m. **REGISTRATION** Gengras Center
9:00 **SESSIONS** Gengras Center
- Law and the Early Republic**
Edward Hanson (Massachusetts Historical Society): "Trying Traitors: The Legal Aftermath of Shays' Rebellion."
Timothy Kenslea (Boston College), Kent Newmyer (University of Connecticut): "Legal Training in the Early Republic: The Education of Three Sedgwick Brothers, 1795-1808."
Chair: Alan Rogers (Boston College)
 - Prayer and Property: The Appeal of the Reformation in France**
Virginia Reinburg (Boston College): "Authors and Owners of Early French Reformed Prayer Books."
Judith P. Meyer (University of Connecticut/Waterbury): "Social Stability and the Appeal of the Reformation in La Rochelle."
Chair and Comment: Charmarie Jenkins Blaisdell (Northeastern University)
 - Violence in Twentieth Century Italian Politics**
Richard Jenson (Skidmore College): "The Politics of Assassination in the Giolittian Era."
Spencer di Scala (University of Massachusetts/Boston): "Historical Memory and Terrorism."
Richard R. Drake (University of Montana): "The Aldo Moro Murder Case."
 - Latin America and the United States**
Thomas P. Anderson (Eastern Connecticut State College): "Special Relations between Central America and the United States."
Paul B. Goodwin (University of Connecticut/Storrs): "Personality and Diplomacy in Early U.S.-Argentine Relations, 1810-1850."
Frank D. McCann (University of New Hampshire): "The Influence of Individuals on U.S.-Brazilian Relations in the Twentieth Century."
Chair: Joseph T. Criscenti (Boston College)

- 10:45 **SESSIONS** Gengras Center
- Connecticut During the New Deal Era**
Deborah Ducoff-Barone (Museum of Connecticut History): "Inventing Tradition: The Connecticut Tercentenary Medal of 1935."
Philip A. Grant, Jr. (Pace College): "The 1490 Presidential Election in Connecticut."
Chair: Louis D. Silveri (Assumption College)
Comment: Herbert Janick (Western Connecticut State University)
 - Violence in the Middle Ages**
Stephen D. White (Emory University): "Violence and Power in Medieval France."
Daniel Lesnic (University of Alabama/Birmingham): "Social Banditry and Power in the Papal States."
Chair: Samuel Cohn, Jr. (Brandeis University)
Comment: William Miller (University of Michigan Law School)
 - Prelude to War: The Diplomacy of the 1930s**
Joel Blatt (University of Connecticut/Stamford): "Fascist Italy, France, and the Rosselli Assassination."
James Burgwyn (West Chester University): "Mussolini, Gombos, and Hitler's Threat to Austria, 1932-1936."
William D. Briggs (Eastern Michigan University): "On the Brink: Chamberlain and Mussolini, 1939."
Chair: Alan Cassels (McMaster University)
 - Aspects of Modern Russia**
Richard Tempest (University of Illinois): "Contemporary Youth Movements in the USSR."
Nicholas Racheotes (Framingham State College): "The Education of the Younger Generation of Russian Clergy."
Raymond McNall (Boston College): "Emancipation of the Serfs—Real or Imaginary?"
Chair and Comment: To be announced.

12:30 **LUNCHEON** McGovern Hall

2:30 **PLENARY SESSION** Mercy Hall

SYMPOSIUM FOR ERIC HOBBSBAWM

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

Speakers:

Paul Breines (Boston College)
John Higginson (University of Massachusetts/Amherst)
Bryan D. Palmer (Queen's College)
Roland Sarti (University of Massachusetts/Amherst)
Deborah Valenze (Barnard College)
Peter Weiler (Boston College)

Reply: Eric Hobsbawm

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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. Piersen's *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in 18th-Century New England* the recipient of its E. Harold Hugo Memorial Book Prize. This prize is awarded annually to the book(s) 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* paints "... a powerful portrait of a resilient and persistent Afro-Yankee culture up to 1800 and provides an indispensable starting point for understanding the lives of black men and women in 19th-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 Comfort: People, Parlors 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 01566; (508) 347-3362, x203.

An international conference, "Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature," will be held at the Clark Library in Los Angeles in January 1991 to mark the completion of *Banks' Florilegium* (Alecto Historical Editions in association with the British Museum [Natural History]). This is the first complete printing—and the first printing in color—of the British Museum's monumental collection of botanical engravings connected with Captain James Cook's first voyage of discovery. Issued in thirty-four parts over the past ten 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 region in 1768-1771.

The scholarly symposium 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 of a volume of the conference proceedings is anticipated.

The seventh annual James Russell Wiggins Lecture in the History of the Book in American Culture, Robert Gross'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 Gross. Contact: University Press of Virginia, Box 3608 University Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

If you have tried without success recently to buy *Clio's Consort*, Louis L. Tucker's new study of Jeremy Belknap and

the founding of the Massachusetts Historical Society, you are urged to try again. An erroneously programmed computer 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 Lowell, 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 *Men, Women 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: Raoul Berger, [Concord, Massachusetts], *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Bill of Rights*, (University of Oklahoma Press); Jerry Dennerline, [Amherst College], *Qian Mu and the World of Seven Mansions*, (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 Counterculture in America, 1935-1962*, (University of North Carolina Press); Benedict Giomo, [West Hartford, Connecticut], *On the Bowery. Confronting Homelessness in American Society*, (University of Iowa Press); Regina Harrison, [Bates College], *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes. Translating Quechua Language and Culture*, (University of Texas Press); James Hoopes, [Babson College], *Consciousness in New England. From Puritanism and Ideas to Psychoanalysis and Semiotic*, (Johns Hopkins University Press); R. Po-chia Hsia, (University of Massachusetts, Amherst/New York University), *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750*, (Routledge); Sidney and Emma Nogrady Kaplan, [Northampton, Massachusetts], *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*, (University of Massachusetts Press); David Lagomarsino [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 Last of the Fathers. James Madison and the Republican Legacy*, (Cambridge University Press); Matthew C. Moen, [University of Maine], *The Christian Right and Congress*, (University of Alabama Press); and Jeannine E. Olson, [Rhode Island College], *Calvin and Social Welfare. Deacons and the Bourse française*, (Susquehanna University Press). The committee is chaired by Richard Buel, (Wesleyan University).

The Book Award is given annually for works in history published by authors living and/or teaching in New England, or who have done either within two years of nomination, during the previous year. All fields of history are eligible. Nominations must be made by presses. Competition 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. □

NEWS OF THE PROFESSION...

The Department of History at Loyola University is sponsoring a symposium in 1992, "Agents of Change: The Jesuits and Encounters of Two Worlds," to commemorate the Columbian Quincentennial. Contact: Department of History, Loyola University of Chicago, 6526 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL 60626.

The UCLA Department of Special Collections and Oral History Program announces that all interview transcripts in the Oral History Collection are catalogued and are accessible through OCLC, ORION, and MELVYL. Contact: Jennifer Abramson, UCLA Oral History Program, 136 Powell Library Building, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1575.

Major portions of the Edmund S. Muskie Archives at Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, are now open for research. Contact: The Edmund S. 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 Gernes, Ph.D. candidate in American Civilization at Brown University has been named a Frances Hiatt Fellow; Maryemma Graham, associate professor of English at Northeastern University is an AAS-Northeast Modern Language Association Fellow; and Scott E. Casper, Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at Yale, and Mary Kelley, professor of history at Dartmouth, have been named Kate B. and Hall James Peterson Fellows.

The American 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 iconography of the history of the book to be held at the Society, in Worcester, Massachusetts, in June 1991. The conference will explore the uses of visual imagery in the history of the book. Proposals are welcome from persons primarily interested in the use of such iconography 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. Proposals for presentations, together with a current curriculum vitae, should be sent to John B. Hench, Director of Research and Publication, American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury Street, Worcester, MA 01069. The deadline for submission is 1 November 1990. 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 drive. In its long history, the Society has undertaken few capital efforts, but now, at 200, it has decided on a public campaign to attract additional support to house and maintain

its holdings and to keep them available to the scholarly community. The Society's goal is \$5.1 million, allocated specifically to establishing a Center for the Study of New England History, funds for acquisition and conservation, the endowment of two staff positions, and essential improvements to its nationally registered building. Contact: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street, Boston, MA 02215.

The many members of NEHA who travel to Great Britain in the course of a year might find the annual editions of the *National Trust Holiday Cottage* brochure of interest. The National Trust offers a great variety of holiday accommodation, ranging from luxurious mansions to simple hikers' bothies. Most of the Trust's holiday properties can now be booked throughout the year, and short breaks, particularly in spring and summer, are an increasingly popular feature. For a copy of the brochure, send a check or postal order for 50p (sterling) made payable to National Trust (Enterprises) Ltd, to National Trust Holiday Cottages, PO Box 101, Melksham, Wiltshire SN12 8EA; telephone Melksham (0225) 705676. There is also a free bed and breakfast leaflet listing more than 60 National Trust tenants offering bed and breakfast in beautiful areas of countryside owned by the Trust. For a copy, send a stamped, addressed envelope to Bed and Breakfast List, 36 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AS.

Mr. P. C. Sapsed is the owner of Birdcombe Court, Tower House Lane, Wraxall, Bristol BS19 1JR, which dates from the thirteenth century and was bequeathed in 1586 to Sir Fernando Gorges, often described as "the founder of the state of Maine." Mr. Sapsed is interested in hearing from anyone who has information about Sir Fernando and his activities.

The Essex Institute of Salem, Massachusetts, is accepting applications for fellowships to encourage use of its library and museum collections for research and publication on New England history and culture. Fellowships are open to advanced scholars, graduate students, independent scholars, and library and museum professionals. Stipends will be awarded for up to two months, at a rate of \$500 a month, with the possibility of free housing. Deadline for application and receipt of supporting materials is 31 January 1991 for projects beginning after June 1991. Contact: Fellowship Program, Essex Institute, 132 Essex Street, Salem MA 01970; (508) 744-3390.

The Folger Institute Center for Shakespeare Studies will sponsor a six-week NEH summer institute in the summer of 1991 entitled "Ceremony and Text in the Renaissance." It will be directed by Thomas M. Greene of Yale University. The Seminar will explore the interaction of texts and ceremonial performances from the perspectives of many disciplines, including anthropology, social history, theology, choreography, and politics. Although the institute will focus primarily on England, continental texts and occasions will also receive attention. Enrollment will be largely limited to those eligible to receive NEH stipends, that is, full-time faculty members at American colleges and universities. A few places may be

available for independent scholars and for faculty members outside the U.S. who are able to participate without stipend support. Deadline for applications is 1 March 1991. Contact: The Folger Institute, 201 East Capitol Street, S.E., Washington, DC 20003-1094; (202) 544-4600.

The American Antiquarian Society is issuing a formal call for papers for a conference to explore the iconography 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. Proposals for presentations, together with a current curriculum vitae, should be sent to John B. Hench, Director of Research and Publication, AAS, 185 Salisbury Street, Worcester MA 01609; (508) 755-5221. Those who responded to the preliminary call of a year ago are encouraged to send an updated proposal if they wish, together with a c.v. Those interested simply in attending the conference should also direct their inquiries to the address above.

Dean Lahikainen (Research Curator at the Essex Institute) and Richard Nylander (Curator of Collections, SPNEA) attended the Attingham Summer School at Ragley Hall, Staffordshire, England, in 1990 as scholars from the Royal Oak Society. The Society awards four scholarships each summer to Attingham, a program in which preservationists from various disciplines and countries spend three weeks touring country houses in England, with lectures from scholars and curators and private visits with almost unlimited access to various major country houses. For information about future summer programs, contact: Sybil S. Bruel, Executive Director, American Friends of the Attingham Summer School, 285 Central Park West, New York, NY 10024; for information from the Royal Oak Society, contact: Royal Oak Society, 285 West Broadway, Suite 400, New York, NY 10013; (212) 966-6565.

Jonathan N. Lipman of Mount Holyoke College has been named Director of the Five College Center for East Asian Studies for 1990-1991.

The Colloquium Orientologium, an informal colloquium devoted to the Asian humanities, has been organized in the Five College area. Contact: Alvin P. Cohen, (413) 545-0880.

The Yale University East Asian Resource and Education Program offers "East Asia at Yale: A Catalogue of Resources, Materials, and Organization 1990," a new 126 page catalogue that lists all materials in its lending library. To order, send \$10.00 prepaid (add \$3.00 for purchase orders) to: Yale University, East Asian Resource and Education Program, Box 13A, Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520.

The New England Renaissance conference of the Renaissance Society of America will meet at Amherst College on 2-3 November 1990. The theme of the conference is "Re-Framing the Renaissance." Contact: (413) 542-2181.

The annual meeting of the New England branch of the American Conference of Irish Studies will be held at Holy Cross College in Worcester on 9-10 November 1990. The theme is "Women and Children First." The conference coordinator is James Flynn, of the Department of History at Holy Cross; (508) 793-2465.

The twelfth annual research tour to the Family History Library, Salt Lake City, sponsored by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, will take place 4-11 November. A

deposit of \$150 is required. Contact: Natalie Marko, NEHGS, 99-101 Newbury Street, Boston, MA 02116; (617) 536-5740.

An exhibit, "Concord, New Hampshire: A Furniture-Making Capital," will be held through December 1990 at the New Hampshire Historical Society, 30 Park Street, Concord. The exhibit deals with the furniture making industry in Concord in the 19th Century. It is open daily, Monday through Friday, 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., and Saturday and Sunday from noon to 4:30 p.m. Contact NH Historical Society at (603) 225-3381. □

... FROM ABROAD

Members of the Association will have been dismayed at news of the disastrous fire which destroyed much of Uppark, one of the outstanding historic houses of England, on 30 August 1989. Uppark had remained virtually untouched by change since the early 18th Century and was famed for its perfectly preserved interiors, especially its draperies, plaster work, and woodwork. The fire was described by the Trust as the single greatest disaster in its history. After a great deal of debate, the National Trust has decided that reinstatement is possible and realistic—and desirable.

The Uppark project, which has been described as a "multi-dimensional, artistic Rubik cube" looks as though it may well become a landmark in the preservation movement. The building is now encased in five miles of scaffolding and is surrounded by a village of site huts and marquees, holding thousands of bins and trays of fragments culled from the ruins. The entire site is being recorded by photogrammetry, so that architects and conservators will have a permanent record of the process of reconstruction and restoration. All salvaged items, even the smallest fragments, have been logged on a computer, and floorboards, door handles, window latches, rails, shutters, dados, chandeliers, and all the other elements of the original house will be recreated according to surviving evidence. It is assumed that the greatest challenge to restorers will be the reproduction of the celebrated plasterwork ceilings of the main apartments, but many fragments of the original moulded plaster survive and it is hoped that these can serve as the basis for a replacement. This will be the largest single restoration project in the history of the National Trust; the entire process of restoration, and record of the extensive debates over the pros and cons of such an effort, will probably provide material for a book.

Appropriately enough, the motto of the family that built Uppark was "Non Omnis Moriar."

The National Trust of Great Britain has recently acquired the gardens of Stowe, described by the architectural consultant of the Trust as "... one of the supreme creations of the Georgian Age..." and as "... more than a microcosm of eighteenth-century landscape gardening; it was—and is—the *locus classicus* of the art." The Trust is presently preparing a survey of the property, one which will probably be the largest in its history; the restoration program will take at least ten years. The project will include repair and restoration of the many temples, follies, and monuments in the gardens, including—eventually—the great Corinthian Arch and the massive Temple of Concord and Victory. Restoration of this latter

building alone is estimated at close to two million pounds sterling.

To help raise funds for the Stowe Landscape Gardens Appeal, a book, *Temples of Delight*, by John Martin Robinson, is to be published by George Philip in association with the National Trust in October 1990.

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 Administrative Secretary, Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, Yarnton Manor, Yarnton Oxford OX5 1PY; (0865)-77946. □

NEHA CONFERENCE GUEST

Professor Eric Hobsbawm will be the Association's special guest at its plenary session at Saint Joseph College this October. He is *emeritus* Professor of Economic 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.



ERIC HOBSBAWM

Professor Hobsbawm began his career as a lecturer at Birkbeck College, University of London, in 1947, and was then Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, from 1949 to 1955. He was appointed Reader at Birkbeck in 1959 and was professor from 1970 until he became *emeritus* in 1982. Among his better-known publications are: *Labour's Turning Point* (1948), *Primitive Rebels* (1959), *The Jazz Scene* (1959), *The Age of Revolution* (1962), *Industry and Empire* (1968), *The Age of Capital* (1975), and *The Age of Empire* (1987).

The Association has sponsored symposia in the past on such distinguished figures as Erik Erikson 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 Professor Hobsbawm and the panel. □

NEHA Panel Scheduled for AHA Convention

The plenary session of last spring's NEHA meeting, "The European State System at the End 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 Maier, chair, Center for European Studies and Department of History, Harvard University; Samuel D. Kassow [Poland], Trinity College, Connecticut; Benedict Maciuka [USSR], University of Connecticut; Peter Pastor [Hungary], Montclair State College; and Barbara Jelavich [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 Nussdorfer, 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 1590 capitulates to the chaotic growth enveloping his capital. He departs radically from the traditional, enclosed, geometrically regular urban plans beloved of Renaissance theorists and endorses a wall-less 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, Sully, founds a new town on one of his seigneuries in central France in 1608-9, which is in a conventional Renaissance enclosed and geometric form. Sully's town never succeeds as a town and its urbanism is entirely traditional; eventually he abandons it to write his memoirs. Sully's city was a textual phenomenon, untouched by actual urban politics, but powerfully inflected 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 REFORM IN ANTE-BELLUM AMERICA

"Weaving the Fabric of Faith. The Religious Experience of Lowell's Mill Girls, 1824-1846," Janet E. Schulte, Brandeis

University.

Nancy Cott and Barbara Welter have documented the primacy of religion in women's lives in the early nineteenth century; Thomas Dublin has addressed the overall experience of the mill girls in Lowell. This paper brings together these areas of historical scholarship to examine how mill girls' religiosity, formed in their rural New England homes, shaped and was shaped by their experience in the industrial center of Lowell.

Nineteen churches representing eight denominations were built in Lowell between 1824 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 a regular correspondence with loved ones at 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 piety. When religion became the language of labor activism it indicated the central role and significant value women placed on their religious beliefs to direct and guide their lives. 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 professed in the small towns or northern New England while serving as an initiative to seeking reform of the mill's working conditions. New designs in the fabric 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 Staff," by Mary Lynn Rampolla, by Thomas J. Jambeck, University of Connecticut.

Professor Rampolla's paper manages in brief space to create with admirable precision what can 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 from the eleventh century onwards. 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 first purpose is the traditional and monastic one—to read and therefore teach the sacred writings. The second is rather more modern, to read the institutional memory and therefore be 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—"simplicitas." As St. Bernard of Clairvaux has it, for example, the monk must approach the sacred text with a simplicity that opens him to the hidden mysteries of God's wisdom. All other knowledge is mere vanity. But when the monk leaves his cloister—as did Wulfstan—he finds himself in a world where the noise of dispute dominates, where the literate mentality of the monastery collides with that of the world. It is that collision which Professor Rampolla describes with such clarity. This is a world where the values of literacy shift from simplicity to the subtlety required by disputation. In that world, as Professor Rampolla correctly observes, the charges of illiteracy against Wulfstan tell us more about the attitudes of the later redactors 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 Ziolkowski, 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 *Dolopathos* affords an amusing instance. After making a "truth-claim" in the preface, he changes his tune in the peroration. Having listed incredible events from the Bible and mythology, he writes: "The blessed Augustine and the Spaniard Isidore swear 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 *auaoritates*. 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 philosophic 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 basis be sought in the twelfth-century renaissance, which invented the distinction between antiquity and modernism and which is viewed by some as the cradle of modern historical science? Defining history as a medieval genre requires us to find where history (as we define it) was practiced and to determine what *historia* meant. The *historia* in medieval discussions of the *artes* was not historical science but the historical work as a literary product. For this reason *historia* is mentioned only in reference to grammar and rhetoric. □

THE EUROPEAN STATE SYSTEM AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Michael Howard, chair, Yale University; Volker Berghahn, Brown; Stanislaus Blejwas, Central Connecticut State University; Benedict Maciuika, University of Connecticut; Peter Pastor, Montclair State College.

The discussion was conducted primarily in response to questions from the audience. The comments focussed on the pre-eminence of the economic role and the resulting increase in influence of West Germany on future developments in East Germany and Eastern Europe. Less attention was paid to the future German role in NATO which, in the light of the Soviet implied denunciation of the "Brezhnev doctrine" in Eastern Europe, was held to be understandable. The view was expressed that united Germany's role would not only become significantly larger within the concept of "Little Europe"—the current EEC—but also 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 bitterness 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.

Cautions were expressed with respect to expectations of immediate, large "peace dividends" for the Europeans. It was pointed out that mustering-out pay for armed forces personnel, and meeting penalty clauses for cancelled arms contracts, would sharply diminish this dividend. Therefore, only in the longer run, as the result of incrementally larger declines in 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 as the ultimate insurer and guarantor of Western European security. It was held that these commitments would require a carefully measured decline in U.S. military presence in the area. In the light of U.S. past practices of rapid demobilizations, however, once the perceived threats had diminished or disappeared, the possibility of a disproportionately large, and dangerously speedy diminution of U.S. military strength in Europe gave grounds for expressions of 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 contact of this area with the capitalist economies. 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

"In Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Voting

Rights Act of 1965; Race and Politics in Twentieth-Century United States: A Participant's Commentary," Julian Bond.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965¹ (the Act) is generally agreed to be the "most effective civil rights legislation ever passed."² It protects the "crown jewel"³ 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 private 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 almost doubled from 27.4 to 52.6.⁴ 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 plaintiff—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),⁵ the organization which played an important and often overlooked role in pre-Selma southern voter registration organizing and in increasing public consciousness of the South's blatant denial of the right 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 worker in Mississippi, SNCC field secretaries were often the only professional organizers seen in many rural southern communities between 1961 through 1964.

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 voter registration workers;⁶ and slowly had laid the groundwork for the political revolution that would sweep the South.

The origins of the southern voting rights movement can probably be traced to slavery. No recounting 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.⁷

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 strongly reinforced the right to vote. The case, *Bond v. Floyd*,⁸ grew from my first election in 1965 to the Georgia House of Representatives.

Federal lawsuits had reapportioned 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 new seats, I was to take the oath of office on January 10, 1966.

On January 3, 1966, Samuel Younge, Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student and SNCC worker, was shot and killed while trying to use the segregated bathroom at a Tuskegee service station. Younge was a Navy veteran; the irony of losing the life he had offered his country over a segregated toilet prompted the release of an anti-war statement by SNCC's Executive Committee. On January 6, 1966, SNCC became the first civil rights organization to link the prosecution of the Vietnam War with the persecution of Blacks at home.

The SNCC statement accused the United States of deception "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 desires."

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 severe, including harsh criticism from Southern white liberals, such as Ralph McGill and Lilian Smith, whose anti-communism competed with their commitment to equal rights for Blacks.

I was SNCC's Communications Director, and when I appeared to take the oath of office on January 10, 1966, 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.

Judge Griffin Bell wrote the majority decision for the three judge court which refused to overturn the Georgia Legislature'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 Morgan, Jr. of the Southern Regional office of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and Howard Moore. For the appeal to the Supreme Court I secured the services of Victor Rabinowitz 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 nodding in agreement. Rabinowitz elbowed me and whispered, "Stop that!"

Following Bolton's argument, 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 knew we had won.

Chief Justice Earl Warren's decision in *Bond v. Floyd* was more than a victory for the First Amendment; it was a reaffirmation of my constituents' right to free choice in casting

their votes.

I ran afoul of Judge Bell again in 1971. Once more the unfettered right to vote was at issue; once again, Judge Bell ruled against me. In *Bond v. Fortson*,¹⁰ Andrew Young and I challenged Georgia's run-off primary vote provision for members of Congress. Judge Bell granted summary judgment to the defendants on the ground that the issue was not ripe 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's protections were invoked to help create a majority Black congressional district in Georgia. *Busbee v. Smith*¹¹ stands as an important landmark in voting rights litigation. In *Busbee*, a federal court found impermissible racial intent 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 1980 Census. Andrew Young had been elected to the United States Congress from Georgia's 5th "in the bi-racial afterglow of the civil rights movement"¹² in 1972; he served there until he was appointed United States Ambassador to the United Nations by President Jimmy Carter in 1977.

The 5th 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 plan drawn by the Georgia General Assembly. That plan had fragmented concentrations of Black persons and had placed the residences of potential Black congressional candidates outside the 5th District and the residences of potential white candidates inside the 5th District. For example, the homes of Andrew Young and Maynard Jackson were placed one block outside the boundary of the 5th District.

In a special 1981 session of the Georgia General Assembly, called to consider reapportionment of legislative and congressional districts, I made several attempts to introduce and pass a reapportionment plan which would have created a majority Black congressional district. 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 Congressional Districts 5 and 6. In each plan submitted by white legislators the Black population percentage in the 5th District remained between 51 and 52 percent.

On August 12, 1981, the State 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 73.38% 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—Districts 1 through 3 and 6 through 10—surrounded Fulton and DeKalb Counties, creating a predominantly white doughnut around 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 black community living in Southern Fulton and DeKalb Counties who share a common income generally. The value of their housing stock is generally the same. Their education level is generally the same. And most important, their race is almost absolutely the same."¹³

My plan did not affect the eight districts in the doughnut surrounding Fulton and DeKalb Counties and covering the rest of the state.

After the Bond Plan was introduced, the Chairman of the Senate Reapportionment Committee adjourned the meeting without seeking a vote. On the next day, the Committee adopted a Congressional Reapportionment Plan which included the Bond Plan. The Chairman cast the sole vote against the plan, in violation of Senate rules, which permit his vote only to break a tie.

On the Senate floor, the Chairman of the Reapportionment Committee—at the urging of the Lt. Governor, Zell Miller—introduced an amendment to the Committee plan. The Chairman's amendment accomplished two tasks: it split prosperous Gwinnett County between two districts so the county would not overshadow the 9th, or mountain district where the Lt. Governor lived, and it drew a 5th District with a 55.74% Black population.

I moved to amend the Chairman's plan, creating a 5th District that was 69.01% Black; my amendment was adopted, the Senate adopted a final plan encompassing my amendment, and the entire plan was sent to the House for consideration.

The House Reapportionment Committee rejected the Senate plan and adopted one of its own which created a 51.74% Black 5th District. This plan was adopted by the House. It was rejected by the Senate, and Conference Committees were appointed. After failing to adopt five conference committee reports, the General Assembly agreed to a plan with a 57.28% Black population 5th District.

I knew a 57% Black population majority meant a 46% Black voting minority; because Blacks are, on the whole, younger than whites, equal numbers of Blacks and whites will not produce equal numbers in both races old enough to vote. I knew too—and subsequently proved in court—that voting in Atlanta had become more racially polarized in the years since Andrew Young had been elected to Congress. The election of a Black mayor in Atlanta in 1972 had decreased the possibility that white votes would cross the color line. Apparently, Atlanta's first taste of Black power reinforced the tribal tendencies of white voters, solidifying their bloc vote.

With the assistance of Georgia's Republican Senator Mack Mattingly, I sought a meeting with William Bradford Reynolds, the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. When Senator Mattingly was unable to arrange such a meeting, I turned to Senator Paul Coverdell (R.—Fulton), the minority leader of the state Senate. He secured a meeting with Reynolds, and he and I flew to Washington.

Reynolds received us graciously, heard our arguments, and imposed a Section 5 objection against the Georgia plan. Georgia sought a declaratory judgment against his decision in the Federal District Court in Washington. With a number of other legislators, I intervened, and *Busbee v. Smith* was joined.

During the legislative debate and the court fight which followed, the proponents of a majority Black 5th District were abused and scorned in the media. An *Atlanta Constitution* editorial accused me of creating "a ghetto district" whose representative would be "ineffective." Senator Paul Coverdell was shown in an editorial cartoon in a graveyard, unearthing the coffin of segregation. Coverdell and legislative Republicans were accused in the media of trying to move Blacks from the 4th District to the 5th, 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 assistance was offered, and little was forthcoming from the 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."¹⁴

The arguments against my plan in the Georgia legislature and the trial testimony in *Busbee* are richly illustrative of the Congressional arguments which would rage over amending Section 2 of the Act a year later in 1982. The *Busbee* arguments are predictive as well of arguments used today to discredit the Act and to limit its effectiveness in enfranchising and empowering minority voters.

Those arguments lost in *Busbee*; they deserve to lose today. The *Busbee* plaintiffs, including Governor George Busbee, Lt. Governor Zell Miller, House Speaker Tom Murphy, and the leadership of the Georgia House and Senate, argued that (1) creating majority Black voting districts perpetuates racial polarization in voting behavior; (2) relying on courts supplants the "normal" methods of the political process, i.e., coalition building, voter registration, voting; (3) using race conscious remedies is alien to the American political process; and (4) the Voting Rights Act demanded no more than a level playing field for racial minorities; creating an opportunity to elect a Black candidate to Congress was not required.

In fact, racial prejudice and racial prejudice alone motivated the defenders of the final legislative plan. The court found that:

- Lt. Governor Zell Miller believed keeping white, rural mountain voters in a cohesive district was crucial; keeping Black, urban voters in a cohesive district was not;
- legislative leadership abandoned its standards for proper reapportionment when considering districts other than the 5th; the goals of maintaining historical borders, preserving county and city lines, avoiding a Republican 4th District were all pretexts for discrimination. These goals were ignored when drawing Districts 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.
- House Reapportionment Chairman Joe Mack Wilson was "a racist" and opposed drawing what he called "a nigger district." Wilson said, "I'm not for drawing a nigger district."
- Lt. Governor Miller's stated opposition to the Bond Plan for allegedly creating a Republican 4th District was "suspect." Neither Miller nor any other Senator expressed any fear of Republican domination of the 4th District; Miller, in fact, approved a reapportionment plan which preserved the 6th District represented by Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and supported placing a portion of heavily Republican

Gwinnett County in the 4th District. Because the evidence of racially discriminatory intent was overwhelming, the court denied Georgia the pre-clearance it sought.

Until 1980, the standard for challenging discriminatory election procedures was set by *White v. Register*.¹⁵ In *White*, the Supreme Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits methods of election that deny minority voters an equal opportunity "to participate in the political process and to elect legislators of their choice."¹⁶

White was sharply undermined in 1980 when the Supreme Court in *City of Mobile v. Bolden*¹⁷ reinterpreted the Fourteenth Amendment standard to require proof of discriminatory intent. Intent is difficult to prove; public officials seldom announce that their actions are undertaken for a racial purpose. Such actions may frequently be disguised as having a non-discriminatory function; judges are reluctant to label white officials as racists to grant relief to Blacks.

In 1982, Congress amended Section 2 of the Act to restore the *White* standard. Section 2 now prohibits any voting law or practice which results in discrimination, regardless of intent. Proving intent and result was no problem in *Busbee* in 1981. Both the legislative record, accounts offered in deposition by sympathetic white and Black legislators and legislative aides, the testimony of white opponents of a majority Black district, and newspaper accounts were proof positive of the racial motive of the plaintiffs in *Busbee*.

Today the Act faces attacks similar to those raised in *Busbee* nine years ago.¹⁸ Today's neo-segregationists argue that majority Black districts set impermissible quotas for minority office holders and guarantee proportional representation, despite a prohibition against quotas in the amended Act. They argue that majority Black districts "re-segregate," creating racial polarization in the electorate, a criticism majority white districts have never engendered. They argue that race has vanished as a consideration in American politics, despite all evidence to the contrary. These neo-Bourbons say they are color-blind. They are blind, but only to the consequences of color-consciousness in American life.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has begun to level the playing field for America's racial minorities in politics. It would be foolish to imagine that the passage of twenty-five years has erased the heavy hand of white supremacy from any aspect of American life.

Georgia subsequently passed a reapportionment plan the Justice Department found met pre-clearance standards. In an election in the 4th and 5th Districts held a month later than the general election elsewhere in Georgia, Wyche Fowler was reelected to the United States House of Representatives from the new 5th and Rep. Elliot Levitas was re-elected from the new 4th.

Levitas later would lose his seat to Republican Patrick Swindall. Embroiled in scandal, Rep. Swindall lost in 1988 to Rep. Ben Jones, returning the 4th to the Democratic column once again. Fowler was elected to the United States Senate in 1986 defeating incumbent Mack Mattingly. I became the first candidate in 1986 to announce for the 5th District seat but lost in a runoff to Atlanta City Council member John Lewis.

Judge Bell became Attorney 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 1981 until 1990, and who is today a candidate for governor in Georgia's Democratic primary. One of his opponents is Lt. Governor Zell Miller.

Senator Paul Coverdell was named Director of the Peace Corps this year. And I have become a history teacher.

There are lessons to be drawn from *Busbee*. They are that racists—whether wool hat boys from below Georgia's gnat line or sophisticates at elite college campuses in service to a conservative agenda—will employ any argument to oppose racial progress. They may be as crude as Joe Mack Wilson in his opposition to "nigger districts" or as clever as an academic in her manipulation of fact and misquotation of the record; their racist intent and racist result are the same.

Black Americans fought and died to force their way into the political process and to erect an effective Federal apparatus to protect their continued participation in that process. No American—Black, Brown, or white—can afford to have that right destroyed or its protections relaxed because of the shallow protestations of present day apologists for yesterday's status quo.

—Notes—

1. Voting Rights Act of 1965, Pub. L. No. 89-110 Stat. 437 (codified as amended at 42 USC §§ 1971, 1973 to 1973 bb-1 (1982)).
2. S. Rep. No. 295, 94th Congress, 1st Session 11, reprinted in 1975 U.S. Code Cong. & Admin. News 774, 777.
3. President Ronald Reagan, 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 846 (June 29, 1982).
4. *Political Participation: A report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights* pp. 238, 239. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. (1968).
5. See *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* by Clayborne Carson (Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1981).
6. *United States 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 Secretaries Robert Moses, Sam Block, and Hollis Watkins filed suit in Washington against F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy seeking an injunction ordering enforcement of six sections of the Federal Code which made it a crime to harass or intimidate those seeking to vote. On April 3, 1963, Assistant Attorney General John Doar sought an injunction ordering officials of Greenwood, Mississippi, to vacate the sentences of eight SNCC workers as illegal interference with the right to vote. At best, the Federal Government was an unwilling bystander observing the growing southern voting rights movement, becoming a reluctant participant only when violence occurred or seemed imminent.
7. See *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South 1944-1969* by Steven F. Lawson, Columbia University Press, New York (1976).
8. 385 U.S. 116 (1966).

9. *Toombs v. Fortson*, 379 U.S. 621 (1965); *Sanders v. Gray*, 372 U.S. 368 (1963). *Sanders* eliminated Georgia's county unit system; *Toombs* successfully challenged the malapportionment of the Georgia House and Senate.
10. 334 F.Supp. 1192 (N.D. Ga. 1971).
11. *Busbee v. Smith*, 549 F.Supp. 494 (D.C. 1982) (three judge court).
12. Laughlin McDonald, ACLU Southern Regional Director.
13. Bond trial testimony, 561, *Busbee*.
14. 549 F.Supp. at 515.
15. 412 U.S. 755 (1973).
16. *Ibid.*
17. 446 U.S. 55 (1980).
18. See *Whose Votes Count? Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights* by Abigail M. Thernstrom, Harvard University Press (1987); "Without Fear & Without Research: Abigail Thernstrom on the Voting Rights Act" by Pamela S. Karlan & Peyton McCray, *The Journal of Law and Politics*, the University of Virginia (Spring 1988); review of Thernstrom by Laughlin McDonald in "The Law," *Southern Changes*, November 1989; "Beginning with Voting" by Alex Willingham, the *Nation*, February 20, 1989. Thernstrom attacks the Voting Rights Act as an example of reverse discrimination; McDonald, Willingham, and Karlan and McCray convincingly demonstrate Thernstrom's use of half-quotes, anonymous quotes, selectively chosen Congressional testimony, and her misinterpretations of court decisions to advance a neoconservative critique of the Act. □

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"Slavery and the Growth of British Colonial America," Barbara Solow, W.E.B. DuBois Institute for Afro-American Research, President, New England Historical Association, 1989-1990.

Let me begin with a review in the *New York Times* of a popular, not a scholarly book:

In America the European Adam and Eve arrived by choice. They were redeemed by their arrival and their tread sanctified the earth. In the Australian case, however, the choice of landfall had been made by the Home Secretary of Britain. Adam and Eve arrived involuntarily and in chains. Their crimes were written on their faces and they cursed the fatal shore.

I want to argue that it is just this view of America as settled by these European Adams and Eves that has given rise to popular American myths and has led scholars into misleading views of American growth and prevented them from providing an adequate framework for understanding colonial development. Invisibilizing slaves and seeing British colonial America as a White Diaspora is a real problem not just for Afro-American history but for American history.

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 Wales. In British colonial America I include the British West Indies, which were a part of the empire as much as Connecticut and considerably more important. I argue that the eras of privateering, of chartered companies, and early staple trades were not preludes to development but unpromising beginnings leading to stagnation. Second, voluntary labor was slow to migrate to the colonies; capital hard to generate or attract; profitable export crops slow to appear, and when they did, free labor was reluctant to grow them.

Third, African slaves provided much of British colonial America's labor input, attracted by far the larger share of capital invested here, accounted for most of colonial export earnings, and (compared with free labor) conferred greater wealth and income 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 abundant—or has been made so. Putting colonial history in a "free land" context has an ancestry going back to the early nineteenth century, and I want to persuade you that it has substantial advantages over alternative conceptual schemes of colonial history such as those of Bernard Bailyn, McCusker and Menard, or Greene and Pole.

I won't argue the case here that privateering, chartered companies, and staples like fish, fur, and timber failed to lead to the sustained economic growth of the colonies. The reluctance of Europeans to migrate voluntarily to the western hemisphere is well documented. Not until 1840 did white immigration to the hemisphere exceed black. As David Eltis has written, in terms of migration the western hemisphere was an extension of Africa, not of Europe, until the late nineteenth century.

For British colonial America, before the Revolution, two slaves came for every free person. For the mainland colonies, those below the Mason-Dixon line—destined to depend on slaves for their expansion—received two-thirds of all white and nineteen-twentieths of all black immigrants.

Of course, we all know that migration is not population. Whites multiplied and blacks didn't. Even so, the percentage growth rate of black population in British colonial America exceeded that of whites in every decade but two between 1650 and 1750. When we add to this pattern the greater participation rates of the slaves in the labor force and the longer hours worked, you will see the basis of my contention for the importance of the labor of black slaves.

It is from the application of this labor to American soil, with the capital it attracted and the particular crops it produced, that colonial economic development begins. Slavery matters not just because blacks come when whites don't, slavery matters because slaves do different things: more of them work; they work longer; they cannot disperse; they attract investment; they produce crops for export on a scale unmatched by free labor. The foreign markets of colonial British America depended on slavery; the planters and merchants both North and South, who constitute the economic elite, depended on slavery, and the regional development of the colonies de-

pended on slavery.

Nearly 80 percent of the commodity exports of British colonial America were grown by slaves: almost all the British West Indian exports; half the commodity exports of the Upper South; 75 percent of those for the Lower South. And nearly 80 percent of New England's commodity exports were destined for slave colonies in the West Indies; 42 percent of the commodity exports of the Middle Colonies went there; 32 percent of the non-tobacco exports of the Upper South. Overwhelmingly, British colonial America's commodity exports were either produced by slaves or destined for slave societies. So, without slavery, where would colonial labor force, production, exports, and foreign markets have been? And colonial wealth and income?

Wealth is correlated with slavery: slaves are wealth. The net worth per free white in New England before the Revolution is estimated at £33, the Middle Colonies £51, the South at £132, and Jamaica as a proxy for the islands at £1200. In total the south and Jamaica alone held over twice as much wealth as New England and the Middle colonies.

What income did these slaves produce? No British West Indian colony flourished on the basis of free labor; slavery made them the jewel of the imperial crown. Before tobacco neither Maryland nor 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 merchant began. Only the middle Atlantic states can claim significant development independently of slavery—and recall that even they depended on slave colonies for markets for 42 per cent of their commodity exports, hardly an insubstantial contribution to their merchants and farmers. And places with no links to slavery—say Connecticut or North Carolina—remained in colonial times economic backwaters.

If we want to visualize 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, no credit, money shortage so severe that payment in kind persisted; few exports, slowly developing agriculture; a population of 170,000 in 70 towns, which remained substantially without industry until 1818.

Let me turn to my fourth point: the importance of slave labor is not altogether an historical accident but is intrinsic to a situation of settlement with "free land." As I said, the idea is an old one, although it has been fairly recently been put in more rigorous terms.

In simple agricultural societies—characterized by rudimentary technology and modest capital requirements—if there is a vast supply of thinly populated territory, it will be difficult to get anybody to work for anyone else. Why would I work for you for wages when I could go work for myself and keep those wages *plus* whatever profit you retain? Why would I work for or rent from anyone for less than I can earn on my own? If you as a landlord undertake to pay me at this level, your rent or profit will disappear. If all the assumptions about the agricultural technology are met and if land were literally free, in the limit there would be no supply of voluntary labor and if anybody is found working for another it will turn out to be by coercion.

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 can obtain. This seems to me the best nutshell 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 rent. If the technology depends upon sizable capital inputs, the model's simple conclusions do not follow. There certainly were positive rents and tenant farmers in colonial America, but the *essential* nature 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 whole array of factors, of which economics 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 profitable, slavery may not be adopted; that is a human decision; it depends on a whole host of factors. So the "free land" framework is not economic determinism, it isn't deterministic at all; it is not simplistic; it is not uncausal; it simply says, "Look here, to the extent that 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 may or may not be more profitable than free labor; 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, as a variation on the case of settlement with free land, points you in fruitful directions and makes a better conceptual framework for colonial history than some 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 or modifications of institutions already established and conditions already prevailing in one way or another at home.

Now the men who founded the colonies were not all Englishmen; they were not all European—they were not all even men. The "incentives" of the slaves were not English, they weren't 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 hemisphere were notably unsuccessful—the forms of colonial life consisted in the main of family farms and plantations, neither of which prevailed at home, and one of which was unknown.

To move to a contemporary example: for Bernard Bailyn, the transatlantic flow of immigrants was "an extension outward and expansion in scale of domestic mobility in lands of the immigrants' origin." To describe the slave trade as "domestic mobility" of the Africans doesn't quite capture its flavor, and by Bailyn's own account 38 percent of all the immigrants to North America between 1760 and 1775 (not including the West Indies) were black slaves. In describing the colonies as a "marchland of the metropolitan European culture systems," he does not stray far from Andrews and is subject to the same criticism: neither economically nor socially was the northern family farm or the southern plantation a replication of the European culture system.

Greene and Pole in the introduction to their fine collection of essays on colonial British America undertake in some detail to provide a conceptual framework for the period. They distinguish five (or seven) regions, each beginning as a new society, tied to the Atlantic trading network, multiracial and multiethnic, exploitative of environment and peoples, all in a colonial relation to Great Britain. They were "all cultural provinces of Britain, whose legal and social systems, perceptual frameworks, and social and cultural imperatives were inevitably in large measure British in origin and whose inhabitants thereby showed a common identity as British peoples living in America. . . the most important similarity (was) a common set of expectations. . . as places that would eventually be a recognizable approximation of Albion itself." This is their view of a conceptual framework for British colonial America.

Ignoring slavery presents serious consequences for this story. The outstanding thing about the colonies is not that they all faced the problem of organizing social, political, and economic institutions: it is that they organized them in two distinctively different ways. Whether in immigration, economic organization, social structure, political life, or legal codes, or culture, there is a fundamental difference between colonies with free labor and colonies with slave labor. The plantations in the islands and on the mainland were certainly not, and did not become, as Greene and Pole would have it, "recognizable approximations of Albion." They were not even recognizable approximations of Rhode Island. The world found out in 1861, if it had not noticed earlier, that (contrary to Greene and Pole), the regions of British colonial America had *not* undergone a common development pattern and did *not* share a common set of expectations.

To return to my opening statement, invisibilizing slaves yields a strange fruit in American history.

Historians—not just black historians—are entitled to ask whether the "perceptual frameworks, and social and cultural imperatives" of *everybody* in colonial America "were inevitably British in origin," and to ask for something better than a continuing homogenization of history which ignores the social, political, economic, legal, cultural and ideological differences between slave and free colonies.

In contrast, the free land framework directs attention to explaining why two streams of labor, voluntary and coerced, came to the colonies and resulted in two different (but interdependent) types of society. An approach which skirts this problem violates the facts of history and ignores one of the central issues of the American past. □

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, and 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 Adorna (Michigan), Raquel Change Rodriguez (CUNY), Enrique Pupo-Walker (Vanderbilt), and Asuncion Lavrin (Howard).

Professor Hanke taught as an instructor in history at Harvard University from 1934 to 1939, after which he served from 1939 till 1952 as Director of the Hispanic Foundation at the Library of Congress. He was Director of 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 Haring 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* (1935), *Las Teorias Politicas de Bartolome de las Casas* (1935), *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (1949), *Bartolome de las Casas: An Interpretation of his Life and Writings* (1951), *Bartolome de las Casas: Bookman, Scholar, and Propagandist* (1952), and *Bartolome de las Casas, Historian: An Essay in Spanish Historiography* (1952), *The Imperial City of Potosi* (1956), *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study of Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (1959), *Modern Latin America: Continent in Ferment*, 2 volumes (1959, 1967), co-author of *Bibliografia Critica y Cuerpo de Materias para el Estudio de su Vida, Escritos, Actuacion y Polemicas que suscitaron durante Quatro Siglos* (1954), *History of Latin American Civilization: Sources and Interpretations*, two volumes (1967, 1973). His most recent major work is the well-known *Guide to the Study of United States History Outside the U.S., 1945-1980*, in five volumes (1985).

Professor Hanke was President of the American Historical Society in 1974. □

NEHA NEWS

The Newsletter of the New England Historical Association
Association Office: Deans' Office, South College
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Amherst, Massachusetts 01003 (413) 545-2627
Neal R. Shipley, Executive Secretary

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CALENDAR

October 20, 1990
Fall Meeting
St. Joseph College
Hartford, Connecticut

December 1990
Executive Committee Meeting
Time and Place to be announced

April 19-20, 1991
Spring Meeting
American Antiquarian Society
Worcester, Massachusetts

The New England Historical Association is a comprehensive organization for historians of all disciplines and fields. Membership is open to all persons or organizations interested in study, teaching, or writing of history. It is not restricted to New England or American Studies. The Association is affiliated with the American Historical Association.

Annual dues (calendar year) for regular members is \$10.00 or \$5.00 for students and retirees. Life membership for individuals or institutions is \$150. An Association Fund exists to assist in supporting the work of the Association. All dues and contributions to NEHA are tax deductible.

Address inquiries to the Executive Secretary.

NEHA FALL MEETING, OCTOBER 20, 1990

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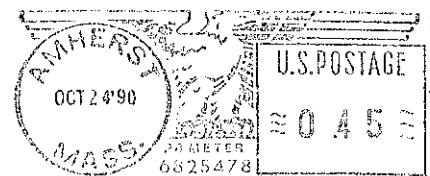
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